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THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

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TRANSLATED

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HISTORY OF FRANCE.

PREFACE TO THE FIFTH AND SIXTH BOOKS.

THE national era of France is the fourteenth century, the period when the states-general, the parliament, and all our great institutions begin, or are assuming a regular consistence. The bourgeoisie appears in Marcel's revolution, the peasantry in the Jacquerie, France herself in the war with the English.

The phrase, *a good Frenchman*, dates from the fourteenth century.

Hitherto, France was not so much France as Christendom. Swayed like all the other states by feudalism and the Church, she remained obscure and lost as it were under the shadows of those great powers. But with the gradual advance of daylight she came to have an inkling of herself.

But just escaped from the poetic night of the middle ages, she is already what you now see her: people, prose, a temper critical and anti-symbolic.

To the priests and knights succeed the legists; after faith, law.

The grandson of St. Louis lays hands on the pope and destroys the Temple. Chivalry, that other religion, dies at Courtrai, Crécy, and Poitiers.

To the epopœa succeeds the chronicle. A literature grows up, already modern and prosaic, but truly French; with no symbols and few images; it is nothing but grace and movement.

Our old jurisprudence had some symbols, some poetical formulæ. This poetry does not appear with impunity before the bar of the legists. The parliament, the great prosifier, translates, interprets, and kills it.

French jurisprudence had indeed, from the very first, been less enthralled to symbolism than that of any other people. This truth, however negative in point of expression, is not the less pregnant. We have no cause to regret the long way by which we have reached it. In order to appreciate the austere genius and the precocious maturity of our jurisprudence we have been obliged to collate the poetic jurisprudence of the various nations, to confront France and the world.

This time, therefore, we have to deal with the *symbolism* of our jurisprudence. We shall investigate its movement, its *dialectics*, when our national drama shall have been more fully developed. Let us wait until the sixteenth century.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER I.

The Sicilian Vespers.

(A. D. 1270.) THE son of St. Louis, Philip the Bold, returning from the disastrous crusade of Tunis, deposited five coffins in the vaults of St. Denis. Himself weak and dying, he stood possessed of the inheritance of almost all his family. Not to speak of the Valois territory, which devolved on him by the death of his brother Jean Tristan, his uncle Alphonse left him a whole kingdom in the south of France (Poitou, Auvergne, Toulouse, Rouergue, Albigeois, Quercy, Agenois, Comtat). Lastly the death of the Count of Champagne, King of Navarre, who had but one daughter, placed that rich heiress in the hands of Philip, who made her marry his son.

By Toulouse, Navarre, and Le Comtat, this great power looked towards the South, towards Italy and Spain. But puissant as he was, the son of St. Louis was not the real head of the house of France. That head was the brother of St. Louis, Charles of Anjou. The history of France at this epoch is that of the King of Naples and Sicily, of which the history of his nephew, Philip III., is but a dependence.

Charles abused and squandered a prodigious fortune. A younger son of the royal family of France, he had become Count of Provençe, King of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem; nay, more than king, the master and ruler of the popes. To him might have been applied the phrase addressed to the famous Ugolino. "What is there I lack?" demanded the tyrant of Pisa. "Nothing but the wrath of God." *

We have seen how he deceived the pious simplicity of his brother to divert the crusade from its destination, that he might set foot in Africa and render Tunis tributary. He was the first to return from that expedition which was made by his advice and for his advantage. He was on the spot in time to profit by the tempest that wrecked the vessels of the crusaders, and seize their arms, clothes, and provisions that strewed the rocks of Calabria. He coldly asserted against his comrades, his brethren of the crusade, the right of *bris*, which conferred on the lord of the rock all that the sea flung him.

* Et Marco li rispose: Perchè non vi falla altro che l' ira d' Iddio.... E certò l'ira d'Iddio tosto li sopravenne. G. Villani, c. 120, p. 320.

It was just in the same way he gathered up the fragments of the great wreck of the Empire and the Church. For almost three years he was all but pope in Italy, not allowing a pope to be nominated after Clement IV. Clement, in consideration of 20,000 pieces of gold promised him by the Frenchman, found that he had surrendered not only the Two Sicilies, but all Italy. Charles had got himself named by him senator of Rome and imperial vicar in Tuscany. Placenza, Cremona, Parma, Modena, Ferrara, and Reggio, and afterwards even Milan, had accepted him for their lord, as well as several towns of Piedmont and La Romagna. All Tuscany had chosen him for pacificator. "Kill them all," said this pacificator to the Guelfs of Florence when they asked him what they should do with some Ghibelline prisoners.*

But Italy was too small; he did not feel comfortable there. From Syracuse he cast an eye on Africa, from Otranto on the Greek Empire. He had already given his daughter to the Latin pretender to Constantinople, young Philip: an emperor without an empire.

The popes had reason to repent of their inauspicious victory over the house of Swabia. Their avenger, their dear son, had established himself in their house and over their heads. The problem for them thenceforth was, how to escape from this terrible friendship. They felt with dismay the irresistible force, the malign attraction France exercised over them, and wished, somewhat late, to attach Italy to them. Gregory X. tried to lull the factions his predecessors had so carefully fostered, and requested that the names of Guelfs and Ghibellines should be suppressed. The popes had always been in conflict with the emperors of Germany and of Constantinople; Gregory declared himself the friend of both empires. He proclaimed the reconciliation of the Greek Church; and he succeeded in putting an end to the interregnum in Germany, by procuring at least the nomination of an emperor, such as he was; a simple knight, whose meagre visage, bald head, and ragged elbows,† reassured the prince electors, and set them at ease as to that name of emperor which but lately had been so formidable. This poor emperor was, nevertheless, Rodolf of Hapsburg, and his house was the house of Austria, thus founded by the popes in opposition to that of France.

It was Gregory Xth's plan himself to lead Europe on the crusade along with its new emperor, and thus raise up the Empire and the papacy. Nicolas III., a Roman and of the Orsini house, had another scheme, namely, to found a central kingdom of Italy in favour of his own kindred. He seized the moment when Rodolf had just achieved his great victory over the King of Bohemia. He made use of Rodolf to intimidate Charles; and the King of Naples, who dreamed but of Constantinople, sacrificed the title of senator of Rome and

* None were spared except a child who was sent to the King of Naples, and died in prison in the castle of Capua. G. Villani, c. 35, anno 1270.

† Schmidt, Geschichte der Teutschen, vi., b. i., cap. 3 (ed. 1786).

imperial vicar. Meanwhile, Nicolas was secretly concluding a league for his overthrow with Aragon and the Greeks.

Conspiracy without, conspiracy within. The Italians think themselves masters in this line. They have always conspired, rarely succeeded; but in the eyes of this artist people an enterprise of this kind was a work of art, a drama without fiction, a real tragedy. They sought in it the effect of the drama. Numerous spectators and a striking occasion, such for instance as a great festival, were important requisites in such matters; the theatre was often a temple, the time, that of the elevation of the Host.*

The conspiracy of which we are about to speak, was something far different from those of the Pazzi and the Olgiati. Something else was to be done than stabbing, and getting oneself killed in killing another, a thing, by the by, that never does any good. The matter was to move Sicily and the world, to conspire and to negotiate, and to encourage league and insurrection, the one by the other; a people was to be stirred up and kept in leash, a whole war to be organised without letting a sign of it appear. This so difficult enterprise was also the justest of all: the object in view was to expel the stranger.

The strong head that conceived this great scheme and carried it through, a head coldly ardent, stubborn, pertinacious, and crafty, such as is often found in the South, was that of a Calabrian physician.† This physician was a lord of the court of Frederic II. He was lord of the Island of Prochyta, and, as a physician, he had been the friend and confident of Frederic and of Manfred. To please the *freethinkers* of the thirteenth century, it was necessary to be a physician, Arab or Jew. The way to their favour lay through the school of Salerno rather than through the Church. In all probability this school taught its adepts something more than the innocent prescriptions it has left us in its leonine verses.‡

After Manfred's downfall, Procida retired to Spain. Let us examine what was the situation of the several Spanish kingdoms, and what might have been expected of them against the house of France.

First of all Navarre, the small and venerable cradle of Christian Spain, was under the hand of Philip III. The last national king had called for the aid of the Moors, and then of the French, against the Castilians. His nephew Henry, Count of Champagne, having but a daughter, bequeathed his child to the King of France, who, as we have said, bestowed her on his son. Philip III., who had just become possessed of Toulouse by inheritance, found himself

* This was actually the moment chosen by the Pazzi to assassinate the Medicis, and by the Olgiati to kill Giovanni Galeas Sforza.

† Procida was so distinguished as a physician, that a Neapolitan noble asked leave of Charles II. to go to Sicily and consult Procida for the cure of a complaint under which he was suffering. Sism., Rep. It., 3. 457.

‡ For instance:

Cur moriatur homo cui salvia (*sage*) crescit in horto?
Contra vim mortis non est medicamen in hortis.

C. 67, ed. 1667.

very close to Spain. He had nothing to do apparently but to descend from the passes of the Pyrenees into his town of Pampeluna, and take the road to Burgos.

But experience has proved that Spain is not to be captured in this manner. She guards her gate remissly, but woe to him who enters it. The old King of Castile, Alphonso X., father-in-law and brother-in-law to the King of France, wished in vain to leave his kingdom to the sons of his first-born, who, by their mother, were sons of St. Louis. Alphonso was not in good repute with his people either as a Spaniard or as a Christian. A great clerk, devoted to the evil sciences of alchymy and astrology, he shut himself up constantly with his Jews* to make false coin† or false laws, to adulterate Gothic with an alloy of Roman law.‡ He did not like Spain; his mania was to become emperor. And Spain fully paid him back his aversion. The Castilians, conformably with the law of the Goths, took to them for their king Alphonso's second son, Sancho the Brave, the Cid of that day.§ Disinherited by his father, menaced at once by the French and the Moors, and moreover excommunicated by the pope for having married a relation, Sancho made head against all his foes, and kept his wife and his kingdom. The King of France threatened largely, assembled a great army, took the Oriflamme, and entered Spain as far as Salvatierra. Then he discovered that he had neither victuals nor munitions, and could not advance. This expedition did him little honour. The chronicle of St. Magloire, after recounting the death of St. Louis, draws a contrast between him and his sorry son:

"En Espagne et à Sauveterre, Alla son fils folie querre." [1276‖]	Into Spain and to Sauveterre, In quest of folly went his heir.

It was a glorious epoch for Spain. The King of Aragon, Don Jayme, son of the troubadour king who fell at Muret in defence of

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* The kings of Spain employed them by preference in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Aragonese also complained at the same period of the treasurers, "who were Jews." Curita, Anales de la Corona d'Aragon, p. 264.

† Ferreras, anno 1281.

‡ I do not mean here to depreciate the code of the *Siete Partidas;* I hope my friend M. Rossew Saint Hilaire will make it known to us in the second volume of his Histoire d'Espagne, which we are impatiently expecting. I have only meant to express the opinion, more patriotic than enlightened, which Spain in those times entertained respecting Alphonso's laws. Furthermore, it is but just to admit that this sovereign, learned clerk as he was, was fond of the Spanish language. "He was the first of our kings of Spain who ordered that contracts and all other public acts should thenceforth be drawn up in Spanish. He caused the sacred writings to be translated into Castilian.... He let in the light upon a profound ignorance of humane letters and of the other sciences, which the clergy as well as the laity no longer cultivated, in consequence of the oblivion of the Latin language." Mariana, iii., p. 188 de la trad.

§ It was this Sancho who replied to the threats of the Miramolin: "I have the cake in one hand and the stick in the other; take thy choice." Ferreras, iv. 345. He felt himself popular enough to deprive the nobles and the military orders of all exemption from taxation. Ibid., 360. Respecting Sancho's valour, see Rodericus Sanctius, ap. Schottum, Hisp. illustrata, 199.

‖ Chron. de St. Magloire, Fabliaux de Barbazan, ii. 228.

the Count of Toulouse, had just won the kingdoms of Majorca and Valencia from the Moors. Don Jayme gained (such is Spanish hyperbole) thirty-three battles, and founded or retook 2000 churches; but he had, it was said, still more mistresses than churches. He refused the pope the tribute promised by his predecessors, and dared to make his son, Don Pedro, marry Manfred's own daughter, the last scion of the house of Swabia.

The kings of Aragon, always warring against Moors or Christians, had need to be loved by their own men, and they were so. Look at the portrait sketched by the brave and plain-spoken Ramon Muntaner, the soldier historian, who relates how they rendered good justice, how they accepted the invitations of their subjects, how they ate in public, in the presence of every body, accepting, he says, whatever was offered them, fruit, wine, or any thing else, and making no difficulty about tasting the same.* Muntaner forgets one thing, namely, that these so popular kings were not renowned for their good faith. They were crafty mountaineers of Aragon, real Almogavars, half Moors, pillaging friend and foe.

It was to the protection of the young king, Don Pedro, that the faithful servant of the house of Swabia first betook himself, and to that of Queen Constance, the child of his masters. The Aragonese received him well, and granted him lands and lordships; but he lis-

* "If our kings' subjects knew how hard and cruel to their peoples are other kings, they would kiss the ground their lords walk on. Should any one ask me, 'Muntaner, what favours do the kings of Aragon bestow on their subjects more than other kings?' I would reply, first, that they make the nobles, prelates, knights, citizens, burgesses, and the country folk observe justice and good faith better than any other lord on earth; every man may become rich without fearing that any thing will be required of him beyond reason and justice, which is not the case in the dominions of other lords; accordingly, the Catalans and Aragonese have the more exalted sentiments, because they are not constrained in their actions; and no one can be a good man of war if he has not elevated sentiments. Their subjects have moreover this advantage, that each of them can speak to his lord as much as he desires, being very sure of being always hearkened to graciously, and of receiving satisfactory replies. Again, if a rich man, a knight, or an honourable citizen, wishes to marry his daughter, and prays them to honour the ceremony with their presence, these lords will repair, whether to the church or elsewhere; they would repair in like manner to the funeral or to birthday festival of any man, as if he was of their kindred, which other lords assuredly do not, be they who they may. Moreover, on great holidays they invite numbers of worthy people, and scruple not to take their repast in public, and the guests eat there, a thing which happens nowhere else. Then if rich men, knights, prelates, citizens, burghers, husbandmen, or others, offer them presents of fruit, wine, or other things, they make no scruple of eating of them; and they accept the invitations made them in castles, towns, hamlets, and farms, eat what is set before them, and sleep in the chambers provided for them. They also go about on horseback in the towns, places, and cities, and show themselves to the inhabitants; and if poor people, men or women, appeal to them, they stop, listen to them, and aid them in their necessities. What shall I say to you, in fine? They are so good and so affectionate towards their subjects, that the whole could not be told, so much would be there to relate. Accordingly, their subjects are full of love towards them, and are not afraid to die for the exalting of their honour and might, and nothing can stop them though they have to endure cold and heat, and to incur all dangers." Ramon Muntaner, i. 20.

tened coldly to his warlike counsels against the royal house of France, conscious of the disproportion of his strength. The hatred of Christendom to that house required further augmentation; and he thought it better to bide his time. He left the adventurer to take his course, without compromising himself. To avoid all suspicion of connivance, Procida sold his estates in Spain, and disappeared. No one knew what had become of him.

He departed secretly in the garb of a Franciscan. This humble disguise was also the safest. These monks went about everywhere, begging, but living on little, and everywhere well received. Men of talent, cunning, and ready of speech, they discreetly acquitted themselves of many worldly commissions. Their activity pervaded all Europe. Messengers and preachers, occasionally diplomatists, they were in those days what the post and the press are now. Procida then assumed the squalid frock of the mendicants, and went his way humbly and barefoot, seeking through the world for foes to Charles of Anjou.

And foes were not wanting; the difficulty was to make them agree, and act in concert, and in fit time. First, he went to Sicily, the very volcano of revolution, looked about him, hearkened and observed. The tokens of an approaching eruption were evident; concentrated rage, low seething, murmur, and silence. Charles was exhausting this unhappy people, to obtain the means of subduing another. Every thing was full of menace and preparation against the Greeks. Procida proceeded to Constantinople, warned Paleæologus, and gave him exact information. The King of Naples had already marched 3000 men to Durazzo, and was about to follow them with 100 galleys and 500 transports. The success of the affair was certain, since Venice did not hesitate to take part in it. She gave forty galleys with her doge, who was again a Dandolo. The fourth crusade was about to be repeated. Paleæologus was at his wit's end, and knew not what to do. "What to do? Give me money, and I will find you a defender who has no money, but who has weapons."*

Procida took with him a secretary of Paleæologus', conducted him to Sicily, showed him to the Sicilian barons, and afterwards to the pope, with whom he had a secret interview at the castle of Soriano. The Greek emperor wished, above all things, for the signature of the pope, with whom he had very recently been reconciled. But Nicolas hesitated to embark in so great an affair. Procida gave him money. According to other accounts, it was enough for him to remind that pontiff, who was by birth a Roman and an Orsini, of a speech made by Charles of Anjou. When the pope wished to bestow his niece, an Orsini, on the son of Charles of Anjou, Charles said: "Does he think, because he has red stockings, that the blood of the Orsini is fit to mingle with the blood royal of France?"†

Nicolas signed, but died soon after. The whole work seemed

* Ferretus Vicentinus, ap. Muratori, ix. 952. † G. Villani, p. 270.

broken up and destroyed. Charles found himself stronger than ever. He succeeded in having a pope on his side, having expelled the Ghibelline cardinals from the conclave, and promoted the election of a Frenchman, an ex-canon of Tours, the servile and trembling creature of his house. This was tantamount to being pope himself. He again became senator of Rome, and he placed garrisons in all the states of the Church. This time the pope could not escape him. He kept him with him in Viterbo, and never let him out of his sight. When the wretched Sicilians came to implore the pope's intervention with their king, they saw their enemy seated beside their judge. The only reply vouchsafed to the deputies, though they were a bishop and a monk, was to cast them into a subterranean dungeon.

Sicily had no pity to expect of Charles of Anjou. That half Arab island had stubbornly adhered to Manfred and his house, the friends of the Arabs. Every insult the victors could heap on the Sicilians, seemed to them no more than reprisals. The petulance and brutal joviality of the Provençals is well known. Had there been nothing more in the case than national antipathy, and the insolence of conquest, the evil might have diminished; but one thing threatened daily to augment, and prove more and more oppressive: namely, a first, clumsy attempt at administration, an invasion of fiscality, an apparition of finance in the world of the Odyssey and the Æneid. That people of husbandmen and pastors had retained something of the antique independence, under every domination. Down to that time there had been solitudes in the mountains, and liberties in the desert. But now came the fisc, like an inquisitive traveller, exploring the whole island, measuring the valley, scaling the rock, and estimating the height of an inaccessible peak. The tax-gatherer set up his office under the mountain chesnut, or pursued the goat-herd roaming along the ledges of the rocks among the lavas and the snows, and put him down in his book.

Let us try to thread that wilderness of barbarisms and solecisms, through which foams and dashes the torrent-like eloquence of Bartolemeo di Neocastro, and to make out distinctly the grievances of Sicily. "What shall we say of their unheard-of inventions? of their decrees on the forests? of the absurd interdiction of the shore? of the inconceivable exaggeration of the produce of the flocks? When every thing was perishing under the sultry heats of autumn; no matter—the year was always good, the harvest abundant. . . . . All at once he coined money of pure silver, and thus forced people, for one Sicilian denier, to pay him thirty. We thought we had got a king from the Father of Fathers, and we had got anti-Christ."*

"It was necessary," says another, "to account for each flock at

* Regni Siculi antichristum. Bart. a Neocastro ap. Muratori, xiii. 1026. Bartolomeo and Ramon Muntaner make no mention of Procida. The one desires to give all the glory to the Sicilians, the other to the King of Aragon, Don Pedro.

the end of the year, and for more younglings than the flock could produce. The poor peasantry wept sorely. There was an universal panic among the neatherds, the goatherds, and all pastors. They were made responsible for their bees, even for the swarm which the wind carried off. They were forbidden the chase, and then people went furtively, and laid skins of stags or does in their huts, in order to have a pretext for confiscation. As often as the king chose to coin fresh money, the trumpet was sounded in all the streets, and from door to door people were forced to give up their silver."*

Such was the lot of Sicily for many an age; she was always the milch cow, whose milk and blood were drained for a foreign master. She never had any independence or vigorous life, except under her tyrants, the Dionysiuses and the Gelons. They alone rendered the land formidable abroad. Since their day it has always been enslaved. And in the first place it was the land in which all the quarrels of the ancient world were decided: Athens and Syracuse, Greece and Carthage, Carthage and Rome, and then the servile wars. All those momentous battles of the human race were fought out in sight of Etna, like a judgment of God before the altar. Then came the barbarians, Arabs, Normans, and Germans. Each time Sicily was full of hope and desire, and each time she suffered; she turned and turned again, like Enceladus under the volcano. Weakness and incurable discord of a people composed of twenty races, on whom pressed so heavily a twofold fatality of history and of climate!

All this is but too apparent in the beautiful and languishing lament with which Falcando begins his history.† "I would, my friend, now that rugged winter has given way beneath a gentler breath, I would fain write to thee, and send thee something pleasant as first gifts of the spring. But the dismal news makes me foresee fresh storms, and my songs change to tears. In vain the heavens smile, in vain the gardens and the groves inspire me with an importunate joy, and the renewed concert of the birds prompts me to resume my own strains. I cannot behold without tears the approaching desolation of my good nurse, Sicily. . . . . Which of the two will they embrace, the yoke or honour? I ponder in silence, and know not what to choose. . . . . I see, that in the disorder of such a moment our Saracens are oppressed. Will they not give their support to the enemy? . . . O, if all, Christians and Saracens, would agree to elect a king! . . . . . That in the east of the island our Sicilian brigands have to fight with the barbarians amid the fires and lavas of Etna, this thing may be; they are themselves a race of fire and flint: but the interior of the island, but the region honoured by our beautiful Palermo—it would be an impious, a mon-

* Nic. Specialis, ap. Muratori.

† Hugo Falcandus, ap. Muratori, vii. 252. The latinity of this great historian of the twelfth century is singularly pure, if we compare it with that of Bartolomeo, who, nevertheless, wrote 100 years later.

strous thing that this should be sullied by the aspect of the barbarians.....I have no hope of the Apulians, who love but novelty. But thou, Messina, noble and puissant city, dost thou think of defending thyself and driving the stranger from the Straits? Woe to thee, Catania! Never with all thy misfortunes hast thou been able to satiate and appease the malice of fortune. War, pestilence, the fiery floods of Etna, earthquake and ruins have been thy visitations; there wants but servitude to fill the measure of thy afflictions. Up Syracuse! shake off peace from thee if thou canst; employ that eloquence that adorns thee in rousing the courage of thy sons. What avails it thee that thou art freed from thy Dionysii! Ah, who will give us back our tyrants!.....I come now to thee, Palermo, head of Sicily! How can I pass thee in silence, yet how praise thee worthily?"——But from the moment Falcando names the beautiful Palermo, he thinks of nothing else, he forgets the barbarians and all his fears. He dwells with insatiable delight on the description of the voluptuous city, its fantastic palaces, its port, its marvellous gardens, its silky mulberries, orangeries, citron groves, and sugar-canes. He loses himself among fruits and flowers; nature absorbs him, he dreams, he has forgotten all. I fancy I hear in his prose the echo of the indolent, sensual, and melancholy poetry of the Greek idyl: "I will sing beneath this rock, holding thee in my arms, and looking on the flocks as they go browsing towards the Sicilian sea."*

It was Easter Monday, March 30th, 1282, a time of the year when it is already summer in Sicily, and the season as far advanced as at St. John's day with us; the heat is already sultry, and the moist warm earth is hid beneath the grass, the grass beneath the flowers. Easter is a voluptuous time in these countries. Lent is at an end, and with it abstinence, and sensuality awakens with a keen appetite, whetted by devotion. God has had His part, and the senses claim theirs. The change is abrupt: every flower bursts from the earth, every beauty glows. It is a triumphant eruption of life, a revulsion of sensuality, an insurrection of nature.

This day then, this Easter Monday, every body, young and old, male and female, went up the beautiful hill from Palermo to Morreale, according to custom, to hear vespers. The strangers were there to spoil the fête. So great an assemblage of persons failed not to disquiet them. The viceroy had forbidden the Sicilians to wear arms, and to exercise themselves in the use of them, as was customary in those times. Perhaps he had observed the great concourse of the nobles; for Procida had, in fact, contrived to bring them together to Palermo. But an opportunity was wanting: a Frenchman furnished one better than Procida could have expected.

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* Ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τᾷ πέτρᾳ τᾷδ' ἁσομαι, ἀγκὰς ἔχων τέ,
Σύννομα μὰλ' εσορῶν τὰν Σικελὰν ἐς ἅλα.

Theocr., Id. 8.

This man, named Drouet,* stops a beautiful girl of noble family, who was on her way to church with her betrothed lover and her whole family. He searches the lover's person, and, finding no weapons upon him, declares that the girl has arms concealed under her dress, and puts his hand under her gown. She faints. The Frenchman is instantly disarmed, and killed with his own sword. "Death to the French!"† is shouted, and they are butchered in all directions. The French houses, it is said, were marked beforehand.‡ Whoever could not pronounce the Italian soft *c* (as in "ceci, ciceri") was killed on the spot.§ Sicilian women were disemboweled, to search for French progeny in their wombs.

A whole month elapsed before the other towns, encouraged by the impunity of Palermo, imitated its example. The oppression had been felt unequally; unequal, too, was the vengeance, and sometimes the people showed gleams of capricious generosity.‖ In Palermo itself, the viceroy, surprised in his house, was maltreated and insulted, but not killed; the people wished to send him back to Aigues Mortes. At Calatafimi the inhabitants spared their governor, the honest Porcelet,¶ and let him depart with his family. Perhaps they were actuated by fear of the vengeance of Charles of Anjou. The people had already cooled and lost courage; such is the changeful nature of the South. The inhabitants of Palermo sent two monks to the pope to sue for pardon. These deputies durst not utter any thing more than these words of the litany, "O, Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us!" and they repeated these words three times. The pope replied by repeating thrice in like manner the verse from the narrative of the Passion, "Hail, King of the Jews! and they smote him on the cheek!"** Messina succeeded no better with Charles of Anjou, who told their envoys that they were all traitors to the Church and to the crown, and that they had better look to their defence as best they might.††

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* Quidam Gallicus, nomine Drohettus, Barth. a Neoc., p. 1027.

† Moriantur Galli. Ibid., p. 1028.

‡ "They of Palermo and Messina, and of the other good towns, marked the lodgings of the French by night, and when the dawn was come so that they could see round them, they killed all they could find, and none were spared, young or old, but all were slain." Chroniques de St. Denis, anno 1282.

§ A mere tradition.

‖ Fazello assures us that Sperlinga was the only town that did not massacre the French. Thence the Sicilian saying: Quod Siculis placuit, sola Sperlinga negavit. Fazello, p. 210, ed. 1575.

¶ Propter multarum probitatum suarum cumulum. Barth., 1029.

** G. Villani, l. 7, c. 62.

†† Villani adds with truly Machiavellic prudence: "This was, and ever will be, a great example to all present and future times, that those whom it concerns should take such conditions as may be had of their enemies, inasmuch as they may have the land invaded." Vill., vii. 65. The legate urged Charles to accept the conditions offered by the inhabitants: "Because, should they grow hardened, the conditions would grow worse every day; but if he had possession again of the land, he might enlarge them every day with the consent of the citizens themselves; this was sound and good advice." Ibid.

The inhabitants of Messina made haste to follow the advice, and every preparation was made for an obstinate resistance. Men, women, and children, all carried stones. They erected a wall in three days, and bravely repulsed the first assaults. A little song on the occasion has been preserved: "Oh, but 'tis a great pity of the women of Messina, to see them with dishevelled hair carrying lime and stones! God give him toil and trouble who wishes to spoil Messina!"*

It was full time, however, that the Aragonese should arrive. The crafty prince hung back at first, observing, and leaving the risk to the Sicilians. The latter had irrevocably compromised themselves by the massacre; but Don Pedro wished to see how they would maintain and make good that precipitate act. He staid all the while in Africa with an army, and carried on the war languidly against the infidels. His armament had given uneasiness to the King of France and the pope; but he quieted the former, by alleging an intention of making war on the Moors, and, the better to deceive him, he borrowed money from him; and he even did the same by Charles of Anjou.† His barons had orders not to open the sealed instructions he had given them until they were at sea, and they found nothing mentioned in them but war in Africa.‡ It was not until the lapse of several months, and after he had received two deputations from the Sicilians, that he made up his mind and passed over into the island.§

The Aragonese sent his defial before Messina to Charles of Anjou,

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* Una canzonetta che dice.

Deh! come gli e gran pietate
Delle donne di Messina
Veggendole scapigliate
Portare pietre e calcina
Iddio li dià briga et travaglia
A chi Messina vuole guastere.—G. Villani, 7, 67.

† G. Villani, 59, p. 277.

‡ See Muntaner's fine narrative, i. 49.

§ Nothing can be more romantic, and at the same time probable, than the picture drawn by the Sicilian chronicles, when the cold Aragonese ventured to land on that fiery soil where all was passion and peril. He was about to enter the territory of Messina, and had already reached an old church of Our Lady, situated on a promontory, whence there is a view of the sea and the distant smoke of the Lipari islands. He could not help admiring the scene, and he pitched his tent in a neighbouring valley. It was evening, and all nature was at rest, when an old mendicant came up and humbly besought leave to speak to the king of matters that concerned the honour of the realm. "Excellent prince," he said, "scorn not to hearken to a man clad in the cloak of the goatherds of Ætna. I loved your brother-in-law, King Manfred, of eternal memory. Proscribed and despoiled for his sake I have visited Christian and barbarous kingdoms; but I wished again to behold Sicily, and I have ventured to return to it, and have lived with the goatherds, changing my hiding-place continually in the gorges and the woods. You know not the Sicilians over whom you are about to reign, you know not their duplicity. How can you think, for instance, of trusting yourself to the Leontine Alayme and his Machalda who rules him? Know you not that he was proscribed by Manfred, and brought back and enriched by Charles of Anjou? His wife will be sure to turn him against yourself."

but he made no haste to confront his formidable enemy. Like a good bull-fighter, he pricked, but eluded the bull. Only he sent off some of his Almogavar brigands to succour the town, active and frugal pedestrians, who accomplished the six days' journey between Palermo and Messina in half that time.* The Catalan fleet, under the Calabrian Rugier de Loria, was a still more efficacious succour. It was to occupy the Straits, starve out Charles of Anjou, and cut off his retreat. The King of Naples justly distrusting his own strength by sea, recrossed the straits by night, without being able to carry off either his tents or his provisions. In the morning the amazed Messinians saw nothing of their foes; they had only to pillage their camp.

If we are to believe Muntaner, the Catalans had but twenty-two galleys to match against Charles of Anjou's eighty-six. Of these there were ten belonging to Pisa, which were the first to run; fifteen belonging to Genoa followed them. The Provençals, subjects of Charles, had twenty, and made no better stand. The remaining forty-five belonged to Naples and Calabria; they thought themselves lost and ran ashore; but the Catalans pursued and captured them, and killed 6000 men. The victors, driven by a tempest, found themselves at daybreak opposite the lighthouse of Messina.

"When day was come they presented themselves at the castle. The people of the town seeing so many sail, cried out: 'O Lord! O God! what is this? Here is the fleet of King Charles come back upon us after capturing the King of Aragon's galleys.'

"The king was up, for he always rose at dawn summer and winter; he heard the noise and asked what it was about: 'What mean these shouts all through the city?' 'My lord, it is the fleet of King Charles returning greatly increased, having taken our galleys.'

—"Who art thou, my friend, who wouldst make us distrust our new subjects?" —"I am Vitalis de Vitali. I am of Messina."—At that very moment arrived Machalda, dressed like an Amazon, coming boldly to take possession of the young king. "My lord," she said, with Sicilian vivacity, "I am the last comer; all the lodgings are occupied; I come to ask hospitality of you for one night." The king surrendered to her the lodging where he was to have lain. But this was not what she wanted, and she did not go. It was to no purpose he said to his major domo, "It is time to take some rest," she never stirred. Seeing this, the king said: "Well then, let us chat until daybreak. Madam, what do you fear most?" —"The death of my husband."—"What do you love most?"—"What I love is not mine." The king then assuming a graver tone, recounted the strange phenomena which they say accompanied his birth: he came into the world during an earthquake; thus marked out by Providence, he had taken up arms only with the sacred purpose of avenging Manfred. Machalda, thus coldly put off, became the king's implacable enemy. "Would to heaven," frankly ejaculated the patriot historian, "that she had seduced the king! She would not have troubled the realm." Barth. a Neoc., ap. Muratori, xiii. 1060—1063.

* What no others could endure was to them sport and pastime. Their exterior was strange and wild, and as they were very black, meagre, and unkempt, the Sicilians were in great astonishment and anxiety, seeing none but them approach for their defence. "Y porque ivan muy negros y magros y mal peynados." Çurita, p. 251.

"The king called for his horse and left the palace, followed by scarcely ten persons. He galloped along the coast, and met a great number of men, women, and children in despair. He encouraged them saying, 'Good people, fear nothing; these are our galleys bringing in King Charles's fleet.' He repeated these words as he rode along the shore, and all who heard him cried out. 'God grant it be so!' What shall I say in fine? All the men, women, and children of Messina ran after him, and the army of Messina followed him too. On arriving at the Gold Fountain and seeing such a cloud of sail approaching, driven by the winds from the mountains, the king reflected and said within himself: 'God who has brought me hither will not abandon me nor this unhappy people, thanks be to His name!'

"While he was thus thinking, an armed vessel, having on its flag the arms of the lord King of Aragon, and commanded by En Cortada, steered towards the king, who was seen above the Golden Fountain, with ensigns displayed, at the head of the cavalry. There is no need to ask if all those who were there with the king were transported with joy on perceiving that vessel with its banner. The vessel was moored, En Cortada landed and said to the king, 'My lord, here are your galleys, they bring you those of your enemies. Nicotera is taken, burnt, and destroyed, and more than 200 French knights have perished.' Hearing these words the king alighted from his horse and knelt down, every one followed his example, and they all began together to raise the hymn *Salve regina*. They praised God and gave Him thanks for this victory, for they did not impute it to themselves but to God only. Lastly, the king replied to En Cortada, 'Welcome.' He then told him to retrace his course and bid all those who were lying off the custom-house to come forward praising God; he obeyed, and the twenty-two galleys entered first, towing after them each more than fifteen galleys, barques, or other craft. Thus they made their entry into Messina with colours flying, and dragging the enemies' flags after them through the sea. Never was there seen such gladness. One would have thought that heaven and earth were confounded together; and amidst all the shouting were heard the praises of God, Madam Saint Mary, and the whole celestial court .... When they reached the custom-house in front of the king's palace, shouts of joy were raised and reiterated by the seamen and the landsmen, and that with such force, believe me, they were heard in Calabria."*

Charles of Anjou beheld from the shore the disaster of his fleet. He saw those vessels, but lately built for the conquest of Constantinople, burnt without his being able to defend them. It is said he gnawed in his rage the sceptre he held in his hand, and repeated the speech he had before uttered when he heard of the massacre: "Lord thou hast set much before me to surmount! Since it is thy

* Ramon Montaner, c. 63.

pleasure to make fortune adverse to me, be pleased also that my fall may be by easy steps."*

But pride soon prevailed over this resignation. Charles of Anjou, now old and hoary, proposed to the young King of Aragon to decide their quarrel by a combat in which 100 knights of both realms should take part. The Aragonese accepted a proposal so favourable to the weaker party, and which gave him time.† The two kings agreed to meet at Bordeaux on the 15th of May, 1283, and to fight in that town under the protection of the King of England. At the time appointed, Don Pedro well mounted, travelling by night, and guided by a horse-dealer who knew all the roads, and all the passes of the Pyrenees, repaired with two companions to Bordeaux. He arrived there the very day fixed for the combat, and protested before a notary that as the King of France was near Bordeaux with his troops there was no safety there for him. Whilst the notary was writing the king rode round the lists, then spurred his horse, and never stopped till he was 100 miles on his way to Aragon.

Charles of Anjou, thus baffled, prepared another army in Provençe; but before he returned to Naples, the admiral Rugier de Loria had dealt him the severest of blows. He paraded with fifty-five galleys before the port of Naples, and braved Charles the Lame, the son of Charles of Anjou. The young prince and his knights could not endure this insult, and sallied forth with thirty-five galleys they had in the port. At the first onset they were defeated and taken. Charles of Anjou arrived next day. "Why did he not die?" he said, when he heard of his son's captivity.‡ As some consolation for his calamity he hanged 150 Neapolitans.

This last was a sore blow to the King of Naples. His activity forsook him. He lost the summer in negotiating an arrangement with the Sicilians through the mediation of the pope. In the winter he made fresh preparations, but he was not to profit by them. Life was fleeting away from him as well as the hope of vengeance. He died with the piety and the assurance of a saint, rendering himself this testimony, that he had made the conquest of the kingdom of Sicily only for the benefit of the Church (Jan. 7th, 1285).

Meanwhile, the pope, a thorough Frenchman by birth and in heart, had declared Don Pedro deposed from his throne of Aragon (1283), and insured the indulgences of the crusade to all who would

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* Sire Dio, dapoi t'è piacciuto de farmi adversa la mia fortuna, piacciati, che'l mio calare sia *a petit passi.* Villani, vii. 61.

† This he did by reason of his great military sagacity, because he was very scant of money, and was not in a condition adequately to succour the Sicilians....Wherefore he feared....they would not obey him....because he found no constancy or stability in them.....his wise and provident measure was well taken. Villani, c. 85.

‡ King Charles....when he heard the news....of the prince's capture.... was greatly vexed, and said angrily: Would he were dead since he has broken our orders. Villan., l. 7., c. 93.

fall upon him. The following year he adjudged that kingdom to young Charles of Valois, second son of Philip the Bold and brother of Philip the Fair. There was in fact a real crusade. France had not waged war for a long time. Every one wished to take part in the adventure, not excepting the queen herself and several noble dames. The army was stronger than any that had ever marched from France since the days of Godefroy de Bouillon; the Italian writers make it amount to 20,000 knights and 4000 foot soldiers. The fleets of Genoa, Marseilles, Aigues Mortes, and Narbonne were to coast along the shores of Catalonia and second the land forces. Every thing promised an easy triumph. Don Pedro was deserted by his ally the King of Castile, and by his brother the King of Majorca. His subjects had formed a *hermandad* (brotherhood) against him; and his whole force was reduced to some Almogavars, with whom he occupied the unassailable positions, and observed and harassed the enemy. Elna made some resistance and all within it were cruelly massacred. Girona held out more strongly; and the King of France, who had made a vow to take it, persisted in his efforts, and thereby lost precious time. By degrees the climate began to make its pernicious influence felt; fevers broke out in the army. The despondency was increased by the defeat of the naval force, and the victorious admiral, Rugier de Loria exercised horrible cruelties on his prisoners. It was necessary to think of retreating, but every body was sick, and the soldiers imagined themselves pursued by the saints whose tombs they had violated. All the passes were occupied. The Almogavars, attracted by the prospect of booty, were visibly augmenting in number. The king retraced his homeward way, carried on a litter in the midst of his sick and drooping knights. The rain fell in torrents on that army of invalids, most of whom left their bones on the line of march. The king reached Perpignan only to die there. There remained to him not one inch of ground in Spain.

The new king, Philip the Fair, found means to arm the King of Castile against his ally the King of Aragon. The son of Charles of Anjou obtained his liberty by perjury. Sicily and its new kings, a younger branch of the house of Aragon, were abandoned by the elder branch, which even took up arms against them. Meanwhile, the grandson of Charles of Anjou and son of Charles the Lame was captured by the Sicilians as his father had been. A treaty ensued (1299), according to which King Frederic was to retain the island during his lifetime; but his descendants kept possession of it for more than a century.

This Neapolitan monarchy, so ill acquired, was not wholly overthrown, but at least it was mutilated and humbled. The dead had some reparation made them. "The pious Charles now reigning, (the son of Charles of Anjou)," says a chronicler, who died about 1300, "has built a Carmelite church over the graves of Corradino and those who fell with him."*

* Ricobald. Ferrar. sub finem, ap. Muratori, ix.

CHAPTER II.

Philip the Fair—Boniface VIII., 1285—1304.

" I was root
Of that ill plant whose shade such poison sheds
O'er all the Christian land that seldom thence
Good fruit is gather'd.....
Hugh Capet was I hight; from me descend
The Philips and the Louis, of whom France
Newly is govern'd: born of one who plied
The slaughterer's trade at Paris.* When the race
Of ancient kings had vanish'd (all save one
Wrapt up in sable weeds) within my gripe
I found the reins of empire, and such powers
Of new acquirement, with full store of friends,
That soon the widow'd circlet of the crown
Was girt upon the temples of my son,†
He, from whose bones the anointed race begins.‡
Till the great dower of Provence had removed
The stains that yet obscured our lowly blood,
Its sway indeed was narrow; but howe'er
It wrought no evil: there with force and lies
Began its rapine: after, for amends,
Poitou it seized, Navarre, and Gascony,
To Italy came Charles and for amends
Young Conradine, an innocent victim, slew;
And sent the angelic teacher§ back to heaven,
Still for amends. I see the time at hand
That forth from France invites another Charles
To make himself and kindred better known.
Unarm'd he issues, saving with that lance
Which the arch traitor tilted with; and that
He carries with so home a thrust as rives
The bowels of poor Florence||.....
I see the other (who a prisoner late
Had stept on shore) exposing to the mart
His daughter, whom he bargains for, as do
The corsairs for their slaves.....
To hide with direr guilt
Past ill and future, lo! the flower-de-luce
Enters Alagna; in his Vicar Christ

* This popular tradition is not confirmed by any very old text, any more than a great proportion of the satirical touches that follow it.

† This is literally true. We know that Hugh Capet would never wear the crown. Robert was the first of the Capetians that did so.

‡ The translation is not quite exact here; the original is "dal quale comminciar di costor le *sacrate ossa*;" the consecrated bones; an allusion to the recent canonisation of St. Louis.

§ Thomas Aquinas.

|| Charles of Valois is meant here.

> "Himself a captive, and his mockery
> Acted again. Lo! to his holy lip
> The vinegar and gall once more applied;
> And he 'twixt living robbers doom'd to bleed."*

THIS furious Ghibelline invective, made up of truths and calumnies, is the complaint of the old dying world against the ugly young world that succeeds to it. The latter begins about the year 1300, and opens in France with the hateful person of Philip the Fair.

When the French monarchy, founded by Philip Augustus and Philip the Fair, ended in Louis XVI., it had at least one consolation in death: it perished in the immense glory of the young republic, which for its first essay, vanquished, and renovated Europe. But these poor middle ages, papacy, chivalry, feudalism, beneath what hand did they fall? Beneath the hands of the attorney, the bankrupt, and the false coiner.

The complaint is excusable; this new world *is* ugly. If it is more legitimate than the one it supersedes, what eye, though it were Dante's own, could discern the fact at that epoch? It is born with the wrinkles of the old Roman law, of the old imperial fiscality. It is born a lawyer and an usurer, a Gascon, a Lombard, and a Jew.

What most provokes us against the modern system, and against France its first representative, is its perpetual self-contradiction, its instinctive duplicity, the unaffected hypocrisy, if I may so speak, with which it shifts between its two principles, Roman and feudal law, and appeals to them by turns. The France of that day is a jurist in armour, an attorney cased in steel; she employs feudal force to carry into effect the sentences of the Roman and the canon law.

Obedient daughter of the Church, she seizes on Italy and on the Church herself; if she beats the Church, it is as her daughter, and as bound in conscience to correct her mother.

The first act of the grandson of St. Louis was to exclude priests from the administration of justice, to forbid them to sit in any tribunal, not only in the king's parliament and in his domains, but in those of the lords (1287). "It is ordered by the council of our lord the king, that the dukes, counts, barons, archbishops, and bishops, abbeys, chapters, colleges, gentlemen (*milites*), and in general all those who have temporal jurisdiction in France, shall appoint laymen as bailiffs, provosts, and officers of justice; and that they shall in no wise appoint clerks to these functions, to the end that if they be delinquent in any thing, their superiors may inflict chastisement upon them. If there are any clerks in the said offices, let them be removed from the same. Item, it is ordered that all those who after the present parliament, have or shall have any cause in the parliament of our lord the king, and before the secular judges of the realm, shall appoint lay-attorneys. Registered in the parliament, this day of All Saints, in the year of our Lord, 1287.†

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* Dante, Purgat., xx.; Cary's translation.

† Ordonnances, i. 316.

Philip made the parliament wholly lay. This was the first express separation between the civil and the ecclesiastical orders, or rather it was the foundation of the civil order.

The priests did not give way without an effort. It seems that they strove to force their way into the parliament, and to resume their seats. In 1289, the king forbids "Philip and John, porters of the parliament, to suffer any of the prelates to enter the chamber without the consent of the masters (presidents)."

Its constitution being fixed by the exclusion of the alien element, this body organised itself (1291) by the division of labour and the distribution of its several functions. Some were to receive requests, investigate and despatch them, others had the management of inquests. The days of sitting were fixed, and the grounds of challenge defined, as were likewise the functions of the king's officers. A great step was taken towards judicial centralisation. The parliament of Toulouse was suppressed, and the appeals of Languedoc were thenceforth carried to Paris.* Important cases were likely to be decided with more coolness far from that passionate land, which bore the marks of so many revolutions.

The parliament rejected the priests, and it was not long before it began to act against them. In 1288, the king forbade that any Jew should be arrested upon the requisition of any priest or monk, without information being given to the seneschal or bailiff of the grounds of arrest, and without his being delivered a copy of the writ commanding it. He checks the religious tyranny under which the South was groaning; and forbids the seneschal of Carcassonne to imprison any person whomsoever upon the sole demand of the inquisitors.† No doubt these concessions were interested. The Jew was the king's chattel; the heretic, his subject, his *taillable*, could not be of use to him, if the man had to endure the extortion of the inquisition. Let us not look too curiously to the king's motives. The ordonnance appears honorable to him who signed it. We see in it with pleasure the first gleam of tolerance and religious equity.

The same year (1291), the king dealt the Church a still heavier blow. He limited and checked that terrible absorbing power which would sooner or later have made all the lands of the kingdom the property of *mortmain* holders. Dead in fact as to selling or giving away, the hand of the priest or the monk was open and alive to receive and to take. He fixed at three, four, or six times the rent, the amount to be paid by the ecclesiastical acquirer of an estate, in compensation of the dues lost to the crown on the property changing owners. Thus from that time forward every donation of real

* D. Vaissette, Hist. du Langued., xxviii. 21.

† Dictum fuit (in parliamento) quod prælati aut eorum officiales non possunt pænas pecuniarias Judæis infligere nec exigere per ecclesiasticam censuram, sed solum modo pœnam a canone statutam, scilicet communionem fidelium sibi subtrahere (Libertés de l'Eglise gallicane, ii. 148). One would be almost inclined to regard this as a sarcasm on excommunication.

property to the churches was profitable to the king. The king, that new god of the civil world, had his share in the donations made by piety, with Christ, our Lady, and the saints.

So much for the Church. Feudalism, all armed and warlike as it was, was not less assailed. From itself came forth the principle that was to ruin it. That principle was monarchy in the light of feudal suzerainty. St. Louis says expressly in his Establishments (Book ii., c. 27): "If any one makes plaint in the king's court against his lord concerning a debt which his lord owes him, or concerning promises or covenants he has made to him, the lord shall not have part in the court; for no lord should be judge, or give sentence in his own cause, according to the rule written in the code, *Ne quis in sua causa judicet*, in the single law which begins *Generali*, the red and the black, &c." The establishments of St. Louis were made for the king's domains. Beaumanoir in the "Customs of Beauvoisis," a book composed for the domains of a son of St. Louis, Robert of Clermont, ancestor of the house of Bourbon, lays it down in the reign of Philip the Fair, that the king has a right to make *establishments* not only for his own domains, but for the whole realm. It is worth while to see in the text itself with what address he puts forward this scandalous and paradoxical opinion.*

Philip the Bold had given *roturiers* increased facilities for acquiring feudal estates. He enjoined the ministers of justice "not to molest the non-nobles who should acquire feudal property." As the non-noble could not discharge the noble services attached to the fief, the consent of all the intermediate lords was requisite, step by step up to the king. Philip III. reduced to three the number of intermediate lords whose consent was requisite.

The tendency of this legislation is easily understood when we know who and of what class were the counsellors of the kings in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The chamberlain and counsellor of Philip the Bold was Pierre la Brosse, of Touraine, St. Louis's barber or surgeon. His brother, the Bishop of Bayeux, shared his power, and likewise his downfall. La Brosse accused the second wife of Philip III. of having poisoned a son she had by her first marriage. The party of the lords, at the head of which was the Count of Artois, maintained, that the favourite slandered the queen, and moreover, that he sold the king's secrets to the Castilians.† La Brosse induced the king to consult a *béguine*, or female mystic of Flanders. The party of the lords produced the Dominicans, who were in general hostile to the mystics, in opposition to the *béguine*. A Dominican brought the king a casket containing proofs, real or imaginary, of La Brosse's treason. His case was tried in secret, and he was found guilty. The heads

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* Beaumanoir, ch. 49, pp. 266—267.

† Guill. Nangiac, 532.—Chron. de St. Denis, p. 107.—Mariana, xiv., p. 616.—Sismondi, viii. 277.

of the party of the noblesse, the Count of Artois, and a multitude of lords, chose to be present at his execution.

At the head of the counsellors of St. Louis is to be placed Pierre de Fontaines, author of the "Conseil à mon Ami," a book in a great measure translated from the Roman laws. De Fontaines, a native of Vermandois, was bailiff of that district in 1253. We find him afterwards among the Masters of the parliament of Paris. In this capacity he pronounced judgment in the king's favour against the Abbot of St. Benoît-sur-Loire, and another, likewise, against the monks of the Bois de Vincennes. In the record of these judgments, we find him named next after the Chancellor of France.* He is styled knight, a title which at that time did not signify much. These men of the long robe early assumed the absurd title of knights at law (*chevaliers ès lois*).

Nor is there any evidence that Philippe de Beaumanoir, bailiff of Senlis, and author of the great work on the customs of Vermandois, was of very high noblesse. The house of the same name is a Breton, not a Picard family, which makes its appearance in the English wars in the fourteenth century, but which does not trace back its pedigree in a regular manner higher than the fifteenth.

The real name of the two brothers Marigni, so powerful under Philip the Fair, was Le Portier.† They were natives of Normandy, where they bought the estate of Marigni. The more famous of the two, chamberlain and treasurer to the king, and captain of the Tour du Louvre, is designated as *coadjutor and governor of the whole realm of France.* "He was," says a contemporary, "like a second king, and every thing was done in obedience to his beck."‡ There is no reason to suspect any exaggeration in this statement, when we know that Marigni set up his own statue in the Palais de Justice beside the king's.§

Among the ministers of Philip the Fair must be reckoned two Florentine bankers, to whom are doubtless to be imputed in a great measure the fiscal violences of this reign. Those who directed the great and cruel law proceedings of Philip the Fair, were the Chancellor Pierre Flotte, who had the honour of being killed, like any knight, in the battle of Courtrai, and his colleagues or successors, Plasian and Nogaret. The latter, who acquired so tragic a celebrity, was born at Caraman in Lauraguais. His grandfather, if the invectives of his enemies are to be believed, had been burnt as a heretic. Nogaret was first a professor of law in Montpellier, and afterwards seneschal's lieutenant at Nîmes. The Nogaret family, so haughty in the sixteenth century under the name of Épernon, were not yet noble in 1372, either in the one line or the other. Shortly after that daring expedition, in which Guillaume

* Dupuy, Différend de Boniface VIII., p. 615.

† Dupuy, Templiers, 1751, p. 45, note.

‡ Ita ut secundus regulus videretur, ad cujus nutum regni negotia gerebantur. Bern. Guidonis, Vita Clem. V., ap. Baluze, 82.

§ Félibien, Hist. de Paris.

Nogaret laid hands on the pope, he became chancellor and keeper of the seals. Philip the Long revoked the gifts that had been conferred on him by Philip the Fair; but he was not involved in Marigni's proscription. No doubt it would have been thought hazardous to shake the validity of his judicial acts, which were of such high importance to the crown.

These lawyers, who had ruled the English kings in the twelfth century, and St. Louis, Alphonso X., and Frederic II., in the thirteenth, were the tyrants of France, under the grandson of St. Louis. These *Knights at law*, these souls of lead and iron, the Plasians, Nogarets, and Marignis, proceeded with horrible cold-bloodedness in their servile imitation of Roman law and imperial fiscality. The pandects were their Bible, their Gospel. Nothing gave them any uneasiness, so they could but reply right or wrong: *Scriptum est.* By dint of texts, citations, and falsifications, they demolished the middle ages, pontificate, feudalism, chivalry, and all. They went boldly and *arrested the body* of Pope Boniface VIII., and they burned the crusade itself in the person of the templars.

These cruel demolishers of the middle ages are, we grudge to own it, the founders of civil order as it exists in modern times. They organise monarchical centralisation. They post in the provinces bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, auditors, tabellions, king's attorneys, masters and weighers of the mint. The forests are invaded by the royal *verdiers* and *gruyaux.* All these people set to work picking and carping at the feudal jurisdictions, obstructing, discouraging, and destroying them. In the centre of the vast spider's web sits the council of jurists under the name of parliament (fixed in Paris in 1302). There every thing is gradually ingulfed and extinguished beneath the royal authority. This lay system of law is above all things hostile to ecclesiastical law. The jurists, if need be, will call in the bourgeois to their aid. They themselves are nothing else than bourgeois, though they sue like beggars to be ennobled, all the while they are persecuting the noblesse.

This creation of the government certainly cost very dear. We have not sufficient details on this point; but we know that the provost's serjeants, that is to say the executors and agents of this administration, so tyrannical at its birth, had at first, the mounted serjeant three sols parisis, and afterwards six sols; the foot serjeant eighteen deniers, &c. Here was a judiciary and administrative army: by and by will come mercenary troops. Philip of Valois will have at one time several thousand Genoese arbalist men in his service. Whence are the enormous sums to be drawn which all this must cost? Manufacturing industry is not yet born. This nascent society already labours under the malady of which the old system died: it consumes without producing. Industry and wealth will come forth at last out of order and security; but this order costs so much to establish it, that for a long while it may be questioned whether it does not augment the distress and the miseries it ought to cure.

One circumstance infinitely aggravates these evils. The mediæval lord payed his servants in land, or in produce of the land; great and small, they had their places at his table. Their wages were their daily meals. Money alone is capable of setting in motion the vast machine of royal government, which substitutes its own complicated movement for the thousand natural and simple movements of feudal government. If this vital element be wanting to the new royalty, the latter will perish; the monarchy will fall to pieces, and all its parts will relapse into the insulation and barbarism of feudal government.

It is not the fault of this new government, if it is greedy and devouring. Hunger is its nature, its necessity, the very essence of its temperament, for the satisfaction of which it must employ by turns force and fraud. Here we have combined in one single prince, as in the old romance, both Master Reynard and Master Isengrin.

This king is naturally averse to war; it is but just to own this; he prefers any other mode of acquisition, such as purchase or usury. First of all he traffics, barters, and buys; in this way the strong may decently despoil their weak friends. For instance, as soon as he despairs of capturing Spain by means of papal bulls, he purchases at least the patrimony of the younger branch of the house of Aragon, the good town of Montpellier, the only one that remained to King Jacques.* The cunning prince, well read in the laws, made no scruple of thus acquiring the last garment of his spendthrift friend, a poor man of good birth, who sold his heritage bit by bit, and whom he no doubt thought himself bound to deprive of the management of his own property by virtue of the Roman law: *Prodigus et furiosus.*†

In the North he got possession of Valenciennes, which voluntarily surrendered itself to him (1293), and doubtless there was money there too. Valenciennes brought him near wealthy Flanders, which it was so desirable to take, both as being rich, and as the ally of the English. In English France he bought Le Quercy of the needy Edward I., an arid and mountainous tract, but one from which the descent leads into Guienne. Edward was then engrossed with his Scotch and Welsh wars, in which he gained nothing but glory. It would have been a great thing indeed to establish British unity, and the authority of the crown over the whole island. Edward made heroic efforts to this end, and committed incredible acts of barbarity: but in vain he broke the harps of Wales and slew her bards; in vain he made

* Hist. du Langued., xxviii. 30.

† Montpellier was at the same time a fief under the Bishop of Maguelone. The bishop, weary of the resistance of the burgesses, and of the support they received from the King of France, sold all his rights to the latter. These rights, before regarded as invalid, then appeared good enough to serve as grounds for despoiling old Jacques. Sism., viii. 464.

King David die the death of a traitor, and transported to Westminster Scotland's palladium, the famous stone of Scone, he could bring nothing to completion, either in the island or on the continent. Every time he turned his face towards France, and thought of proceeding thither, he heard of some bad news from the Scottish Border, or the Welsh marches, some new exploit of Llewellyn or Wallace. This latter was encouraged by Philip the Fair, the heroic chief of the clans by the attorney king. Philip had no need to stir a foot; he had only to keep Edward occupied by means of his bloodhounds of Scotland. With all his heart he let the English king immortalise himself in the wildernesses of Wales and Northumberland, carried on his suit against him very leisurely, and cast him by default.

Thus, when he saw Edward occupied in keeping Scotland down under Baliol, he summoned him to answer for the piracies committed by his Gascons against our Normans. He cited this king, this conqueror, to appear and answer for his conduct before what he called the court of peers. First he threatened, then he cajoled him, offering him a princess of France as the price of a fictive submission, of a mere formal seizin which would settle every thing. The result was that the English monarch opened his fortresses, Philip kept them, and withdrew his offers. The great province or kingdom of Guienne was filched from its former owner.

Edward remonstrated loudly but in vain. He sought and obtained against Philip the alliance of Adolf of Nassau, King of the Romans, and of the dukes of Bretagne and Brabant, and the counts of Flanders, Bar, and Gueldres. He wrote to his Guienne subjects humbly craving their pardon for having consented to the seizin;* but being too much engaged in Scotland, he did not go in person to Guienne, and his party there encountered nothing but disasters. Philip had on his side the pope (Boniface VIII.), who owed him his tiara, and who, in order to furnish him with an ally, released the King of Scotland from the oath he had sworn to the King of England. Lastly, he managed so well that the Flemings, dissatisfied with their count, called him to their aid.† Both kings reckoned on Flanders to enable them to maintain the war. Fat Flanders was

* "We had a treaty with the King of France, in accordance with which we have made this king certain obeissances touching you and our duchy, which we thought would be for the good of peace and the advantage of Christendom. But we have thereby rendered ourselves culpable towards you, since we have done it without your consent; the more so as you were well prepared to keep and defend your land. However, we pray you to be pleased to hold us excused; for we have been circumvented and beguiled in this conjuncture. We shall suffer from it more than any one else, as you may be assured by Hugh de Vere and Raymond de Ferrers, who conducted this treaty in our name at the court of France. But with the help of God we will not again do any thing important with regard to this duchy, without your advice and consent. Ap. Rymer, ii. 644. Sismondi, viii. 480.

† Oudegherst, Chron. de Flandres, c. 131, f. 214.

a natural temptation to these voracious governments. Flanders was the dream, the poetry, the Jerusalem of all that world of barons and knights whom the kings of France were weaning from the delights of crusades and private wars. They were all ready to make a joyous pilgrimage to the storehouses of Flanders, the spices of Bruges, the fine cloths of Ypres, and the tapestries of Arras.

It seems that God made this good Flanders and placed it in the midst of all to be eaten up by the one party or the other. Before England was that colossal thing which we now see her, Flanders was an England; but how much inferior and more incomplete! Drapers without wool, soldiers without cavalry, commercialists without ships! And now these three things, cattle, horses, and ships are precisely the main sinews of England; they are the material, the vehicle, and the defence of her industry.

This is not all. The name Flanders is expressive not of a people, but of an assemblage of many very dissimilar countries, a collection of tribes and towns. Not to speak of the difference of race and language, there has always been between town and town, and between the towns and the country parts, class hatreds, trade hatreds, hatred between the sovereign and the people.* In a country in which a woman inherited and transmitted the sovereignty, the sovereign was often a foreign spouse. Flemish sensuality, the materialism of that carnal people, appears in the precocious indulgence of the customs of Flanders towards woman and bastards.† Thus the Flemish wife brought in by marriage masters over the whole nation, a Dane, an Alsacian, then a Hainault neighbour, then a prince of Portugal, then Frenchmen of various branches: Dampierre (Bourbon), Louis de Mâle (Capet), Philip the Bold (Valois); lastly, Austria, Spain, and Austria again. At this day we see Flanders under a Saxon (Coburg).

Flanders complained of the French count, Gui Dampierre, and Philip offered himself as their protector. Gui applied to the English and proposed to bestow his daughter Philippa on Edward's son. This marriage in hostility to the King of France could not, in accordance with feudal law, take place without the consent of that monarch as Gui Dampierre's suzeran. Philip, however, did not protest; he only declared hypocritically, that being the girl's godfather he could not let her pass the straits without embracing her.‡ To refuse this would have been to declare war, and that prematurely. To accept the invitation was to run the risk of remaining in Paris. Gui came to Paris and there he staid. Father and daughter were detained in the Tour du Louvre. Thus Philip deprived Edward of his

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* Quis Flandriæ posset nocere, si duæ illæ civitates (Bruges and Ghent) concordes inter se forent? Meyer, Chron., p. 92.

† In Flandria jam inde ab initio observatum constat, neminem ibi nothum esse ex matre. Meyer, f. 75. The privilege was extended to the men of Bruges by Louis of Nevers: "He emancipated them from bastardy, provided the bastard be a citizen, or son of a citizen, without fraud." (1331.) Oudegherst, Chron. de Flandres.

‡ Ibid., c. 130. Sism., viii. 496.

ally and his wife, as he had deprived him of Guienne. The count, indeed, escaped in the sequel; but the girl died, to the great regret of Philip, whose interest it was to keep such a hostage, and who was accused of having caused her death.

Edward imagined he had banded the world together against his perfidious enemy. The Emperor Adolf of Nassau, a poor petty prince notwithstanding his title, would gladly have made war in Edward's pay, as formerly Otho of Brunswick did for John, and afterwards Maximilian for Henry VIII., at a hundred crowns a day. The counts of Savoy, Auxerre, Montbelliard, Neuchâtel, Hainault, and Gueldres, the Duke of Brabant, the bishops of Liege and Utrecht, and the Archbishop of Cologne all promised to attack Philip, all received English noney, and all remained quiet except the Count of Bar. Edward payed them to act; Philip payed them to be still.

Thus was the war carried on without noise or battle. It was a contest of corruption, a battle of money, to decide who should be ruined the first. It was necessary to give with both hands to friends and foes. Weak and miserable were the resources of the kings of those days to supply such outgoings. Edward and Philip it is true, expelled the Jews and kept their property.* But the Jew is a slippery creature, and is not easily to be caught. He stole away from France and found means to carry something with him. The King of France who had Italian bankers for ministers, bethought him, doubtless at their suggestion, of putting the screw on the Italians, the Lombards, who throve on the marrow of France, and were a variety as it were of the species Jew. Then in order still more surely to get something out of all that was bought and sold, the king made trial for the first time of that wretched means so much employed in the fourteenth century—debasing the coinage.† This was an easy and tacit impost, a bankruptcy committed in secret, at least in the beginning. But soon every body took advantage of it, every one paid his debts in debased coin. The king gained less by this scheme than the multitude of unprincipled debtors, and at last recourse was had to a more direct measure, the universal imposition of the *maltôte*.‡

This ugly name invented by the people was boldly adopted by the king himself. It was a last means, an invention whereby if there yet remained any substance, any little matter to suck from the marrow of the people, it could be come at. But it was to no purpose that the government pressed and wrung, so dry was the patient that the new machine could scarcely squeeze any thing out of him. The King of England was not more successful in extracting any thing from his own subjects. His distress made him desperate, and in one of his parliaments he was seen to shed tears.

Between this ravenously hungry king and this bare-boned peo-

* Edward, in 1289. Philip, in 1290.
† Leblanc, Traité des Monnaies, p. 202.
‡ Guill. Nangiac, ann. 1296, p. 51.

ple, there was, however, a rich somebody, and that was the Church. Archbishops and bishops, canons and monks, old monks of St. Benedict, and new monks called mendicants, all were rich and vied with each other in opulence. All this tonsured world throve on the blessings of heaven and the fatness of the earth. It was a prosperous little people, corpulent and ruddy, in the midst of the great famishing people that began to look askance on it.

The German bishops were princes and levied armies. The Church of England possessed, it is said, half the lands in the island. It had, in 1337, a revenue of 740,000 marks. At this day, it is true, the Archbishop of Canterbury receives but 1,200,000 francs a year, and the Archbishop of York 800,000. When the Restoration was preparing the expedition to Spain, in 1822, it became known that the Archbishop of Toledo caused a daily distribution of soup to be made to 10,000 persons at the gates of his farms and palaces, and the Archbishop of Seville did the same for 6000 recipients of his charity.*

The confiscation of the Church was the cherished thought of kings from the thirteenth century, the principal cause of their struggles with the popes; the only difference is that the Protestants took what the Catholics contrived to have given them. Henry VIII. employed schism, Francis I. the concordat.

The question, then, in the fourteenth century was, which of the two, the king or the Church, was thenceforth to have the usufruct of France. Already when Philip imposed on the people the terrible *maltôte* tax, when he debased the coinage, when he robbed the Lombards, the subjects or bankers of the Holy See, he smote Rome directly or indirectly, ruined her, and cut off her provisions. †

Boniface at last retaliated. In 1296, by his bull, *Clericis laïcos*, he declared excommunicated, *ipso facto*, any priest who should pay, or layman who should exact subvention, loan, or gift, without the authority of the Holy See, and that without any exception of rank or privilege whatsoever. He thus annulled an important privilege of our kings, who even though excommunicated as kings, might always hear mass and communicate in their own chapels with closed doors.

At the same time, under pretext of war with England, Philip

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* I could hardly believe this number correct, if it had not been affirmed in my presence by the very minister who had caused these inquiries to be made.—We may add, that one of the convents lately suppressed in Madrid (San Salvador), had an income of 2,000,000 francs, and only one monk.

† Edward I. went to work in this matter more roughly still. On the refusal of the clergy to pay a tax, he put them in a manner out of the pale of the law, letting loose the soldiers against the priests, and forbidding the judges to receive the complaints made by the latter. Knyghton, iii. 2502. Math. Westmon., ann. 1296, p. 429. Sism., viii. 515.—Philip the Fair at least preserved an outward show of decency: "As what is given is better and more agreeable to God and man than what is exacted, we exhort your charity to give us this aid of the double tithe or fifth." Preuves des libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane, ii. 235.

prohibited the export from the country of money, arms, &c. This was a blow that told much more on Rome than on England.

Nothing could be more mystically haughty, more paternally hostile than the bull in reply: "The Church united to Christ her spouse in the sweetness of an ineffable love, has received the most ample gifts and graces, especially the gift of liberty. It has pleased Him that His adorable spouse should reign as a mother over the faithful peoples. Who then but will dread to offend or provoke her? Who will dare in opposition to her God and Lord to invalidate the ecclesiastical liberties? Under what buckler will he lurk so that the hammer of the power on high shall not reduce him to dust and ashes? . . . . O, my son, turn not away thine ear from the paternal voice, &c."

He then presses the king to examine his situation carefully: "Thou hast not prudently considered the regions and kingdoms that surround thine own, the inclinations of those who govern them, nor perhaps the feelings of thy subjects in the various parts of thy dominions. Lift up thine eyes, look round thee, and reflect. Consider that the kingdoms of the Romans, the English, and of Spain, surround thee on all sides; think of their power, and the valour and multitude of their inhabitants, and thou wilt easily perceive that this was not the time, this was not the day to offend both us and the Church by such goadings . . . Judge for thyself what must have been the feelings of the Holy See, when in those very days in which we were engaged in examining and discussing the miracles attributed to the invocation of thy grandfather of glorious memory, thou didst send us such gifts as provoke the wrath of God, and merit I say not alone our indignation, but that of the Church herself. . . . . .

"When did thy ancestors, or thyself, ever have recourse to this see without your petition being hearkened to? And if a serious necessity again threatened thy kingdom, not only would the Holy See grant thee the subventions of prelates and other ecclesiastical persons, but if need were, it would lay its hands on the chalices, crosses, and sacred vessels, rather than not effectually defend a kingdom which is dear to the Holy See, and which has long been devoted to it . . . We, therefore, exhort thy royal serenity, we pray and entreat it to receive the medicaments offered thee by a fatherly hand, to acquiesce in counsels salutary for thee and for thy kingdom, to correct thy errors and not suffer thy soul to be seduced by a false contagion. Preserve our good-will and that of the Holy See, preserve a good fame among men, and force us not to have recourse to other remedies, to remedies of an unusual kind; even should justice force us to them and make it our duty to use them, we should do so with regret, and in our own despite."*

These solemn words of mingled gentleness and menace were cal-

* Dupuy, Différ., pp. 17—19.

culated to make an impression. No pontiff had up to this time been more partial to our kings than Boniface. The house of France had made him pope it is true; but in return he made it queen as far as lay in his power. He had called Charles of Valois into Italy, and until such time as the Latin empire of Constantinople should devolve upon him, he had created him Count of Romagna, Captain of the patrimony of St. Peter, and Lord of the March of Ancona. He had procured the throne of Hungary for the French princes, and done all he could to seat them on the imperial throne and on that of Castile. In 1298, being accepted as arbiter between the kings of France and England, he tried to reconcile them by marriages, and he postponed by a provisional sentence the restitutions due by Philip to the English monarch.

The papacy, stricken with the decrepitude of age as it already was, still appeared as the general arbiter of the world. Boniface VIII. had been called on to judge between France and England, England and Scotland, Naples and Aragon, the emperors Adolf of Nassau and Albert of Austria. Had not the pope motives enough for self-illusion as to his real strength?

His infatuation was at its height when, in the year 1300, Boniface promised remission of sins to all those who should come and visit for thirty days the churches of the holy apostles. This jubilee resembled both that of the Jews and the secular festivals of heathen Rome. We know that the Mosaic jubilee, recurring every fifty years, was to restore liberty to the slave, and alienated lands to the first possessor; it was to annul history and undo time, so to speak, in the name of the one Eternal Being. Old Rome, with wholly different views, borrowed the doctrine of Ages * from the Etruscans; but it was not with the intention of thereby recognising the changeable nature of this world and the mortality of empires: Rome believed herself God, deemed herself as immortal as she was invincible, and solemnised her own eternity at each returning century.

Faith was still great in the year 1300. The multitude that flocked to Rome was prodigious.† Pilgrims were counted by hundreds of thousands, and soon they were past counting. Neither the houses nor the churches were adequate to contain them; they encamped in the streets and squares, under coverings thrown up in haste, under tents, cloths, and the canopy of heaven. One would have said that the fulness of time was accomplished, and that the human race was assembled before its judge in the valley of Jehoshaphat.

To be able to picture to oneself this prodigious spectacle, one must see Rome, fallen as she is, during the holy week, in the glorious festival of Easter. On those great days one almost forgets that this is, indeed, unhappy Rome, the widow of two antiquities.

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* See Michelet's Hist. Romaine.

† To such a degree that famine ensued. See the work of St. George, Boniface's nephew, De Jubilæo in Bibl. max. Patrum, xxv. 936.

Whatever was the motive that actuated Boniface VIII., whether fiscal or political, I bear him no grudge for this fine invention of the jubilee. Thousands of human beings I am sure have thanked him for it in their hearts. Who but would gladly have it in his power thus to set up a stone on the path of time, to find a halting-place in his life between his regrets for the past and his hopes of a better, and less regrettable future? Who would not fain pause in ascending the steep so wearisome to the climber, and take breath for a little space at noon, *Nel mezzo cammin' di nostra vita?* We have great need of a half-way resting-place, a station, a jubilee.

And why should we mock those simple ages that thought one might escape evil by change of place, travel from sin to holiness, and leave the devil behind with the garment doffed to put on that of the pilgrim? Is it not something to escape from local influences, from daily habits, to transport oneself to another country, and to make acquaintance with a new life? Is there not a mischievous power of infatuation and blindness in those places that captivate the heart, whether they be the Charmettes of Jean Jacques, or Byron's Pine Forest, or that lake of Aix-la-Chapelle, with the charms of which tradition tells that Charlemagne was bewitched?

Let us not be surprised that our forefathers were so fond of pilgrimages and attributed a regenerating virtue to remote sanctuaries. "The hoary old man departs from the places where he has fulfilled his calling in life, and from his alarmed family that see themselves deprived of a beloved father. Old, weak, and scant of breath, he drags himself along as he can, supporting himself with his zeal, all broken down as he is with years and the toilsome way. He comes to Rome, there to behold the semblance of Him whom he hopes yet to see in heaven."*

But some there are who never reach their journey's end, but fall by the way. Most of our readers will here call to mind Robert's little picture of the Roman female pilgrim seated in the arid champagne; she sees neither her own bleeding feet nor her babe thirsty and fainting on her lap, provided she can reach the blessed hill that rises afar on the horizon. *Monte di gioia!*

And when the goal in view is Rome, when at the commencement of a new century, at the solemn moment in which strikes an hour of the world's existence, the pilgrim reaches the great city and sees and touches those monuments and ancient tombs, before known to him only by fame; then, beholding in himself the contemporary of all ages, of the consuls and of the martyrs, having from station to station, from the Coliseum to the Capitol and the Pantheon, lived again through all history, having seen every death and every ruin, he departs and turns his steps again towards his native land and the graves of his fathers, but with less regret, and fully comforted and reconciled beforehand with the thought of death.

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* Petrarca, sonn. 14.

The Church, like the thousands who visited her, found in this jubilee of the year 1300 the sublime and culminating point of her historic life. Then began her descent. In the very multitude assembled in the apostolic city were the formidable men who were about to begin a new world; some of them cold and unpitying statesmen, like the historian John Villani; others sad at heart and superb, like Dante, for he too went to keep his jubilee. The pope had summoned all the living to Rome; the poet invoked all the dead in his comedy, he passed in review the world that had ended, classed, and judged it. The middle ages and antiquity appeared before his bar. Nothing was hidden. The secret of the sanctuary was uttered and profaned. The seal was carried off and broken; it has never been found again. The middle ages had lived; life is a mystery which perishes in the revealing. The revelation was the Divina Commedia, the Cathedral of Cologne, and the paintings of the Campo Santo of Pisa. Thus did art terminate and close a civilisation, crown it, and lay it gloriously in the grave.

Let us not accuse the pope if that octogenarian, of old an attorney, and versed in shuffling tricks and most prosaic intrigues,* suffered himself to be infected by the grandeur and the poetry of that moment in which he saw the human race assembled in Rome, and on their knees before him. There is, moreover, a sombre power to bewilder the mind in this tragic city. The sovereigns of Rome, her emperors, have often appeared as madmen; and even Cola Rienzi, the son of a washerwoman, when he became tribune of Rome in the fourteenth century, did he not point with his sword towards the three parts of the globe, saying, "That is mine, and that, and that?"

With still stronger reason did the pope believe himself master of the world. When Albert of Austria made himself emperor by the death of Adolf of Nassau, the indignant Boniface put the crown on his own head, snatched up a sword, and exclaimed: "It is I who am Cæsar; it is I who am emperor; it is I who will defend the rights of the Empire." In the jubilee of 1300, he appeared in the midst of that multitude of all nations with the imperial insignia, had the sword, the sceptre, and the globe carried before him, and a herald shouted as he marched along: "There are here two swords; Peter, thou seest here thy successor; and thou, O Christ, behold thy vicar!" Thus did he expound the meaning of the two swords, that were in the place where our Lord ate the last supper with his apostles.

This overweening presumption in the head of the Church could not but perpetuate the war between the two powers, ecclesiastical and civil. The conflict which seemed terminated with the house of Swabia, was resumed by that of France. It was a war of ideas, not

* Hic longo tempore experientiam habuit curiæ, quia primo advocatus ibidem, inde factus postea notarius papæ, postea cardinalis, et inde in cardanilatu expeditor ad casus Collegii declarandos, seu ad exteros respondendos. Muratori, xi. 1103.

of persons, of necessity not of will. The pious Louis IX. began it, the sacrilegious Philip IV. continued it.

"To recognise two powers and two principles," says Boniface, in his magnificent bull *Unam sanctam,* "is to be a heretic and a Manichean." But the world is born Manichean, and will die so; it will always feel within itself the conflict of the two principles. However, we may wish not to believe in this duality, still we find it everywhere, and nowhere more than in ourselves. *What seekest thou? Peace.* This has ever been the language of the world for the 6000 or 8000 years that there has been a world. But man is and always will be twofold; he will always have within him both the pope and the emperor.*

Peace! it consists undoubtedly in harmony; but from age to age it has been sought in unity. In the second century, St. Irenæus wrote against the Gnostics his book *De Monarchia*, on the unity of the principle of the world. This is also the title of Dante's treatise, *De Monarchia*, on the unity of the social world.†

Dante's book is a strange one. Its theme is peace, as a condition of development,' peace under a sole monarch. That monarch possessing every thing, can have nothing to desire, and thence he cannot sin. What produces evil is concupiscence; but what room is there for desire where possession is unlimited? How can concupiscence exist under such conditions?‡ Such is Dante's argument. Admitting it were conclusive, it would remain to be proved that this ideal condition could be realised, next, that it is realised in the Roman people;§ and thirdly, that the Roman people had transferred its sovereignty to the Emperor of Germany.

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* Cum omnis natura ad ultimum quemdam finem ordinetur, consequitur ut hominis duplex finis existat; ut sicut inter omnia entia solus incorruptibilitatem et corruptibilitatem participat, sic.... Propter quod opus fuit homini duplici directivo, secundum duplicem finem: scilicet summo pontifice, qui secundum revelata humanum genus produceret ad vitam æternam; et imperatore qui secundum philosophica documenta genus humanum ad temporalem felicitatem dirigeret. Dante, De Monarchia, p. 78, edit. Zatta.

† Dante, De Monarchia, iv., p. 2. The publisher has put the imperial eagle on the title page with this motto:

E sotto l'ombra delle sacre penne,
Governò 'l mondo lì di mano in mano.—Parod. vi. 7.

‡ Notandum quod justitiæ maxime contrariatur cupiditas... ..Ubi non est quod possit optari, impossibile est ibi cupiditatem esse..... Sed monarcha non habet quod possit optare. Sua namque juridictio terminatur Oceano solum, p. 17.—He then proves that charity and universal freedom are conditional on the existence of this monarchy.—O genus humanum, quantis procellis et jacturis quantisque naufragiis agitari te necesse est, dum bellua multorum capitum factum, in diversa conaris, intellectu ægrotas utroque similiter et affectu.....cum per tubam sancti spiritus tibi effletur: Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum. Dante, De Monarchia, p. 27.

§ He proves this to be so, first, by the origin of Romulus, who was descended both from Europe and Atlas (Africa). Quem in illo duplici concursu sanguinis a qualibet mundi parte in unum virum prædestinatio latebit? Secondly, by the miracles God wrought for Rome: *e.g.* Numa's ancilia, the geese of the Capitol,

The book is a fine Ghibelline epitaph upon the German Empire: the Empire in 1300 is no longer exclusively Germany; it is every empire, every monarchy; it is the civil power in every country, particularly in France. The two adversaries are now the Church and the eldest son of the Church. On both sides there are boundless pretensions; two infinities are confronted together. The king, if he is not the only king, is at least the greatest in the world, and the most revered, too, ever since St. Louis. Eldest son of the Church, he aspires to be older than his mother: "Before there were clerks in existence," he says, "the King of France had the keeping of his own realm."*

The quarrel had been already stirred with respect to the property of the Church; but there were other motives of irritation; Boniface had decided between Philip and Edward, not as a friend and as a private individual, but as a pope. The Count of Artois, incensed at the pontiff's partiality for the Flemings, snatched the bull out of the legate's hands, and threw it into the fire. Boniface, in retaliation, favoured Albert of Austria against Charles of Valois, who pretended to the imperial crown. Philip, on his part, seized the *regalia* of Laon, Poitiers, and Reims, and harboured Boniface's mortal foes, the Colonna, those rude Ghibellines, those leaders of brigands against the popes.

The explosion took place on the subject of an ill-gotten property, for which the pope and the king had contended for a century; I mean that blood-stained booty, Languedoc. Boniface VIII. paid the penalty for Innocent III. The homage of Narbonne, rendered directly to the king by the viscount, was vehemently claimed by the archbishop (1300). The latter would have been willing to compromise the matter, but the pope threatened him with excommunication if he negotiated without the permission of the Holy See. He cited the king's liegeman to Rome, and moreover threatened Philip if he did not desist from the county of Melgueil, of which his officers were despoiling the church of Maguelone.†

This was not all: the pope had, in spite of Philip, created in this dangerous Languedoc, in the near neighbourhood of the Count of Foix and the King of Aragon, a new bishopric, that of Pamiers, out of part of the diocese of Toulouse, and he had bestowed it on a man of his own, Bernard de Saisset. It was this very Saisset he sent to the king to remind him of his promise to go on the crusade, and to summon him to set the Count of Flanders and his daughter at liberty. Words like these were not to be said with impunity to Philip the Fair.

This Saisset, who spoke so boldly, had been already pointed out

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&c.; thirdly, by the kindness Rome evinced towards the world, in condescending to conquer it, &c. Ibid.

* Antequam essent clerici, rex Franciæ habebat custodiam regni sui, et poterat statuta facere. Dupuy, Pr., p. 178.

† Dupuy, Différ., p. 9.

to the king by the Bishop of Toulouse as the author of a vast plot, which would have wrested the whole South from the French. Saisset belonged to the family of the old viscounts of Toulouse.* He was the friend of all the distinguished men, of all the municipal nobility of that great city.† He dreamed of founding a kingdom of Languedoc,‡ in favour of the Count of Foix, or of the Count of Comminges, the descendant of the Raymonds of Toulouse, so much regretted by their old subjects.§

These great lords of the South had neither the forces, the love of country, nor the lofty courage, which such an enterprise demanded. The Count of Comminges crossed himself on hearing such daring schemes proposed. "This Saisset," said he, "is no man, but a devil."‖ The Count of Foix behaved still more vilely. He received Saisset's confidential communications, and betrayed them to the king through the Bishop of Toulouse.¶ Through him it was known that Saisset undertook to ask the King of Aragon, who he said was his friend, to bestow his daughter on the son of the Count of Foix.** He had said too, "The French will never do any good, but rather mischief, to the country."†† He would not settle the disputes of his bishopric with the Count of Foix, unless that lord would come to terms with the counts of Armagnac and Comminges, and thus bring the whole country under his influence.

Some smart sayings against the king were attributed to Saisset. "Your King of France," he said, "is a false coiner; his money is nothing but dirt. . . . This Philippe *le Bel* is neither a man, nor even a beast; he is an image, and nothing more.‡‡ . . . . 'The birds,' says the fable, 'took for their king the *duc*, a large and handsome bird indeed, but the most worthless of all. The pie one day com-

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* Quod antiquitus erat Comes et Vicecomes Tholosæ, et quia ipse erat de genere Vicecomitis, qui dictus Vicecomes dominabatur in certa parte civitatis Tholosæ. Dupuy, Différ., 640.

† Quia omnes meliores homines de Tholosa sunt de parentela nostra et faciunt quidquid nos voluerimus. Ibid., 643.

‡ Audivit dictum Episcopum Appam. Comiti Fuxi dicentem: Faciatis pacem mecum, et vos habebitis civitatem Appam. et eritis rex quia antiquitus solebat ibi esse Regnum adeo nobile sicut Regnum Franciæ, et postea ego faciam quod vos eritis Comes Tholosæ, quia in civitate Tholosæ et in terra habeo multos amicos, valde nobiles et valde potentes. Ibid., 645. See also witness i., p. 633., and xiv., p. 640.

§ Ipse episcopus semper dilexerat comitem Convenarum et totum genus suum, et specialeter quia erat ex parte una de recta linea comitis Tholosani, et quod gentes totius terræ diligebant dictum comitem ex causa prædicta. Ibid., witness xvii., p. 642.

‖ Quibus auditis dictus comes signavit se dicens: Iste non est homo, sed diabolus. Dupuy, Différ., pp. 644—650; deposition of the count himself, which comprises all the griefs attested by the others.

¶ This Bishop of Toulouse was detested in his diocese as a Frenchman, and speaking a language different from that of the country.....Quia est de linguæ quæ inimicatur linguæ nostræ ab antiquo. Ibid., 643.

** Ibid., witness i., p. 634.

†† Ibid., 645.

‡‡ Ibid., witness xxii., p. 648, and xxiii. 649.

plained to the king of the hawk, and the king made no reply (*nisi quod flavit*).' Such is your King of France; he is the handsomest man in the world, but he can do nothing but look at folks.* . . . . The world is now all but dead and destroyed through the wickedness of that court.† . . . . But St. Louis more than once told me, that royalty would become extinct in France in him who is the tenth king from Hugh Capet."‡

Two commissioners sent by Philip, a layman and a priest, having come to Languedoc to act against Saisset, he felt his danger, and thought to escape to Rome; but the king's men did not allow him time. They seized him at night in his bed, and carried him to Paris with his servants, who were put to the torture. At the same time, the king sent to the pope, not for the purpose of excusing himself for having violated the privileges of the Church, but to demand the bishop's degradation before he put him to death. The king's letter breathes a strange thirst for blood: "The king requests the sovereign pontiff to apply such remedy, and to exercise the right of his office in such sort, that this man of death (*dictus vir mortis*), whose life defiles even the place in which he dwells, be by him deprived of all orders, and stripped of all clerical privileges, and that the lord king be enabled to make, by way of justice, an excellent sacrifice to God of this traitor to God and man, of this man plunged deep in wickedness, hardened, and beyond hope of correction. He is so perverse, that all the elements ought to fail him in death, since he offends God and all creatures."§

The pope claimed the bishop, formally suspended the privilege which the kings of France possessed, of not being liable to excommunication, and convoked the clergy of France to Rome for the 1st of November in the year following. Lastly, he addressed to the king the bull *Ausculta fili:* "Hearken, my son, to the counsels of an affectionate father." The pope began with these offensive words, of which his adversaries knew how to take advantage: "God has constituted us, unworthy though we be, above kings and kingdoms, imposing on us the yoke of apostolic servitude, to pluck up, destroy, disperse, and scatter, and to edify and plant in his name and by his doctrine."‖ In other respects, the bull was a recapitulation, in a fatherly form, of all the griefs of the pope and the Church.

The chancellor, Pierre Flotte, undertook to convey the answer to the pope. It was to this effect: that the king would not let his prisoner

* Aves antiquitus fecerunt regem, ut narratur in fabulis, et fecerunt regem de quadam ave vocata *duc*, quæ est magna et inter aves major et pulchrior, et absolute nihil valet, imo est vilior avis quam sit.....Talis rex Franciæ, quod erat pulchrior homo mundi, et nihil aliud scit facere nisi respicere homines. Dupuy, Différ., p. 643.

† Ibid., witness xxii., p. 648.

‡ Ibid., p. 633, and witness xxi., p. 648. See also p. 651.

§ Ibid., p. 633. A pedantic imitation of a passage in Cicero's speech, Pro Roscio Amerino, on the punishment for parricide.

‖ Preuves du Différend, pp. 48—52.

go, that he would deliver him only for safe keeping to the Archbishop of Narbonne; that gold and silver should no longer be exported out of France; and, that the prelates should not go to Rome. It was a sore insult to the pope, still in the glow and pride of his jubilee, when the paltry one-eyed advocate* stood before him and spoke so freely. The altercation was violent; the pope took a high tone. "My power," said he, "includes both." Pierre Flotte responded with a *distinguo*, "Yes, but your power is verbal, that of the king, real."† Nogaret, the Gascon, who had come with Pierre Flotte, could not contain himself, but spoke with the violence and passion of the South on the abuses of the pontifical court, and even on the pope's own conduct.‡ Thus they left Rome, with their professional hatred to priests exasperated to rage, having outraged the pope, and being certain of destruction if they did not anticipate him.

In order to stir up every one against Boniface, it was necessary to deduce a few propositions, very clear and very shocking, from the sugary verbosity in which the pontifical court loved to envelop its thoughts. They therefore fabricated between them a coarse and uncourteous little bull, in which the pope expressed his pretensions in the most unvarnished manner. At the same time, they gave currency to a spurious reply to the spurious bull, in which the king addressed the pope with all the violence and rudeness of the populace. This reply was, of course, not intended to be sent to the pope; but it was to produce two effects. In the first place, it debased the most holy power, which could be thus with impunity bespattered with mud; and, next, it showed that the king felt himself strong, a feeling which helps to make one strong in reality.

"Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Philip, King of the Franks: fear God, and keep his commandments. We desire thee to know that thou art subject to us in temporals as well as in spirituals; that the collation of benefices and prebends belongs not to thee; that if thou hast the keeping of vacant benefices, it is for the purpose of reserving the fruits thereof to the next incumbents; that if thou hast conferred any of them, we declare that collation invalid, and we revoke it if executed, declaring heretics all those who think otherwise. Given at the Lateran, the nones of December, in the seventh year of our pontificate." This is the date of the bull *Ausculta fili.*§

"Philip, by the grace of God, King of the French, to Boniface, who gives himself out for pope, little or no greeting. Let thy very great fatuity know, that we are not subject to any one in temporals; that the collation of vacant churches and prebends belongs to us by royal right; that the fruits thereof belong to us; that the collations

* Belial ille, Petrus Flote, semividens corpore, menteque totaliter excœcatus. Boniface's bull to the prelates of France. Dupuy, Pr., 65.

† Dupuy, Hist. du Différ., p. 11.

‡ Ibid.

§ Dupuy, Preuves du Différ., p. 44.

made, and to be made by us, are valid for the past and for the future; that we will maintain our possessions with all our might, and that we regard as fools and madmen all who shall believe otherwise."

These strange words, which a century before would have roused all Europe in arms against the king, were well received by the noblesse and the people of the towns. A further step was then taken; the noblesse were directly compromised with the pope. On the 11th of February, 1302, in presence of the king, and of a multitude of lords and knights, and in the midst of the people of Paris, the little bull was burned, and this execution was afterwards proclaimed by sound of trumpet all over the city.* Yet another two hundred years, and a German monk will do, of his own private authority, what Pierre Flotte and Nogaret now do in the name of the King of France.

But it was necessary to implicate the whole nation in the quarrel. An unusual step was taken. The pope had convoked the prelates to Rome for the 1st of November; the king, on his part, convoked the estates for the 10th of April: not as of yore, the estates of the clergy and the nobles; not the estates of the South, as assembled by St. Louis; but the estates of the South and of the North; the estates of the three orders, clergy, noblesse, and bourgeoisie of the towns. These estates general of Philip le Bel, constitute the national era of France, her act of birth. She was thus baptised in the basilica of Notre Dame, where these first estates assembled. Just as in the times of Gregory VII. and Alexander III., the Holy See had relied on the people, so now the enemy of the Holy See called the people to his aid. These bourgeois, mayors, syndics, and consuls of towns, in however humble guise they come forward, at first, to repeat the words of the king and the nobles, are, nevertheless, the first apparition of the people in state affairs.

Pierre Flotte opened the estates (April 10, 1302) in a bold and skilful manner. He attacked the first words of the bull *Ausculta fili:* "God has constituted us above kings and kingdoms." Then he asked, could the French without dastardy endure that their realm, always free and independent, should be thus put in vassalage under the pope. This was adroitly confounding moral and religious, with political dependence, touching the most sensitive fibre of feudalism, and rousing the disdain of the warrior for the priest. The impetuous Comte d'Artois, who had snatched the bull *Ausculta* out of the legate's hands and torn it, stood up and said, that if it suited the king to endure or to wink at the pope's enterprises, the

* Dupuy, Preuves du Différ., p. 59. Fuerunt litteræ ejus (papæ) in Regno Franciæ coram pluribus concrematæ, et sine honore remissi nuntii. Chron. Rothomagense, ann. 1302; and Appendix Annalium H. Steronis Altahensis. The MS. cited by Dupuy (Preuv. du Différ., 59), and which he alone has seen, is not, therefore, as M. de Sismondi states, the only authority for this fact. (See Sism., ix. 88.)

lords, for their part, would not endure them.* This palpable flattery, under the guise of plain-speaking, was applauded by the nobles. At the same time they were made to sign and seal a letter in the vulgar tongue, addressed, not to the pope, but the cardinals. The letter had probably been prepared beforehand, under the chancellor's directions, for it is dated the 10th of April, the very day the estates assembled. In this long epistle the lords, after wishing the cardinals "continual increase of charity, love, and all good adventures, to their hearts' content," declare, that as for the damages which "he who is at present in the seat of the government of the Church, declares to have been done by the king," they will not, "neither they nor the universities, nor the people of the realm, have correction or amendment, through other than through the said our lord the king." They accuse "him who at present sits in the seat of government of the Church," of drawing much money from the conference and collation of the archbishops, bishops, and other beneficiaries, "so that the same peoples who are subject unto them, are burdened and put to extortion. Nor can the prelates give their benefices *to the noble* clerks, and others well-born and well-lettered of their dioceses, *by whose ancestors the churches were founded.*"† The lords assuredly put their signatures with right good will to this last phrase, in which the skilful author of the composition insinuated that the benefices founded by their ancestors ought to be given to the younger scions of their families, or to their creatures, as has been the practice in England, especially since the Reformation. This served to connect with the pope's defeat, the restoration of those possessions of which the lords had divested themselves in favour of the Church, in the ages of religious fervour.‡

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* Dupuy, Hist. du Différ., p. 12.

† Dupuy, Preuves, p. 60—62.

‡ The letter added in the name of the nobles: "And if it were so that we or any of us were willing to suffer it, never would our said lord the king, or the common people of the said realm suffer it: and with great dolour and great mischief we do you to know by the tenour of these letters, that these are not things which please God, nor ought they to please any man of good intent, nor ever did such things enter the heart of man, nor ever before were, or were looked for to happen, save with Antichrist.... Wherefore we pray and request you as affectionately as we can... let that ill-will which has been moved be cast away and destroyed, and let the excesses which have become customary be chastised in such a manner, that the state of Christendom be and remain sound and in good plight, and of these things do us to know your will and intention by the bearer of these letters: for to this end we send specially to you, and we would have you be certain that neither for life nor for death will we desist from this proceeding, not even though the king our lord were willing thereto.... And forasmuch as it would be too long and cumbrous a thing if each of us were to put his seal to these present letters, done with our common consent, we Loys, son of the King of France, Cuens (Count) de Evreux; Robert, Cuens d'Artois; Robert, Dux de Bourgoigne; Jean, Dux de Bretaine; Terry, Dux de Lorraine; Jean, Cuens de Hainaut et de Hollande; Henry, Cuens de Luxembourg; Guis, Cuens de S. Pol; Jean, Cuens de Dreux; Hugues, Cuens de la Marche; Robert, Cuens de Bouloigne; Loys, Cuens de Nivers et de Retel; Jean, Cuens d'Eu;

The letter of the bourgeois was modelled on that of the nobles, if we may judge from the reply of the cardinals; but it has not been preserved; whether it was that no one deigned to make any account of it, or that it was feared the lowest of the three orders might at some future time take advantage of the bold language it had been allowed to hold on this occasion.

The letter of the members of the clergy is in a very different tone of mildness and moderation. In the first place, it is addressed to the pope: Sanctissimo patri et domino suo carissimo. They set forth the king's griefs, and assert his independence as to temporals. They have done all they could to appease him, and have entreated his permission to go and prostrate themselves at the feet of his Apostolic Beatitude; but they have received answer from the king and the barons, that they cannot be permitted in anywise to quit the realm. They are bound to the king by their oath of allegiance, to the preservation of his person, his honours, and immunities, and to that of the rights of the realm; *the more so, as many among them hold duchies, counties, baronies, and other fiefs.** Lastly, in this extreme necessity they have recourse to the providence of his holiness, "with words full of tears and sobs, mingled with weeping, imploring his fatherly clemency," &c.†

This letter, so different from the other, nevertheless contains, as well as the former, the grand grief of the noblesse: "The prelates have no longer aught to give, nor even aught to *render back*, to the nobles *whose ancestors founded the churches.*‡

Whilst the conflict with the pope was thus beginning, news of a great and terrible event added new complications to the perplexities of the moment. The estates had assembled on the 10th of April; but on the 21st of March (1302) the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers had been repeated in Bruges. Four thousand Frenchmen had been slaughtered in that city.

Bernard, Cuens de Comminges; Jean, Cuens d'Aubmarle; Jean, Cuens de Fores; Valeran, Cuens de Perigors; Jean, Cuens de Joigny; J., Cuens d'Auxerre; Aymars de Poitiers, Cuens de Valentinois; Estennes, Cuens de Sancerre; Renault, Cuens de Montbeliart; Enjorrant, Sire de Coucy; Godefroy de Breban; Raoul de Clermont, Connestable de France; Jean, Sire de Chastiauvilain; Jourdain, Sire de Lille; Jean de Chalon, Sire Darlay; Guillaume de Chaveigny, Sire de Chastiau Raoul; Richars, Sire de Beaujeu; and Amaurry, Vicuens de Narbonne, have put by request, both in our own names, and for all the others, our seals to these present letters. Given at Paris, the 10th day of April, in the year of grace 1302."

* Prout quidam nostrum qui ducatus, comitatus, baronias, feoda, et alia membri dicti Regni tenemus....adessemus eidem debitis consiliis et auxiliis opportunis ....Cognoscentes quod excrescunt angustiæ cum jam abhorreant laïci et prorsus effugiant consortia clericorum. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 70.

† The letter is dated in March, that is to say, probably antedated. "Datum Parisiis die Martis prædicta" (the aforesaid day of March)—and no day is previously named. But they did not wish to date from the king's assembly, not having repaired to the pope's.

‡ Et prælati dum non habent quid pro meritis tribuant, imo retribuant, nobilibus, quorum progenitores ecclesias fundaverunt, et aliis litteratis personis, non inveniunt servitores. Dupuy, Preuves, 69.

The noblesse were all collected in the estates; nothing was requisite but to let them mount and away to Flanders, flushed with anger, as they already were, and puffed up with feudal pride, and to make them gain one good battle over the Flemings, which would have been a victory over the pope. Pierre Flotte, who was so deeply interested in the cause, could not lose sight of the king; so for all he was chancellor, and a "man of the long robe," he took horse with the rest.

The Flemings, who had called in the French, had paid dearly for so doing; the mutual ill-will of both nations broke out the very first day. Edward having left the count to his own resources, in order to make head against Wallace, the French drove him from fortress to fortress, and persuaded him to surrender himself to Philip, who would use him well. The good usage he received was, to be sent back to his prison in the Louvre, where his daughter had already died.

The King of the French had only to take peaceable possession of Flanders. He did not himself suspect the importance of his conquest. When he went, accompanied with his queen, to see those opulent and famous towns, Ghent and Bruges, they were dazzled and amazed by what they beheld. The Flemings flocked to meet them in countless multitudes, curious to see a king. They came well clad,* buxom and stout, loaded with heavy chains of gold. They thought to do honour and pleasure to their new sovereign; but it was quite the reverse. The queen could not pardon the men, and still less the women, for flaunting in so much bravery. "Here," she said, with vexation, "I see none but queens."†

The royal governor, Châtillon, made it his task to cure them of this pride, this insolent wealth. He took from them their municipal elections, and the management of their own affairs; thereby he set the rich against him. Then he struck at the poor, imposing a tax of one-fourth on the daily wages of the workmen. The Frenchman, habituated to the practice of tormenting our petty communes, knew not how hazardous a thing it was to stir up those prodigious ant-hills, those formidable hornets' nests of Flanders. The crowned lion of Ghent that sleeps in the Virgin's lap,‡ slept ill, and often awoke. Roland's bell rang oftener for riot than for fire. *Roland! Roland! when I toll 'tis for fire! when I peal, 'tis for the rising!*§

It was not difficult to foresee the issue. The people began to

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* Tricolori vestitu.... Primates inter se dissidentes duos habebant colores, multitudo addidit tertium. Meyer, ann. 1301, p. 89.

† Ego rata sum solam me esse Reginam; at hic sexcentas conspicio. Meyer, ann. 1301, p. 89.

‡ Hodie quoque pro symbolo urbis Virgo sepimento ligneo clausa, cujus in sinu Leo cum Flandriæ labaro cubat. Sandarus, Gandav., Rer., i. 51.

§ This was the inscription on the bell:

Roelandt, Roelandt, als ick kleppe, dan ist Brandt,
Als ick luye, dan ist Storm in Vlaenderlandt.—Ibid., ii. 115.

whisper, and congregate at dusk.* It was but twenty years since the Sicilian Vespers had occurred. At first thirty heads of trades waited on Châtillon, and complained that payment was not made for the works ordered by the king.† The great lord, accustomed to the rights of *corvée* and purveyance, considered remonstrance insolent, and had them arrested. The people took up arms, and rescued them, to the great dismay of the rich, who declared for the king's men. The affair was brought before the parliament. Here was the parliament of Paris, sitting in judgment on Flanders, as just before it had done by the King of England.

The parliament decided that the heads of trades should go back to prison. Among these heads were two men beloved by the people, the deans of the butchers and of the weavers. The latter, Peter Koenig (king), was a poor and mean-looking man, small, and wanting an eye, but a man of capacity, and a bold street orator.‡ Inflaming the passions of the artisans by his eloquence, he hurried them out of Bruges, and made them massacre all the French in the neighbouring towns and castles. They then returned by night. Chains were stretched across the streets, to prevent the French from *running about the town;* each townsman undertook to steal the saddle and bridle of the horseman who lodged with him. On the 21st of March, 1302, all the people began to beat their kettles;§ a butcher struck first, and the French were everywhere attacked and massacred. The women were the most furiously active in flinging them out of the windows, or else they were taken to the shambles, where their throats were cut. The massacre lasted three days; 1200 cavaliers, and 2000 foot serjeants perished.

After this, there was no alternative but to conquer or die. The men of Bruges marched first on Ghent, in hopes that that great town would join them. But the Ghent men were kept back by their great manufacturers,‖ perhaps, also, by the jealousy borne by Ghent towards Bruges. The Brugians had on their side, in addition to the Frank of Bruges, only Ypres, l'Ecluse, Nieuport, Berghes, Furnes, and Gravelines, which followed them freely or by compulsion. At their head, they had a son of the Count of Flanders, and one of his grandsons, who was a clerk, and stripped off his gown to fight with them.¶

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* Convenire, conferre, colloqui inter se sub crepusculum noctis multitudo. Meyer.

† G. Villani, viii. 54.

‡ Primus ausus est Gallorum obsistere tyrannidi Petrus cognomento Rex, homo plebeius, unoculus, ætate sexagenarius, opificio textor pannorum, brevi vir statura nec facie admodum liberali, animo tamen magno et feroci, consilio bonus, manu promptus, flandrica quidem lingua comprimis facundus, gallicæ ignarus. Meyer, p. 91.

§ Cumque ad campanam civitatis non auderent accedere, pelves suas pulsantes....omnem multitudinem concitârunt. Ibid., p. 90.

‖ Primores civitatis, quique dignitate aliqua aut opibus valebant, Liliatorum sequebantur partes, formidantes Regis potentiam, suisque timentes facultatibus. Ibid., 91.

¶ Sismondi, ix. 96; G. Villani, viii. 55.

They were in Courtrai, when the French army arrived and encamped opposite them. These artisans, who had hardly ever seen service in the open field, perhaps would have been glad to retreat, but the attempt would have been too hazardous in a great plain, and in presence of so large a body of cavalry. They waited, therefore, bravely, every man with his *gutten Tag* (good day to you), or iron shod stake planted in the ground before him. Their motto was a fine one: *Scilt und Vriendt*, shield and friend. They wished to take the communion together, and had mass read to them; but as they could not all receive the host, each stooped down, picked up some earth and put it in his mouth.* The knights who were with them, in order to encourage them, sent away their horses; and whilst they thus made infantry of themselves they made knights of the heads of the trades. All knew that they had no mercy to expect. It was told that Châtillon brought with him casks full of ropes to strangle them.† The queen it was said had laid her injunctions on the French, that when they were killing the Flemish pigs they should not forget the Flemish sows.‡

The constable Raoul de Nesle proposed to turn the flank of the Flemings and cut them off from Courtrai; but the king's cousin, Robert d'Artois, said rudely to him: "Are you afraid of these rabbits, or have you indeed some of their fur on you?" The constable, who had married a daughter of the Count of Flanders, felt the insult, and answered proudly: "Sir, you will ride far ahead if you keep up with me!" So saying, he made a headlong charge followed by his knights, in the thick dust of a July day (July 16, 1302). Every one followed him impetuously, each eager to be up with the front, and the hindmost pressing upon the foremost riders, who, when they came up near the Flemings, found in their way, what is to be found everywhere in a country so intersected by canals and ditches—a trench five fathoms wide.§ They fell into it in heaps, without the possibility of escaping up the sides, the trench being of the *demilune* construction. The whole chivalry of France found its grave there: Artois, Châtillon, Nesle, Brabant, Eu, Aumale, Dammartin, Dreux, Soissons, Tancarville, Vienne, Melun, and a multitude of others, besides the chancellor, who, doubtless, had not reckoned on falling in such glorious company.

The Flemings killed the unhorsed cavaliers at their ease, leisurely selecting their victims in the trench. When the cuirasses resisted their blades, they despatched the knights with leaden or iron mal-

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* G. Villani, viii. 55. See Michelet's Symbolique du Droit.

† Vasa vinaria portare restibus plena, ut plebeios strangularet. Meyer, p. 92.

‡ Ut apros quidem, hoc est viros, hastis, sed sues verutis confoderent, infesta admodum mulieribus, quas sues vocabat, ob fastum illum femineum visum a se Brugis. Ibid., p. 93.

§ Oudegherst says nothing of the French, manifestly for the purpose of enhancing the glory of the Flemings.

lets.* Among them there were numbers of working monks,† who conscientiously wrought at this bloody job. One of these monks asserted, that with his own hand he had killed forty cavaliers, and 1400 foot soldiers; but it is plain he bragged too much. Four thousand gilt spurs (another account says 700) were hung up in the cathedral of Courtrai, unlucky spoils that brought mischief on the town: eighty years afterwards, Charles VI. saw these spurs and caused all the inhabitants to be massacred.

This terrible defeat, which exterminated all the vanguard of France, that is to say, the majority of the great lords, this battle which swept away so many heads of houses, and made so many fiefs devolve on minors under the king's guardianship, certainly weakened his military strength for a moment, but in no respect impaired his capability of acting against the pope. In one respect royalty was rather strengthened by it. Who knows but the pope would have found means to turn against the king some of those great feudatories, who had indeed signed the famous letter, but who, had they returned victorious and wealthy from the war, would have stood less in awe of the crown?

He was giving up the idea of confounding the two powers together, on which he had before seemed disposed to insist. But when Philip's defeat at Courtrai was known in Rome, the language of the papal court was changed; a cardinal wrote to the Duke of Burgundy that the king was excommunicated for having forbidden the prelates to go to Rome, that the pope could not write to one who was excommunicated, and that the king must, first of all, do penance. Meanwhile, the prelates, brought back to the pope's party by the king's defeat, proceeded to Rome to the number of forty-five. It was like a desertion *en masse* of the Gallican Church. The king lost all his bishops at one blow, just as he had lost nearly all his barons at Courtrai.‡

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* Incredibile narratu est quanto robore, quantaque ferocia, colluctantem secum in fossis hostem nostri exceperint, malleis ferreis plumbeisque mactaverint. Meyer, 94.—Gulielmus cognomento *ab Saltinga*....Tantis viribus dimicavit ut equites xi. prostravisse, hostesque alios MCCCC. se jugulasse gloriatus sit. Ibid.

† Meyer, 77.

‡ A fortnight before the battle of Courtrai the pope delivered a speech in the assembly of the cardinals, that seemed to aim at conciliation. Among other things he said, that in the reign of Philip Augustus the King of France had a revenue of 18,000 livres, and that now, thanks to the munificence of the Church, he had more than 40,000. Pierre Flotte, he said, is blind in body and soul, God has thus punished him in his body; this man of gall, this man of the devil, this Achitophel, has for backers the counts of Artois and Saint Pol; he has falsified or forged a letter from the pope, wherein he makes him say to the king, that the king must acknowledge he holds his kingdom from the pope. Boniface goes on to say: "Forty years have we been doctors in law, and we know that the two powers are ordained of God. Who then can believe that such a folly ever entered our mind.....But it cannot be denied that the king or any other believer, is subject to us *with regard to sin*....What the king does illicitly we wish him to do henceforth licitly. We refuse him no manner of grace. Let him send us

This government of lawyers displayed extraordinary vigour and activity. On the 23rd of March (1302) was promulgated a grand ordonnance of a very popular character for the reform of the kingdom. The king promised in it good administration, equal justice, repression of venality, protection to ecclesiastics, respect for the privileges of the barons, and security for persons, property, and customs.* He promised gentleness and secured himself strength. He revived the Châtelet and its armed police, its serjeants mounted and on foot, its serjeants *à la douzaine* and *du guet.* †

The two adversaries, on the point of coming to the charge, wished to leave nothing in their rear. They sacrificed every thing to the interest of this great conflict. The pope came to an understanding with Albert of Austria, and recognised him as emperor; it being essential for him to have some one to match against the King of France. The king purchased peace of the English by the enormous sacrifice of Guienne (May 20, 1303). What must have been his grief when he was constrained to give back to his enemy that rich country, that kingdom of Bordeaux!‡

But there was nothing for him but to conquer or be undone.§

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honest men like the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Bretagne; let them say wherein we have done amiss, and we will amend. As long as I was cardinal I was a Frenchman: since then we have loved the king much. But for us he would not now have so much as a foot on his royal throne; the English and the Germans would stand up against him. We know all the secrets of the realm; we know how the Germans, the Burgundians, and they of Languedoc, love the French. Amantes neminem amat vos nemo, as St. Bernard says. Our predecessors deposed three kings of France; after all this king has done we would depose him *like a groom boy* (sicut unum garcionem), but still with pain and great sorrow, if it was necessary to have recourse to this extremity." Dupuy, Preuves, 77—8.—Notwithstanding the insolence of the conclusion, this speech was a concession, and a backward step on the pope's part.

* Ordonn. i., p. 354. † Ibid., 352.

‡ Rymer, Act. publ., ii. 923, 934. Sism., ix. 107.

§ A Norman had already been put forward, one Maître Pierre Dubois, *avocat* in the bailliwic of Coutances, who gave a legal opinion against the pope, one trebly barbarous and queer in style, erudition, and logic. The following is the substance of this strange pamphlet of the fourteenth century. After proving the impossibility of an universal supremacy, and refuting the alleged examples of the Indians, Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans, he cites the law of Moses, which forbids covetousness and theft.—"Now the pope covets and steals the king's supreme immunity, which is and ever has been not to be subject to any one, and to rule throughout his whole realm without fear of human control. Moreover, it cannot be denied that since the distinction of the *domains*, the usurpation of things possessed, of those especially which are prescribed by immemorial possession, is a mortal sin. Now the King of France possesses, from a period more than 1000 years back, the supreme jurisdiction and the franchise of his temporalities. Item, the said king, since the time of Charlemagne, whose descendant he is, as appears in the canon *antecessores*, possesses and has prescribed the collation of prebends, and the fruits of the keep of churches, not without title and by occupation, but by grant of Pope Adrian, who, with the consent of the general council, conferred on Charlemagne these rights, and many others almost incomparably greater; to wit, that he and his successors should have power to choose and nominate whom they pleased for popes, cardinals, patriarchs, prelates, &c.

On the 12th of March the king's own man, Pierre Flotte's successor, the daring Gascon, Nogaret, read and signed a furious manifesto against Boniface.*

"The glorious prince of the apostles, the blessed Peter, speaking in the spirit, has told us that as in old time, so likewise in time to come, there will come false prophets who will defile the way of truth, and who in their avarice and their deceitful words, will make traffic of ourselves, like that Balaam who loved the wages of iniquity. Balaam had for correction and warning a brute which, assuming a human voice, proclaimed the folly of the false prophet . . . These things announced by the father and patriarch of the Church, we now with our own eyes see literally realised. In fact in the chair of the blessed Peter now sits that master of lies, who though *maleficus* in all manner of ways, yet he styles himself *Boniface*.† He has not entered the Lord's fold by the gate, nor as a shepherd and labourer, but rather as a thief and a robber . . . Whilst the real husband was still living (Celestine V.), he dared to violate the spouse with a criminal embrace. The real husband, Celestine, did not consent to this divorce. In fact as human laws say, *Nothing is more contrary to consent than error*. He cannot marry who, in the lifetime of a first not unworthy husband, has adulterously polluted the marriage. Now as every offence committed against God does wrong and injury to all, and as in the case of so great a crime the testimony of any sort of person is admitted, *even that of the wife, even that of*

. . . . Besides, the pope can only claim the supremacy of the kingdom of France as sovereign pontiff; but if it was really a right of the papacy, it would have belonged to St. Peter and his successors, who have not claimed it. The King of France has a prescription of 1270 years in his favour. Now centenary possession merely, without title, is sufficient, according to a new constitution of the said pope, to prescribe against him and against the Roman Church, and even against the Empire, according to the imperial laws. Therefore, if the pope or the emperor had ever possessed any right of service over the kingdom, which is not true, these rights would be extinct. . . . Furthermore, should the pope decree that prescription does not run against him, then neither does it run against others, and especially against princes who own no superiors. So then the Emperor of Constantinople, who gave him all his patrimony (the donation being excessive as made by a mere administrator of the wealth of the Empire) may as donor (or the Emperor of Germany as surrogate in his place) revoke this donation. . . . And thus the papacy would be reduced to its primitive poverty of the times anterior to Constantine, since that donation, null in equity from the beginning, might be revoked but for prescription *longissimi temporis*." Dupuy, pp. 15—17.

* In the subscription he has himself styled *knight and venerable professor in law*. He had really been knighted by the king, in 1297; but he did not dare in an assembly of the nobility such as this, himself to add this absurd designation to his name. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 56.

† Sedet in cathedra beati Petri mendaciorum magister, faciens se, cum sit omnifario maleficus, Bonifacium nominari. . . . Nec ad ejus excusationem. . . . quod ab aliquibus dicitur post mortem dicti Cœlestini. . . . cardinales in eum denuo consensisse: *cum ejus esse conjux non potuerit quam, primo viro vivente, fide digno conjugii constat per adulterium polluisse*. . . . . Ut sicut angelus Domini prophetæ Balaam. . . . occurrit gladio evaginato in via, sic dicto pestifero Vos evaginato gladio occurrere velitis, ne possit malum perficere populo quod intendit. Ibid.

an infamous person, so I, like the brute who, by virtue of the Lord, assumed the voice of a perfect man to reprove the folly of the false prophet who was about to curse the chosen people, do address my supplication to you most excellent prince, Lord Philip, by the grace of God, King of France, that after the example of the angel who pointed the drawn sword against that curser of the people of God, you, who were anointed to execute justice, will turn the sword against that other and more dire Balaam, and hinder him from consummating the evil he is preparing for the people."

Nothing was decided: the king still temporised. He allowed three bishops to make excuses for the prohibition he had laid on the prelates. The pope sent a legate, no doubt for the purpose of sounding the French clergy and ascertaining if they would stir; but there was no sign of the sort. The king told the legate he would accept the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy for arbiters; in this way he flattered the nobility and made sure of them, but at the same time he yielded nothing. Then the pope sent the legate a brief, in which he declared that the king had incurred excommunication, as having hindered the prelates from repairing to Rome.

The legate left the brief and fled. The king seized two priests who had brought it, with the legate and the ecclesiastics who had copied it. The brief was dated April 13: two months afterwards (day for day) the two advocates who succeeded Pierre Flotte proceeded against Boniface. Plasian accused and Nogaret executed. The former, in presence of the barons assembled in estates in the Louvre, pronounced a requisitory against Boniface, and an appeal to the next council. To the previous accusations Plasian added that of heresy.* The king subscribed to the appeal, and Nogaret set out for Italy.

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* I, Guillaume de Plasian, knight, say, advance, and affirm that Boniface who now occupies the apostolic see, will be found a perfect heretic, in heresies, enormous deeds and perverse dogmata hereafter mentioned. Primo, he does not believe in the immortality of the soul; secundo, he does not believe in eternal life; for he says he would rather be a dog, ass, or any other brute than a Frenchman, which he would not say if he believed that a Frenchman has an everlasting soul.—He does not believe in the real presence, for he adorns his throne with more magnificence than the altar.—He has said that to bring down the king and the French he would turn the whole world upside down.—He has approved of the book of Arnaud de Villeneuve, condemned by the bishop and the university of Paris.—He has had silver statues erected to himself in the churches.—He has a familiar demon: for he has said that if all men were on one side and he on the other, he could not be mistaken either in fact or in law; this supposes a diabolic art.—He has preached publicly that the Roman pontiff could not commit simony: a thing which it is heretical to say.—Like a thorough heretic who insists of having the true faith to himself alone, he has given the French, a nation notoriously most Christian, the appellation of Paterins.—He is a Sodomite.—He has had several clerks put to death before him, saying to his guards, if they were not despatched at the first blow, "Strike, Strike, Dali, Dali."—He has forced priests to violate the secrets of the confessional.—He observes neither vigils nor Lent.—He depreciates the college of cardinals, the orders of the black and white friars, and of the preaching and minor friars, repeatedly saying that the world is ruined by them, that they are false hypocrites, and that no good can come to

The king did not content himself with the collective assent of the estates to this definitive step, but addressed letters to the prelates, churches, towns, and universities, calling for their support. These letters were carried from province to province by the Vicomte de Narbonne, and the accuser himself, Plasian.* The king requested consent to the council: *Nos requirentes consentire.*† It would not have been safe to refuse before the accuser's face; so Plasian brought back more than 700 consents.‡ Every one subscribed, even those who, in the preceding year after the king's defeat at Courtrai, had repaired in defiance of him to the pope. The seizure of the temporalities of the forty-five, had sufficed to convert them to the king's party. With the exception of Cîteaux, which the pope had secured by a recent favour, § and which divided its vote, all gave Plasian letters of adhesion to the council.

The corporations most favoured by the popes declared for the king, the university of Paris, the Dominicans of that city, and the minor friars‖ of Touraine. There were some, a prior of Cluny for instance, and a templar, who adhered, but *sub protestationibus.*¶

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any one who confesses to them.—Wishing to destroy the faith, he has conceived an inveterate aversion to the King of France, in hatred of the faith, because in France is and always was the splendour of the faith, the great support and example of Christendom.—He has stirred up England and Germany against the house of France, confirming the title of emperor to the King of Germany, and publishing that he did so to humble the arrogance of the French, who said that they were not subject to any one in temporal things: adding, that they lied in their throats (per gulam), and declaring that if any angel came down from heaven and said they were not subject either to him or to the emperor, that angel should be anathema.—He has suffered the Holy Land to be lost.....diverting the money that should have been employed in its defence.—He is notoriously simoniacal, nay, rather the source and basis of simony, selling benefices to the highest bidder, imposing service and tallage on the churches and the prelates, to enrich his own kindred out of the patrimony of the Crucified, to make them marquises, counts, and barons.—He breaks marriages—he breaks nuns' vows.—He has said that in a short while he would make martyrs or apostates of all the French, &c. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 102—7; cf. 326—346, 350—362.

* The prior and convent of the preaching friars of Montpellier having replied, that they could not give in their adhesion without the express order of their prior-general, who was in Paris, the king's agents said they wished to know the intentions of each of the brethren, *severally and in secret.* The friars persisting in their refusal, the agents enjoined them to quit the realm within three days. They drew up an official note to that effect. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 154.

† Ibid., p. 110.

‡ Dupuy, Hist. du Diff., p. 19.

§ Id., Preuves, p. 85.

‖ Boniface had freed them, in 1295, from ecclesiastical jurisdiction, regardless of the discontent of the clergy of France. Bulæus, iii. 511. He had never ceased to augment their privileges. Ibid., pp. 516, 545.—As for the university, Philip the Fair had gained its good will by a multitude of civilities. Ibid., 542, 544. Accordingly it backed him in all his fiscal measures against the clergy. From the commencement of the struggle it found itself associated with his cause by the pope himself. Universitates quæ in his culpabiles fuerint, ecclesiastico supponimus interdicto (Bull *Clericis laicos*). The university, therefore, declared strongly for the king: "Appellationi Regis adhæremus supponentes nos....et universitatem nostram protectioni divinæ et prædicti concilii generalis ac futuri veri et legitimi summi pontificis." Dupuy, Pr., 117, 118.

¶ Ibid., pp. 134—137.

The pope was still an object of great dread to them. They, therefore, required the king to give them in return letters whereby he, the queen, and the young princes, engaged to defend such or such an one who had consented to the council.* It was a sort of mutual assurance entered into by the king and the corporations of the kingdom in this peril. †

On the 15th of August, Boniface declared by a bull, that to the pope alone it belonged to convoke a council. He replied to the accusations of Plasian and Nogaret, particularly to the charge of heresy. "Has it ever been heard of," he said, "that there ever was a heretic, I do not say in our family, but in all Campania, our native country?" ‡ This was an indirect attack on Plasian and Nogaret, who happened to be of the Albigeois countries. It was even said that Nogaret's grandfather had been burned.

The two accusers knew well all they had to fear; the pope's rancour against Pierre Flotte could not but enlighten them on this head. Before the battle of Courtrai, Boniface, in his speech to the cardinals, had thrown the whole blame on Flotte, and declared his intention of punishing him spiritually and temporally. § This was leaving open to the king a means of ending the quarrel by the sacrifice of his chancellor. He fell at Courtrai; but how much more cause for fear had his two successors after their audacious accusations! Accordingly, on the 7th of March, five days before the date of the first memorial, Nogaret had procured unlimited powers from the king, a real carte-blanche, in fact, *to do whatsoever should be requisite and to the purpose.*‖ Thus armed, then, he set out for Italy, personally interested in using his powers for the pope's ruin. He repaired to Florence to the King of France's banker, who was to furnish him with whatever money he asked for. He had with him the Ghibelline of Ghibellines, Boniface's proscribed victim, a man vowed to perdition for the death of the pope, Sciarra Colonna. This was an invaluable man for a bold stroke. This king of the Sabine mountaineers, of the banditti of the Campagna di Roma, knew so well what the pope would have done with him, that having fallen into the hands of corsairs, he plied the oar for them for several years rather than tell his name and run the risk of being sold to Boniface.¶

After the bull of the 15th of August, it was to be expected that

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* Dupuy, Preuves, 113, 114.

† See all these acts in Dupuy, Pr., p. 112—180.

‡ Quis nedum de cognatione nostra, immo de tota Campania unde originem duximus, notatur hoc nomine? Ibid., 166.

§ Et volumus quod hic Achitophel iste Petrus puniatur *temporaliter et spiritualiter*, sed rogamus Deum quod reservet eum nobis puniendum sicut justum est. Dupuy, Pr., 77.

‖ Philippus, Dei gratia....Gulielmo de Nogareto.....plenam et liberam tenore præsentium committimus potestatem, ratum habituri et gratum, quidquid factum fuerit in præmissis et *ea tangentibus, seu dependentibus ex eisdem.* Ibid, 175.

¶ Petrarch, Ep. 4, l. ii. ad. famil, ap. Dupuy, Hist. du Diff., p. 6.

Boniface would promulgate the sentence which had dethroned so many kings, and would declare Philip's subjects freed from their oath of allegiance. Reconciled with the Emperor Albert, he was not at a loss for one on whom to bestow the crown of France. There seemed reason, perhaps, to expect that he would renew against the Capetian house the tragic history of that of Swabia. The bull, in fact, was ready on the 5th of September; it was important to anticipate it, and to blunt that weapon in the pope's hands by notifying the appeal to the council. This notification it was necessary to make to him in Anagni, his native town, where he was residing among his kindred, his friends, and a people who had just trailed the lilies and the flag of France through the mire.* Nogaret was not a man of war, but he had money. He managed to make friends in Anagni, and for 10,000 florins (we have the receipt),† he made sure of Supino, Captain of Ferentino, a town hostile to Anagni. "Supino undertook, for the life or death of the said Boniface."‡ Colonna then, and Supino, with 300 cavaliers, and many men on foot, their own clients, or soldiers of France, escorted Nogaret into Anagni, with shouts of "Death to the pope, long live the King of France!"§ The commons rang their bell,‖ but it happened that they chose for their captain an enemy to Boniface; this man gave his aid to the assailants, and set about pillaging the palaces of the cardinals, who escaped through the privies. The people of Anagni, not being able to prevent the pillage, took the other alternative, of assisting in it. The pope, seeing his palace on the point of being stormed, obtained a moment's truce, and sent for the commons; the commons begged to be excused. Then the proud-souled man addressed himself directly to Colonna; but the latter insisted on his abdicating, and surrendering at discretion. "Alas!" said Boniface, "these are hard words!"¶ Meanwhile, his enemies had burned a church which defended the palace. The pope's nephew abandoned his uncle, and made terms for himself. This last blow broke the old man's spirit; he was eighty-six years of age, and he cried like a child.** The doors and windows were

* Ut proditionem fecerint eidem domino Guillelmo et sequacibus suis, ac trascinare fecissent per Anagniam vexillum ac insignia dicti domini Regis, favore et adjutorio illius Bonifacii. Dupuy, Pr., 175.

† Ibid., 608—610.

‡ Guillelmus prædictus asseruit dictum dominum Raynaldum (de Supino) esse benevolum, sollicitum et fidelem....tam in vita ipsius Bonifacii quam in morte.....et ipsum dominum Guillelmum receptasse tam in vita *quam in morte Bonifacii prædicti.* Ibid., 175.

§ Muoia papa Bonifacio, e viva il Rè di Francia. Villani, viii. 63.

‖ Pulsata communi campana, et tractatu habito, elegerunt sibi capitaneum quemdam Arnulphum....Qui quidem....illis ignorantibus, domini papæ extitit capitalis inimicus. Dupuy, Pr., 194. Walsingham, Hist. anno 1305.

¶ Heu me! durus est hic sermo! Dupuy, Pr.

** Tandem Marchio, nepos papæ.....reddidit se sciarræ et capitaneo memorato, ea conditione ut vitam ipsius et filii sui salvarent servientiumque suorum. Quibus auditis papa flevit amare. Ibid.

now dashed in, and the crowd rushed into the palace. Threats and insults were heaped upon the old man, but he made no answer. They bade him abdicate. "Here is my neck, here is my head," was his reply.*

According to Villani, when he saw his enemies approach, he said: "Betrayed, like Christ, I shall die, but I will die pope;" and then he put on the mantle of St. Peter, set the crown of Constantine on his head, and took the keys and the cross in his hand.†

It is said Colonna struck the old man on the cheek with his iron gauntlet.‡ Nogaret addressed him in words that cut like a sword: "Oh, thou caitiff pope, confess and consider the goodness of monseigneur, the King of France, who, far as is his realm from thee, keeps and defends thee through me."§ The pope courageously replied: "Thou art of a heretic family, it is from thee I expect martyrdom."‖

Colonna would gladly have killed Boniface, but was prevented by the man of law,¶ to whom that event would have been hazardous. It was not expedient for him that the prisoner should die in his hands; but, on the other hand, it was hardly possible to convey him to France.** Boniface refused to eat any thing, being afraid of poison; this continued three days, at the end of which time the people of Anagni, perceiving the small number of the foreigners, rose upon the French, drove them out, and delivered the pope.

It was too late; the old man was mortally smitten. He was carried into the open square, crying like a child. "He thanked God and the people for his deliverance, and said: Good people, you have seen how my enemies have taken away all my property, and that of the Church. I am now as poor as Job. I tell you truly I have nothing to eat or drink. If there is any good woman who

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* Ruptis ostiis et fenestris palatii papæ, et pluribus locis igne supposito, per vim ad papam exercitus est ingressus; quem tunc permulti verbis contumeliosis sunt aggressi: minæ etiam ei a pluribus sunt illatæ. Sed papa nulli respondit. Enim vero cum ad rationem positus esset, an vellet renunciare papatui, constanter respondit non, imo citius vellet perdere caput suum, dicens in suo vulgari: Ecco il collo, ecco il capo. Dupuy, Pr.

† "Da che per tradimento come Jesu Christo voglio essere preso, convienmi morire, almeno voglio morire come papa." Et di presente si fece parare dell' amanto di San Piero, et con la corona di Constantino in capo, et con le chiavi et croce in mano, et posesi a sedere suso la sedia papale. Villani, viii. 63.

‡ "And he would twice have been stabbed by one of Colonna's knights, had it not been for a French knight." Chron. de St. Denis. Dupuy, Pr., 191. Nicolas Gilles (1492) further states: Twice the pope was on the point of being slain by one of Colonna's knights had he not been prevented; the knight, however, struck him in the face with his iron gauntleted hand, so that there was a great effusion of blood. Ap. Dupuy, Pr., p. 199.

§ Chron. de St. Denis, ap. Dupuy, Pr., 191.

‖ Dupuy, Hist. du Différ., 23.

¶ Lettres justicatives de Nogaret. Dupuy, Pr., 248.

** Nogaret threatened to carry him bound and gagged to Lyon, where he should be tried and deposed by the general council. Villani, viii. 63, ap. Dupuy, Pr., 187.

will give me an alms of bread or wine, or of a little water, if she has not wine, I will give her God's blessing and mine. Whoever will bring me the least thing for the supply of my wants, I will absolve him from all sin. . . . . The whole people cried out, Long live the holy father! The women ran in crowds to the palace, carrying thither bread, wine, or water; and finding no vessels, they poured what they brought into a chest. . . . . Every one was free to enter, and talk with the pope, as with any other poor person."*

"The pope gave the people absolution for every sin, except pillage of the property of the Church and of the cardinals. As for what belonged to himself, he left it to them; some portion, however, was brought back to him. He then protested, before all, that he wished to be at peace with the Colonnas, and with all his enemies. Then he set out for Rome, with a great crowd of armed men." But when he reached St. Peter's, and his energy was not longer stimulated by the sense of danger, the fear and hunger he had suffered, the loss of his money, the insolent triumph of his foes, and the infinite humiliation of an infinite might—all this rushed back upon him at once; his octogenarian head could not bear it; he lost his reason.

He had committed himself to the care of the Orsini, the enemies of the house of Colonna; but he was again arrested, or fancied himself so, by them. Whether it was that they wished to conceal from the people the scandal of a heretic pope, or that they had a secret understanding with the Colonnas for keeping him a prisoner, when Boniface wanted to go and place himself under the protection of other barons, the two cardinals Orsini stopped him, and made him return to his chamber. His insanity now assumed the most violent character, he refused all food, foamed at the mouth, and gnashed his teeth. At last one of his friends, Jacopo di Pisa, having said to him, "Holy father, commend yourself to God, and the Virgin Mary, and receive the body of Christ," Boniface struck him, and cried out in a medley of the two languages. *Allonta de Dio et de Sancta Maria, nolo, nolo.* (Away with God and the Virgin Mary, I will not, I will not.) He drove away two minor friars who brought him the

* Tunc populus fecit papam deportari in magnam plateam, ubi papa lacrymando populo prædicavit, inter omnia gratias agens Deo et populo Anagniæ de vita sua. Tandem in fine sermonis dixit: Boni homines et mulieres, constat vobis qualiter inimici mei venerunt et abstulerunt omnia bona mea, et non tantum mea sed et omnia bona Ecclesiæ, et me ita pauperem sicut Job fuerat dimiserunt. Propter quod vobis dico veraciter quod nihil habeo ad comedendum vel bibendum, et jejunus remansi usque ad præsens. Et si sit aliqua bona mulier quæ me velit de sua juvare eleemosyna in pane vil vino: et si vinum non habuerit de aqua permodica, dabo ei benedictionem meam. . . . Tunc omnes hæ ex ore papæ clamabant: "Vivas, Pater sancte." Et nunc cerneres mulieres currere certatim ad palatium, ad offerendum sibi panem, vinum vel aquam..... Et cum non invenirentur vasa ad capiendum allata, fundebant vinum et aquam in arca cameræ papæ in magna quantitate. Et tunc potuit quisque ingredi et cum papa loqui, sicut cum alio paupere. Walsingh., ap. Dupuy, Pr., 196.

viaticum, and died an hour afterwards without communion or confession. Thus seemed to be verified the prediction of his predecessor, Celestine, respecting him. "Thou hast climbed up like a fox; thou wilt reign like a lion, and die like a dog."*

We find other details, but of a still more questionable authenticity, in a document that breathes a ferocious rancour, and seems to have been fabricated by the Plasians and the Nogarets, for the purpose of being disseminated among the people immediately after the event: "The life, state, and condition of Pope Maleface, related by persons worthy of credit. On the 9th of October, this Pharoah, knowing his end was at hand, confessed that he had had familiar demons, who had made him commit all his crimes. During the following day and night there were heard such thunder and such horrible tempests, and there was seen such a multitude of black birds uttering hideous cries, that all the people cried out in consternation: 'Lord Jesus, have pity, have pity, have pity upon us!' Every one said for certain these were the demons from hell come to fetch the soul of this Pharaoh. On the 10th, when his friends were relating to him what had happened, and were advising him to think of his soul, ... he, enveloped by the demon, furious, and gnashing his teeth, flung himself on the priest as if to devour him. The priest ran away as fast as he could to the church..... Then, without saying a word, he turned to the other side... As they were carrying him to his chair, he cast his eyes on the stone of his ring and exclaimed: 'O, you evil spirits enclosed in this stone. You, who have seduced me .... why do you now forsake me?' And he threw the ring away. His malady and his rage increasing, hardened in his iniquity he confirmed all his acts against the King of France and his servants, and published them afresh..... His friends to assuage his sufferings had brought him the son of Master James of Pisa, whom before he was fond of holding in his arms as if to glory in sin .... but when he saw the boy he threw himself upon him, and if he had not been forced away he would have torn off the boy's nose with his teeth. Finally, the said Pharaoh, girt with tortures by divine vengeance, died on the 12th without confession or sign of faith; and, on that day, there were such thunder, tempests, and dragons in the air vomitting flames, such lightnings and prodigies, that the Roman people thought the whole city was about to be swallowed up in the abyss."†

Dante, notwithstanding his violent invective against the pope's executioners, assigns him his place in hell. In the nineteenth canto of

* Dupuy, Pr., 196.

† Dupuy, Pr., 5. Walsingham, who writes under an opposite influence, rather exaggerates the guilt of Boniface's enemies. According to him, Colonna, Supino, and the King of France's seneschal, having seized the pope, put him on a horse without a bridle, with his face to the tail, and galloped him along till he was almost dead; after which they would have starved him to death but for the people of Anagni. Wals., ap. Dupuy, Pr., 195.

the "Inferno," Nicholas III., plunged head downwards in the flames, hears voices and cries out:

> "Ha! already standest there?
> Already standest there, O Boniface,
> By many a year the writing played me false.
> So early dost thou surfeit with the wealth,
> For which thou fearedst not in guile to take
> The lovely lady, and then mangle her?"*—CARY.

Boniface's successor, Benedict XI., a man of low origin, but of great merit, whom the Orsini made pope, did not feel himself very strong at his accession. He received, with good grace, the congratulations of the King of France brought him by Plasian, his predecessor's accuser. Philip felt that his enemy was not so dead but that he might strike some new blow; he therefore carried on the war to the utmost, and sent the pope a memorial against Boniface, which might be regarded as a bitter satire on the court of Rome.† He caused his lawyers to write and address to him a *Supplication of the people of France to the king against Boniface.* This important act, drawn up in the vulgar tongue, was rather an appeal from the king to the people, than a petition from the people to the king.‡

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* Per lo qual non temesti torre a inganno
La bella Donna e di poi farne strazio?—Inferno, c. xix.

† The form of this act is curious; each count of the indictment contains an eulogium on the court of Rome. For instance: "The holy fathers were accustomed not to lay up treasures; they distributed the wealth of the churches among the poor. Boniface, quite on the contrary, &c." This is the invariable form of each article. It might be doubted whether the king was quite in earnest in thus attributing to a single pope all the abuses of the papacy. Dupuy, Pr., 209, 210.

‡ Unto you, most noble prince, our liege, by the grace of God King of France, supplicates and requests the people of your realm, as touching what behoves to be done to the end that you keep the sovereign franchise of your realm, which is of such sort that you shall recognise as your temporal sovereign none on earth save God, and that you cause to be declared, that Pope Boniface erred manifestly and committed mortal sin, to wit in acquainting you by bulled letters, that he was your sovereign as to your temporalities....Item....that the said pope should be held as heretic....It can be proved outright, without any one being able reasonably to refute the same, that the pope never had lordship over your temporalities.....When God the Father had created the heavens and the four elements, and had formed Adam and Eve, he said to them and to their progeny: *Quod calcaverit pes tuus, tuum erit*.....That is to say, he willed that each man should be lord of what land he occupied. Thus the sons of Adam portioned out the earth, and were lords thereof 3000 years and more, before the time of Melchisedech, who was the first priest who was king, as history tells: but he was not king of all the world; and the people obeying him as temporal king and not as priest, he was at the same time both king and priest. After his death it was a long time, 600 years and more, before any other was priest. And God the Father, who gave the Law to Moses, established him king of his people Israel, and commanded him that he should make his brother Aaron sovereign priest and his son after him. And Moses granted and committed, when he was to die, by the command of God, the sovereign lordship not to the priest his brother, but to Joshuah, without Aaron and his son after him having any thing to do therewith: but they kept the tabernacle.....and helped in the defence of the temporal.....That God who knows all things present and to come commanded

Benedict, on the contrary, seemed at first desirous of hushing up this great affair, by pardoning all who had had a hand in it; he excepted only Nogaret. But to pardon them was tantamount to pronouncing them guilty. By this offensive clemency he passed censure on the king, the Colonnas, and the prelates who had not complied with Boniface's summons.

Philip, then overburdened with the war in Flanders, had much to fear. Most of the cardinals refused to back his appeal to the council; the pope was beginning to threaten; and the king was brought to such a pass, as to desire the absolution he had at first disdained. Was he serious in asking for it? We may doubt this, when we see that the request was conveyed to the pope by Plasian and Nogaret. The latter had probably taken upon him this mission in order to break off an arrangement that would only be effected at his own expense. The mere choice of such an ambassador was ominous. The pope's exasperation burst all bounds, and he put forth a furious bull of excommunication: Flagitiosum scelus et scelestum flagitium quod quidam sceleratissimi viri, summum audentes nefas in personam bonæ memoriæ Bonifacii, P. VII. . . .*

The king seemed to be comprehended in the scope of this bull. It was promulgated on the 7th of June, 1304: on the 4th of July Benedict was a corpse. It is said that a young woman closely veiled, who announced herself as a lay sister of St. Petronilla in Perugia, presented him at table with a basket of *flower figs*.† He ate of them without suspicion, was taken ill, and died a few days

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Joshuah their prince to divide the land among these eleven tribes, and that the tribe of the priests should have instead of their part the tithes and the first fruits of all, and should claim them without land, so that they might more profitably serve God and pray for that people. And then when that people of Israel asked a king of our Lord, or caused the prophet Samuel to ask one for them, he did not choose for them that sovereign priest, but Saul, who surpassed the whole people in stature by a whole neck and head.....(*allusion to Philip the Fair?*) So that there was no king in Jerusalem over the people of God who was a priest, but they had a king and a sovereign priest in different persons, and the one had enough to do in governing the temporalities, and the other the spiritualities of the little people, and all the priests obeyed the kings in temporal things. Afterwards Our Lord Jesus Christ was sovereign priest, and we do not find it written that he had ever any temporal possession.... After this, *sainct Père* (*Pierre*, Peter).... It was a great abomination to hear that it was Boniface, because God said to St. Peter: "What thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," this word of spirituality he heretically misunderstood as applying to temporalities. He was more desirous of knowing Arabic, Chaldaic, Greek, Hebrew, and all other languages, whereof there are many Christians who do not believe as does the church of Rome. ..You, noble king.....hereditary defender of the faith, destroyer of heretics, can and ought, and are bound to require and procure that the said Boniface be held and judged for a heretic, and punished in such sort as he can and ought to be punished after his death. Dupuy, Diff., 214—218.

* Dupuy, Diff., 232.

† That is to say, of the first gathering. Sism., Fr. ix. 147. Id., Repub. Ital., iv. 228. Villani, viii., c. 80, &c.

afterwards. The cardinals, afraid that they might but too easily discover the criminal, made no inquiry.

This death happened very opportunely for Philip, whom the war in Flanders had reduced to extremities. In 1303, he had been unable to hinder the Flemings from entering France, burning Térouanne, and besieging Tournay,* which latter he was enabled to save only by begging for a truce, and liberating old Guy, who was to return to prison if peace was not made. The old man thanked his brave Flemings, gave his sons his blessing, and returned to die, at the age of eighty, in his prison at Compiègne.

In 1304, at the very moment when the pope was dying so opportunely, Philip made a desperate effort to finish the war. He had extorted some money by selling privileges, particularly in Languedoc, thus favouring the communes of the South, in order to crush those of the North. He hired Genoese mercenaries, and with their galleys he gained a naval victory off Zirickzee, in August. The Flemings, however did not despond. They believed themselves 60,000 strong. All Flanders was now combined for the first time; all the forces of the towns were united, those of Ghent and Bruges, Ypres, Lille, and Courtrai. At their head were three sons of the old count, his cousin Guillaume de Juliers, and several barons of the Low Countries and of Germany. Philip, having forced the passage of the Lys, found them at Mons en Puelle, in a formidable position, surrounded with a strong fence of earts and waggons. He sent against them, not his gendarmerie, as at Courtrai, but Gascon infantry,† who kept them on the alert all day under a burning sun, without food or drink, all the provisions being in the waggons. This long fast exasperated them; they lost patience, and in the evening, sallying through their three gates, they all fell together on the French, who were not thinking of them; the king had disarmed, and was about to sit down to table. At first this charge of wild boars carried all before it. But when the Flemings entered the tents, and saw many things worth taking, there was no keeping them together, each man wished to help himself. Meanwhile, the French rallied; their cavalry cut the plunderers to pieces; the Flemings lost 6000 men.

The king proceeded to invest Lille, not doubting but that the Flemings would submit. Great was his astonishment when he saw them returning, 60,000 strong, as though they had not lost a single man. "It rains Flemings," he said. The grandees of France, who had no inclination to fight with these desperadoes, advised the king to treat with them. He had to give them up their count, the son of old Guy, and to promise the grandson

* This terrible year, 1303, is characterised by the silence of the parliament registers. We read in them in 1304: Anno præcedente propter guerram Flandriæ non fuit parliamentum. Olim., iii., folio cvii. Archives du royaume, Section judiciaire.

† Meyer, folio 104.

the county of Rethel, his wife's inheritance. Philip kept French Flanders, and was to receive 200,000 livres.

Nothing was conclusively settled. It was not specified whether he was to keep that province as a guarantee, or in absolute possession; as for the money, it was not yet in his hands. At the same time, the affair with the pope was spoiled rather than arranged. The sudden death of Benedict XI. was a melancholy piece of good luck.*

A season of scarcity, an imprudent maximum, and a perquisition for corn, all this heated the people. Men began to talk. A clerk of the university of Paris did so loudly, and was hung. A poor béguine of Metz, who had founded an order of nuns, had a revelation of the chastisements designed by heaven for bad kings. Charles of Valois had her hung; and in order to force from her a declaration that her prophecies had been prompted by the devil, he caused her feet to be burned.† But every one believed in the prediction, when next year a comet made its appearance with fearful brilliancy.‡

Philip came back from his expedition, victorious and ruined. He repaired in solemn state to Notre Dame, amidst the muttered maledictions of a famishing people. He entered the church on

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* Baillet draws a well-founded and interesting parallel between the disputes of Philip the Fair and those of Louis XIV. with the Holy See. "Both disputes took place under three successive popes, the first of whom having seen the commencement of the difference, died in the greatest heat of the quarrel (Boniface VIII., Innocent XI.). The second (Benedict XI., successor of Boniface, and Alexander VIII., Innocent's successor), having been soothed by submissions on the part of France, compromised the matter, using dissimulation, nevertheless, in order to save the pretensions of the court of Rome. The third (Clement V. and Innocent XII.) terminated the whole business. In France there was but one king all through each dispute (Philip the Fair, Louis XIV.). A bishop of Pamiers seems to have given occasion to the quarrel in both instances. In both the right of *régale* was brought in question; and in both there was an appeal to a future council..... The attachment of the members of the Gallican Church to their king was almost equal on both occasions. The clergy, the universities, the monks, and the mendicant orders, everywhere supported the king's interests, and gave their sanction to the appeal. There was excommunication of ambassadors, and threats for their masters. The expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom by Philip the Fair, and the destruction of the templars, seem also to present in some measure a counterpart to the extirpation of the Huguenots, and the destruction of the Religieuses de l'Enfance." Baillet, Hist. des Désnêlés, &c.

† Contin. Nangii, 57.

‡ This was Halley's comet which reappears every seventy-five or seventy-six years. It is presumed that it first appeared at the birth of Mithridates, 130 years before the Christian era. Justin (bib. 37) says that for eighty days it almost eclipsed the splendour of the sun. It reappeared in 339 and in 550, the era of the taking of Rome by Totila. In 1305 its lustre was extraordinary; in 1456 it had a tail extending over two-thirds of the space between the zenith and the horizon; in 1682 the tail was thirty degrees in extent; in 1759 its appearance was such as might have been expected to attract only the attention of astronomers. These facts would seem to indicate that comets dwindle away continually. Halley's comet reappeared in 1835. Annuaire du Bureau des longitudes pour 1835. See also a notice of this comet by M. de Pontécoulant.

horseback, and by way of thanking God for his escape when the Flemings surprised him, he there devoutly dedicated an equestrian statue of himself, in complete armour. It was still to be seen at Notre Dame a short while before the revolution, beside the colossal St. Christopher.

Nogaret did not forget himself; he, too, triumphed after his own fashion. We have a receipt of his proving that his appointments were raised from 500 to 800 livres.*

CHAPTER III.

Gold—The Fisc—The Templars.

"GOLD," says Christopher Columbus, "is an excellent thing. With gold treasures are made; with gold one can do all he desires in this world; one can even make souls reach paradise."†

The epoch at which we have arrived, must be considered as the advent of gold. It is the god of this new world on which we are entering. Philip the Fair was no sooner seated on the throne, than he excluded priests from his councils, to give their places to bankers.‡

Let us not speak ill of gold. Compared with feudal property, with land, gold is a superior form of wealth. A little thing, portable, exchangeable, divisible, easy to handle and work, easy to conceal, it is wealth become subtilised, I had almost said spiritualised. As long as wealth was immovable, man, fastened and almost rooted by it to the earth, had scarcely more locomotion than the sod beneath his foot. The proprietor was a dependency of the soil; the land carried the man with it. Now it is quite the contrary, he carries away the land, concentrated and epitomised by gold. The docile metal serves for every transaction; facile and fluent, it lends itself to every kind of commercial and administrative circulation. The government, obliged to act at a distance, rapidly, and in a thousand different ways, finds its principal means of action in the precious metals. The sudden creation of a government in the beginning of the fifteenth century, created a sudden infinite need of silver and gold.

Under Philip the Fair, was born the fisc, that thirsty, ravenous, keen-toothed monster. Like Rabelais' Gargantua, it shouts out

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* D. Vaissette, Hist. du Languedoc, t. iv., note xi., p. 117.

† Letter from Christopher Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella, after his fourth voyage. Navarete's History, iii. 152.

‡ Philip the Fair employed as ministers, during his whole reign, the two Florentine bankers, Biccio and Musciato, sons of Guido Franzesi. Sism., Hist. des Français, viii. 420.

the moment it is born: Food! Drink! The terrible infant whose atrocious hunger there is no appeasing, will eat flesh and drink blood, if need be. It is a Cyclops, an ogre, a devouring *gargouille* of the Seine. The head of the monster is called Grand Council, its long paws are the Parliament, its digestive organ is the chamber of Accounts. The only food that can appease it is that which the people cannot find it. Fisc and people have but one cry, and that cry is, Gold!

See in Aristophanes how the blind and inert Plutus is beset by his worshippers. They prove to him without difficulty that he is the god of gods. And all the gods give way to him. Jupiter confesses that he dies without him.* Mercury leaves his trade of godship, enters the service of Plutus, turns the spit, and washes the dishes.

This enthronement of gold in the place of God, recurs in the fourteenth century. The difficulty is to bring forth this lazy gold from the dark haunts in which it slumbers. It would be a curious history that of the *thesaurus*, from the time when it nestled under the dragon of Colchos, the Hesperides, or the Niebelungen, from its sleep in the temple of Delphi, and in the palace of Persepolis. Alexander, Carthage, and Rome, rouse it up and shake it;† but in the middle ages we find it again asleep in the churches, where, in order to rest the better, it puts on sacred forms, such as crosses, shrines, and reliquaries. Who will be bold enough to draw it forth from thence, clear-sighted enough to descry it in the earth where it loves to hide? What magician will evoke and profane that sacred thing which is worth all things, that blind omnipotence which nature gives?

The middle ages could not so soon arrive at the great modern idea: *Man can create wealth;* he changes a worthless material into an object of price, giving it the wealth that he has within himself, that of form, of art, of an intelligent will. At first he sought wealth more in the matter than in the form. He fastened pertinaciously

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* Αφ' οὐ γὰρ ὁ Πλοῦτος οὗτος ἤρξατο βλέπειν,
Απόλωλ' ὑπὸ λιμοῦ.

—Aristoph. Plut., v. 1174. See also verses 129, 133, 1152, and 1168—9.

† Each of the great revolutions of the world is also the epoch of the great apparitions of gold. The Phocœans bring it forth from Delphi, Alexander from Persepolis: Rome takes it out of the hands of the last successor of Alexander; Cortes carries it off from America. Each of these epochs is remarkable for a sudden change not only in the prices of commodities, but also in ideas and manners. But, however violently gold is impelled towards Europe, it obeys other attractions likewise. It has its flux and reflux. Asia calls it back to her, for all we can do. Rome returned her in payment for supplies for luxury more than she wrung from her by fiscal extortion. In our days, since Eastern Asia will accept only gold for its produce, the gold which England pumps out of Europe and America, goes away gradually and is buried in Asia: the American piastres melted down and recast into louis, napoleons, and sovereigns, are finally destined to gild the pagodas and idols of China and Japan. See M. Ampère's notice on M. Abel Rémusat, Revue des Deux Mondes, 1833.

on that matter, tormented nature with a furious love, and asked of it what all men ask of their beloved, life itself, immortality.* But notwithstanding the marvellous fortunes of your Lulle and Flamels, gold, so often found, appeared but to vanish again, always leaving the furnace-blower breathless; it vanished and melted away unpityingly, and with it the man's substance, his life and soul, all cast into the crucible.†

Then the unhappy wretch, ceasing to hope in human power, renounced himself and abdicated every good thing belonging to him, God and his own soul, and called evil and the devil to his aid. As king of the subterraneous abysses, the devil was undoubtedly the monarch of gold. See in Notre Dame de Paris, and in many other churches, the sad representation of the poor man who gives his soul for gold, enfeofs himself to the devil, kneels before the beast, and kisses his hairy paw.

The devil, persecuted along with the Manicheans and the Albigeois, and expelled with them from the towns, lived with them in the wild places. He rode over the heath with the witches of Macbeth. Witchcraft, a disgusting abortion of the old vanquished religions, had this much, however, in its favour, that it was an appeal, not only to nature, as alchemy was, but even already to will; to an evil will, indeed, to the devil. It was a bad form of industrialism, which, not being able to extract from the will the treasures contained in its alliance with nature, tried to gain by violence and crime what labour, patience, and intelligence alone can give.

In the middle ages, the man who knows where gold is, the real alchemist, the true sorcerer, is the Jew; or that demi-Jew, the Lombard.‡ The Jew, the unclean man, the man who cannot touch goods or woman but they shall be burned, the man of insults, whom every one spits on,§ is the very one who must be applied to.

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* The final purpose of alchemy was not so much to obtain gold as to be master of the pure, the potable gold, the beverage of immortality. A marvellous story was current of a neatherd in Sicily, in the time of King William, who having found a gold flask in the earth, drank the liquor it contained and was restored to youth. Roger Bacon, Opus Majus, p. 469.

† Some boasted that they had not blown the coals to no purpose. Raymond Lulle, in their traditions, goes over to England, and to encourage the king to the crusade makes 6,000,000 worth of gold for him in the Tower of London. It was coined into rose nobles, *which are still called to this day Raymond nobles.* It is stated in the Ultimatum Testamentum, ascribed to him, that on one occasion he converted into gold more than twenty tons of mercury, lead, and tin. Pope John XXII., to whom Pagi attributes a treatise on the Permutatory Art, says in that work, that he transmuted in Avignon 200 ingots weighing each a quintal, that is to say 20,000 pounds of gold. Was this a mode of accounting for the enormous riches amassed in his cellars?—After all they were forced to confess among themselves, that this gold which they obtained by quintals had no quality of gold except the colour.

‡ In matters of usury, it is said, the Jews were but imitators of their predecessors the Lombards. Muratori, Antiqu., vi. 371.

§ In Toulouse they were buffeted thrice a year, to punish them for having in former times given up the city to the Saracens; they petitioned ineffectually

Dirty and prolific nation, which, above all others, possessed that breeding, multiplying virtue, which fecundated at will the ewes of Jacob's flock and Shylock's sequins; persecuted, expelled, and recalled during all the middle ages, they constituted the indispensable medium between the fisc and its victim, between the agent and his patient, pumping up gold from below, and delivering it to the king above, with ugly grimaces.* But some portion of it always stuck to themselves. Patient, indestructible, they vanquished by force of endurance.† They have solved the problem of volatilising riches; emancipated by the system of bills of exchange, they are now free, they are masters; beaten and buffeted continually, behold them at last seated on the throne of the world.‡

Nothing but the horrible pressure of the fisc could induce the poor man to accost the Jew, to approach his gloomy and ill-famed little dwelling, and speak to the man who, they say, crucified little children.§ Between the fisc that longs to suck his marrow and his blood, and the devil who seeks his soul, the poor man will at last take the Jew as a middle term.

So when his last resource was gone, when his bed was sold, and

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against this treatment under Charles the Bald. In Béziers, they were pelted out of the town with stones during all the Holy week. They redeemed themselves from this in 1160. See Castel, Mémoires du Languedoc, iii. 523. They began under the reign of Philip Augustus to wear the yellow stripe, and the council of Latran imposed this as a law on all the Jews in Christendom (canon 68).

* They were often matter of treaty between lords. In the ordonnance of 1230 it is said: "Let no one in our realm retain the Jew of another lord; wherever any one shall find his Jew he may take him as his own slave (tanquam proprium servum), however long he may have sojourned on the lands of another lord." We find indeed in the Etablissements that the household goods of Jews belonged to the barons. Gradually the Jews passed into the king's hands, like coin and other fiscal rights.

† Patiens quia æternus. It is the custom for the Jews to wait in the way of each new pope, and present him with a copy of their law. Is this a homage, or a reproach addressed by the old law to the new, by the mother to the daughter? "The day of the coronation, Pope John XXIII. rode with his papal mitre from street to street, in the town of Boulogne la Grasse, making the sign of the cross up to the street where dwelt the Jews, who offered him their law in writing, which, with his own hand he took and received, and then looked at it and immediately threw it behind him, saying: 'Your law is good, but ours is better.' And when he went away from thence the Jews followed him, thinking to overtake him, and his horse's housings were all torn. And in all the streets he passed through the pope scattered money, that is to say, deniers, called quatrins and mailles de Florence; and there were before and behind him 200 armed men, and each of them had in his hand a leathern mace, with which they struck the Jews in such a manner that it was right merry to see." Monstrelet, ii. 315, anno 1409.

‡ I read in an English newspaper, October, 1834: "Little business has been done in the Stock Exchange to-day, this being a holiday with the Jews." But they have the superiority not in wealth alone: we are tempted to accord them one of another kind when we see that the majority of those who now do most honour to Germany are converted Jews.

§ See the ballads published by M. Francisque Michel.

his wife and children, lying on the bare ground, shook with ague, or cried for food; then, with downcast head, and body more bowed than if he had his load of wood on his back, he moved slowly to the hated house, and long remained irresolute at the door, before he ventured to knock. The Jew having opened the little grating, a long and difficult dialogue began. What said the Christian? For God's sake? The Jew killed thy God. For pity's sake? What Christian ever had pity on a Jew? Words are of no avail in this case; a pledge must be forthcoming. But what can a man give who has nothing? The Jew will tell him, softly: "My friend, conformably with the ordinances of our lord the king, I lend neither on bloody garment nor on ploughshare.* . . . . No, for pledge I will have only yourself. I am not of your people, my law is not the Christian law, it is a more ancient one. (*In partes secanto.*) Your flesh shall answer for it. Blood for gold, as life for life. A pound of your flesh, which I am going to nourish with my money, a pound only of your fair flesh."† . . . . The gold lent by the murderer of the Son of Man, can be but a murderer's gold, anti-human, anti-divine, or, as they used then to say, *anti-Christ.* Here, then, we have *anti-Christ* in gold, just as Aristophanes showed us *anti-Jupiter* in Plutus.

This anti-Christ, this anti-god, will despoil God, that is the Church; the Church secular, the priests and the pope; the Church regular, the monks and the templars.

The scandalously prompt death of Benedict XI. threw the Church into the hands of Philip the Fair; it enabled him to make a pope, to withdraw the papacy from Rome and bring it to France, and there, in its gaol, make it work for his advantage, dictate to it lucrative bulls, turn its infallibility to good account, and constitute the Holy Spirit, as it were, scribe and receiver-general to the house of France.

After Benedict's death, the cardinals shut themselves up in conclave at Perugia; but the two parties, French and anti-French, were so well balanced, that there was no bringing any thing to a conclusion. The townspeople, in their impatience, in their Italian *fury* to see a pope elected in Perugia, could think of no better expedient than to starve out the cardinals. The latter agreed that one of the two parties should name three candidates, of whom the other party should choose one. The right of choice fell to the French, and they selected a Gascon, Bertrand de Gott, Archbishop of Bordeaux. Up to that time, Bertrand had shown himself hostile to the king; but he was known to be, before all things, a friend to his own interest, and his conversion was confidently expected.

Philip, instructed by his cardinals, and furnished with their

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* Ordonn., i. 36.

† Shaksp., Merchant of Venice, i. 3. Sir Thomas Munro got possession, in Calcutta, thirty years ago, of a MS., in which is found the original story of the pound of flesh, &c.; only instead of Christian it is a Mussulman whom the Jew proposes to cut up. See Asiatic Journal.

letters, met the future pope in a forest near St. Jean d'Angely. Villani speaks of this secret interview, as if he was present at it. It is worth while to read this narrative for its sly *naïveté*.

"They heard mass together, and swore secrecy. Then the king began to talk to the archbishop in fine words, in order to reconcile him with Charles de Valois. After this he said to him: 'Look, archbishop, I have it in my power to make thee pope if I will; it is for this reason I am come to thee; for if thou wilt promise to do me six favours I will ask of thee, I will secure thee this dignity, and here is what will prove that I have the power to do so.' Then he showed him the letters and the delegations of both colleges. The Gascon, full of desire, thus seeing at once that it was entirely dependent on the king to make him pope, threw himself, like one bewildered with joy, at Philip's feet, and said: 'Monseigneur, now, indeed, I see thou lovest me more than any man alive, and that thou canst render me good for evil. It is for thee to command, and for me to obey, and I shall always be ready to do so.' The king raised him up, kissed him on the mouth, and said: 'The six special favours I ask of thee are the following: the first is, that thou reconcile me fully with the Church, and cause me to be pardoned the misdeed I committed in arresting Pope Boniface; the second, that thou restore communion to me and all mine; the third, that thou grant me the tithes of the clergy in my realm for five years, in order to aid towards the expenses of the war in Flanders; the fourth, that thou destroy and annul the memory of Pope Boniface; the fifth, that thou restore the dignity of cardinal to Messer Jacopo and Messer Piero Colonna, that thou replace them in their former state, and along with them make certain of my friends cardinals. As for the sixth favour and promise, I reserve it to myself to speak of it in due time and place, for it is a great and secret thing.' The archbishop promised all by oath on the *Corpus Domini*, and, moreover, gave his brother and two of his nephews for hostages. The king, on his part, promised and swore that he would cause him to be elected pope."*

Philip the Fair's pope, openly avowing his dependence, declared that he would be crowned in Lyons (November 14th, 1305). This coronation, which began the captivity of the Church, was suitably solemnised. At the moment the procession was passing, a wall loaded with spectators fell down, wounded the king, and killed the Duke of Bretagne. The pope was thrown down, and the tiara knocked off his head. Eight days afterwards, in a banquet given by the pope, a quarrel broke out between his people and those of the cardinals, and a brother of the pope's was killed.

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* G. Villani, viii. 80. The opinion of the day is well represented in some burlesque verses cited by Walsingham:

Ecclesiæ navis titubat, regni quia clavis
Errat. Rex, Papa, facti sunt unica cappa.
Hoc faciunt *do des*, Pilatus hic, alter Herodes.

Walsingh., p. 456, ann. 1306.

Meanwhile, the shameful bargain was gaining publicity. The pope was making prompt payment. He gave away, in fulfilment of his compact what did not belong to him, in exacting tithes from the clergy; tithes to the King of France, tithes to the Count of Flanders, to enable him to pay his debt to the king; tithes to Charles de Valois, for a crusade against the Greek empire. The motive of the crusade was a strange one; that poor Greek empire was weak, by the pope's account, and was not a sufficient bulwark for Christendom against the infidels.

Clement, having paid, thought he was clear, and had nothing to do but to enjoy his fortune as a newly installed proprietor, to *use and abuse*. As a baron rode the rounds of his lands to exercise his right of lodging and purveyance, so Clement began to travel over the church of France. From Lyons he proceeded towards Bordeaux, but by way of Macon, Bourges, and Limoges, in order to have the more ground to ravage. He went from bishopric to bishopric, seizing and devouring, with an army of familiars and servants. Wherever that swarm of locusts alighted, the place was stripped clean. The rancorous pontiff and ex-archbishop of Bordeaux deprived Bourges of its primacy over the capital of Guienne. He quartered himself on his enemy, the Archbishop of Bourges, like a tax-gatherer's bailiff or *eater*,* and kept house there in such a fashion that he left his host utterly ruined, and the primate of the Aquitaines would have died of hunger if he had not gone to the cathedral among his canons, and received the parson's dole out of the ecclesiastical distributions.†

Of all that Clement got by robbery, the best was reserved for a woman who squeezed the pope as he did the Church. This was the real Jerusalem to which went the money raised for the crusade. The fair Brunissende Talleyrand de Perigord, cost him, it is said, more than the Holy Land.

Clement was soon to be wofully troubled in this pleasant enjoyment of the Church's wealth. The tithes in prospect were not adequate to the actual wants of the royal fisc. The pope gained time by giving up the Jews to the king, and authorising him to seize them. The operation was accomplished in one day with a secrecy and promptitude that did honour to the king's servants. Not a Jew, it is said, escaped. Not content with selling their property, the king took upon himself to sue their debtors, declaring that their books were good proof of credits, and that a Jew's handwriting inspired him with full faith.

The Jew not yielding enough, he fell back on the Christian. He again debased the coinage, augmenting the nominal value and diminishing the weight, so that with two livres he paid the value of eight. But when he had to receive he would not take his own coin

* *Garnissaire ou mangeur d'office.* These words are synonimous in the language of the time.

† Contin. G. de Nangis, ad annum 1305.

for more than a third of its pretended worth: thus he committed two bankruptcies in opposite ways. All debtors took advantage of this opportunity. These coins of various value under the same name gave rise to countless quarrels. There was no coming to a mutual understanding; it was a perfect Babel. The only thing in which the people agreed (after all there was such a thing as a people) was to revolt. The king fled to the Temple, and the people would have followed him thither if means had not been taken to amuse them on the way with the pillage of the house of Etienne Barbet, a financier to whom the depreciation of the coinage was attributed. This ended the riot. The king had some hundreds hung up on the roadside trees round Paris. The fright forced him to be more friendly with the nobles. He restored them the right of judicial combat, in other words of impunity. This was a defeat for the royal government. The king of the lawyers abjured the law, and recognised the decisions of force. His position was a melancholy and dubious one, both in legislation and finance. Bandied about from the Church to the Jews, from the Jews to the communes, he fell back from the Flemish communes upon the clergy.

The nettest of all Philip's treasures, his patrimony to use and to spend, the fund on which he reckoned securely, was his pope. If he had bought that pope, if he fattened him with thefts and pillages, it was not with the intention of leaving him alone, but of making right good use of him, and levying upon him, like the Jew, a pound of flesh to be cut off from whatever part he pleased.

He had an infallible means of squeezing the pope, an all-powerful bugbear for frightening him into compliance, namely, the suit against Boniface VIII. What he required of Clement was precisely the suicide of the papacy. If Boniface was a heretic and a false pope, the cardinals he had made were false cardinals. Benedict XI. and Clement elected by them were again false popes, and without right or title, and not only they but all those whom they had appointed to or confirmed in ecclesiastical dignities; not only their appointments, but their acts of every kind. The Church was entangled in an endless web of illegality. On the other hand, if Boniface had been a true pope, as such he was infallible; his sentences retained their force, and Philip the Fair remained condemned.

Clement was no sooner enthroned than he had to listen to the croaking and imperious request of Nogaret, who enjoined him to prosecute his predecessor. The bargain was no sooner concluded than the devil demanded payment. The serfdom of the bought and sold man began; that soul once secured in the bonds of injustice, bitted and bridled, was to be ridden miserably to perdition.

Rather than thus kill the papacy in right and law, Clement chose to sacrifice it in deed and fact. He created at one stroke twelve cardinals devoted to the king, the two Colonnas, and ten Frenchmen or Gascons. These twelve, added to what remained of the same party whose nomination had been furtively obtained from

Celestine, for ever secured to the king the election of future popes. Thus Clement put the papacy into Philip's hands; an enormous concession, and yet it was not enough.

He thought to mitigate the rigour of his master by taking a further step. He revoked one of Boniface's bulls, that entitled *Clericis laicos*, which closed the purse of the clergy against the king. The bull *Unam sanctam* contained the glorious and sublime expression of papal supremacy. Clement sacrificed it; and still this was not enough.

He was at Poitiers, restless and sick in body and mind. Philip the Fair visited him there, and harassed him with still fresh demands. He now wanted a grand confiscation, that of the richest of the religious orders, the order of the Temple. The pope, beset by dangers on either hand, strove to elude Philip's pertinacity by loading him with all the favours it was in the power of the Holy See to bestow. He assisted his son, Philip Hutin, to establish himself in Navarre, and declared the king's brother, Charles de Valois, chief of the crusade. Lastly, he tried to secure the protection of the house of Anjou, by releasing the King of Naples from an enormous debt to the Church, canonising one of his sons, and adjudging the throne of Hungary to the other.

Philip always took what was offered him, but never desisted from his purpose. He beset the pope with accusations against the Temple. He found in Clement's own household, a templar who accused the order. In 1306, when Philip wanted to send commissioners to him to obtain a decision, the unfortunate pope assigned the most ridiculous excuse for not receiving them: "By the advice of our physicians we are about to take in the beginning of September some preparative drugs, and then a purgative medicine, which, according to the opinion of the said physicians will, with God's help, be of great use to us."*

These pitiable tergiversations lasted a long while. They would have lasted for ever if the pope had not learned on a sudden that the king was everywhere arresting the templars, and that his confessor, a Dominican monk and Grand Inquisitor of France, was proceeding against them without waiting for superior authority.

And what was the Temple? Let us endeavour to reply to this question in a few words.

The limits of the Temple in Paris comprised all that large, dreary, and ill-peopled quarter which has retained its name.† It was a third of Paris in those times. Beneath the shadow of the Temple, and

* Baluze, Acta vet. ad Pap. Av., 75. Quædam preparatoria sumere, et post modum purgationem accipere, quæ secundum prædictorum physicorum judicium, auctore Domine, valde utiles nobis erit.

† La Coulture du Temple, contiguous to that of St. Gervais, comprised almost the whole estate of the templars, which extended along the Rue du Temple, from the Rue Sainte Croix or the neighbourhood of the Rue de la Verrerie, to beyond the walls, ditches, and gate of the Temple. Sauval, i. 72.

under its potent protection, dwelt a multitude of servants, familiars, affiliated persons, and also culprits, for the houses of the order had the right of asylum. Philip the Fair himself took the benefit of this privilege, in 1306, when he was pursued by the insurgent people. There still remained at the epoch of the Revolution a monument of his royal ingratitude, the great castle with four turrets built in 1222. It served as a prison for Louis XVI.

The Temple of Paris was the centre of the order, its treasury; in it the general chapters were held. On that house depended all the *provinces* of the order: Portugal, Castile and Leon, Aragon, Majorca, Germany, Italy, Apulia and Sicily, England and Ireland. In the North, the Teutonic order had sprung from the Temple, as in Spain other military orders were formed out of its ruins. An immense majority of the templars were Frenchmen, particularly the grand masters. In several languages the knights were designated by their French name: *Frieri del Tiempio*, φρεριοι τοῦ Τεμπλοῦ. *

The Temple, like all the military orders, was an offshoot of Cîteaux. St. Bernard, the reformer of Cîteaux, drew up for the knights their enthusiastic and austere rule with the same pen that wrote the commentary on the Song of Songs. The sum and substance of that rule was exile and holy war unto death. The templars were always to accept battle, though it were at odds of three to one against them, were never to ask for quarter, nor ever to pay ransom, *not a bare wall, not an inch of land.* They had no rest to expect. They were not permitted to pass into other less austere orders.†

"Go forth happy, go forth in peace of mind," said St. Bernard to them; "drive before you with intrepid hearts the enemies of the cross of Christ, knowing full well that neither life nor death can put you out of the love of God, which is in Jesus. In every danger repeat to yourselves these words: *Living or dying we are the Lord's.* .... Glorious the victors, happy the martyrs!"‡

The following is the rough sketch he gives us of the appearance of the templar: "Hair shorn, beard shaggy, and foul with dust, begrimed with iron, black with parching wind and sun ... They like spirited and swift horses, but not gaily adorned and caparisoned ... What is especially gratifying in this multitude, this torrent that flows towards the Holy Land, is that you see in it but impious and wicked wretches. Christ converts an enemy into his champion; out of persecuting Saul he makes a St. Paul." .. Then in an eloquent itinerary, he conducts the penitent warriors from Bethlehem to Calvary, from Nazareth to the Holy Sepulchre.

The soldier has glory, the monk repose. The templar abjured both. He combined what was hardest to either life; the perils of the one and the abstinence of the other. The grand affair of the middle

* Sism., Rep. Ital., iv. 265. Pachymer. Hist. Andronic., l. v., c. 12, t. xiii., p. 235. † Dupuy, Pr., 115.

‡ S. Bernard, Exhort. ad milites Templi, i. 541—560.

ages was the holy war, the crusade; and its ideal seemed realised in the Temple. That order was the crusade become fixed and permanent, a noble representation of that spiritual crusade, that mystic warfare which the Christian wages unto death against the inward foe.*

Associated with the hospitalers in the defence of the holy places, the templars differed from them inasmuch as war was more peculiarly the aim and end of their institution.† Both rendered the greatest services to the common cause. What happiness it was for the pilgrim travelling along the dusty road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and expecting every moment to be assailed by Arab robbers, to catch sight of the red cross on the white mantle of the order of the Temple! In battle, the two orders formed alternately the van and the rear guard. In the middle were placed the croises who were newly arrived and unaccustomed to the wars of Asia. The knights surrounded and protected them, as one of the order proudly says, *as a mother does her child.*‡ These transient auxiliaries generally showed little gratitude for this disinterested kindness, and embarrassed rather than assisted the knights. Proud and fiery on their first arrival, and fully assured that a miracle would be wrought expressly in their favour, they never failed to break the truces, dragged the knights into useless dangers, put themselves in the way to be beaten, and quitted the country, leaving the knights to bear the brunt of the war, and accusing them of not having given them due support. The templars formed the van at Mansourah, when that young madcap, the Count of Artois, obstinately persisted in the pursuit, regardless of their advice, and flung himself into the town; they followed him from a sense of honour, and were all killed.

It was thought with good reason, that enough could never be done for an order so devoted and so serviceable. The most magnificent privileges were accorded to them. First, they could only be judged by the pope; but a judge so far away and placed so high, was not likely to be applied to; the templars, therefore, were judges in their own causes. They might also be witnesses in their own cause, so much faith was reposed in their honour. It was forbidden them to bestow any of their commanderies in compliance with the solicitations of great men or kings. They were not to pay either droit, or tribute, or toll.

Every one naturally desired to participate in such privileges. Innocent III. wished himself to be affiliated with the order; Philip the Fair solicited this favour in vain.

But even though the order had not possessed these great and magnificent privileges, multitudes would have flocked to join it. The Temple fascinated the imaginations of men by the potent attraction of mystery and vague terror. The admission of candidates took place

* Vita est militia super terram.
† See below, Jacques Molay's letter.
‡ Sicut mater infantem. Dupuy, Pr., 179.

in the churches of the order by night, and with closed doors. The inferior members were excluded. It was said, that if the King of France himself had entered on one of these occasions, he would never have come out alive.

The form of reception was borrowed from those dramatic and curious rites, those *mysteries* with which the ancient Church did not scruple to encompass holy things. The candidate was first presented as a sinner, a bad Christian, a renegade. He denied, like St. Peter, and the denial was expressed in this pantomime by an act,* that of spitting on the cross. The order took upon it to reconvert this renegade, and to raise up so much the higher as his fall had been deeper. In like manner in the feast of fools (*fatuorum*), man offered the homage even of his imbecility and infamy to the Church, which was to regenerate him. These sacred comedies, as they daily became less understood, grew more and more dangerous, more capable of shocking a prosaic age, which saw but the letter, and lost the meaning of the symbol.

In this particular case they were attended with another danger. The pride of the Temple might leave an impious equivocation in these forms. The candidate might possibly believe that beyond vulgar Christianity the order was about to reveal to him a loftier religion, and to open to him a sanctuary behind the sanctuary. The Temple was a name sacred in the estimation not alone of Christians: if for them it signified the Holy Sepulchre, for the Jews and the Mussulmans it meant the temple of Solomon.† The idea of the Temple, higher and more general than that even of the Church, hovered in a manner over every religion. The origin of the Church had a known date, that of the Temple was unknown. Contemporary with all ages, it was like a symbol of religious perpetuity. Even after the ruin of the templars the Temple subsists, at least as a tradition,

* See further on our reasons for considering this point as beyond doubt.—The fourteenth century probably beheld but a suspicious singularity in the fidelity of the templars to the ancient symbolic traditions of the Church, for instance, in their predilection for the number three. The candidate was *thrice* interrogated before being introduced into the chapter. He asked *thrice* for bread and water and the companionship of the order. He made *three* vows. The knights observed *three* great fasts, and communicated *thrice* a year. Alms were bestowed *thrice* a week in all the houses of the order. Each knight was bound to have *three* horses. They heard mass *thrice* a week. They ate meat *thrice* a week only. On fast days *three* different kinds of food might be furnished to them. They solemnly worshipped the cross at *three* periods of the year. They swore not to fly before *three* enemies. Those who deserved flagellation received that chastisement *thrice* in full chapter, &c., &c. The same remark applies to the charges brought against them. They were accused of denying the faith *three* times, and of spitting *thrice* on the cross. *Ter abnegabant, et horribili crudelitate ter in faciem spuebant ejus.* Philip the Fair's Circular of the 14th September, 1307. Et li fait renier par trois fois le prophète et par trois fois crachier sur la croix. Instruct. de l'inquisiteur Guillaume de Paris. Rayn., 4.

† In some English muniments the order of the Temple is called Militia Templi Salomonis (MS. Biblioth. Cotton. et Bodleinæ). They are also styled Fratres Militiæ Salomonis, in charter of 1197. Ducange. Rayn., 2.

in the doctrines of a multitude of secret societies down to the rosicrucians and the freemasons.*

The Church is Christ's house, the Temple that of the Holy Spirit. The Gnostics adopted for their grand festival, not Christmas or Easter, but Pentecost, the day when the Spirit descended. To what extent did these old sects subsist in the middle ages? Were the templars affiliated with them? Such questions, notwithstanding the ingenious conjectures of modern writers, must always remain obscure from the want of sufficient documents.†

The esoteric doctrines of the Temple seem at once to seek and shun the light. It is supposed they are embodied in the strange emblems sculptured on the doors of some churches, or in the last epic cycle of the middle ages, in those poems in which purified chivalry appears but as an odyssey, or pious and heroic journey in quest of the Graal, as the holy cup was called in which the Saviour's blood was collected. The mere sight of that cup prolonged life for 500 years. Children alone could approach it without dying. Round the Temple that contains it the templists or knights of the Graal keep armed watch.‡

This more than ecclesiastical chivalry, this cold and over-pure ideal, which was the end of the middle ages and their last dream, was, by its very loftiness, foreign to all reality, and incapable of being at all accommodated to practice. The templist remained in the poems, a misty and quasi-divine figure; the templar sank into brutality.

I have no wish to join the persecutors of this great order. The enemy of the templars has cleared them without intending it. The tortures by which he forced from them some shameful confessions seem a presumptive proof of innocence. We are disposed not to believe wretches who accuse themselves under the hands of the torturer. If there were foul spots, we are disposed no longer to see them, since they were effaced in the flames kindled round the fatal stake.

There subsist, however, serious avowals, obtained without the use of torture. Even those very points which were not proved, do seem not the less probable to all who know human nature, and who consider attentively the situation of the order in its latter days.

It was natural that laxity of discipline should creep in among these warlike monks, younger sons of noble houses, who ran a career of adventures far from Christendom, and often far from the eye of

* It is possible that the templars who escaped merged into secret societies. In Scotland they all disappeared but two. It has been remarked that the most secret mysteries of freemasonry are reputed to have emanated from Scotland, and that the highest grades are called Scotch. See Grouvelle and the writers who have followed him, Munter, Moldenhawer, Nicolaï, &c.

† See Hammer, Memoir on two Gnostic caskets, and the same author's memoir in the Mines d'Orient, and M. Raynouard's reply (Michaud, Hist. des Croisades, ed. 1828, v. 572).

‡ See *supra*, Book iv., ch. 9.

their leaders, amid the perils of a war to the death, and the temptations of a burning climate and a land of slaves, the luxurious Syria. Pride and honour sustained them, so long as there was a hope for the Holy Land. Let us give them credit for having resisted so long, when in each crusade their expectations were so cruelly deceived, when each prediction lied, and the promised miracles were always procrastinated. There was not a week but the bells of Jerusalem rang to give warning of the appearance of the Arabs in the desolated plain. The templars and hospitalers were continually called on to mount and sally forth from the walls. . . . At last they lost Jerusalem, and then St. Jean d'Acre. Forsaken soldiers, lost sentinels, is it surprising if, in the evening of this battle of two centuries, their arms dropped powerless by their sides?

The collapse that ensues after great efforts is proportionately great. The soul lifted up so high in heroism and sanctity falls with a very heavy blow on the earth. Sick and soured, it plunges into evil with a savage appetite, as if to revenge itself for having believed.

Such seems to have been the fall of the Temple. All that had been holy in the order was turned into sin and pollution. After having tended from man to God, it turned from God to the Beast.* Its pious love-feasts and heroic fraternities covered secret abominations.† They hid their infamy from their own consciences, by plunging deeper into it; and still their pride found wherewithal to be gratified. This perpetual people, without family or carnal generation, recruited by election and mind, made a parade of its contempt for woman,‡ sufficing to itself, and loving nothing beyond itself.

As they did without women, so also they did without priests, sinning and confessing among themselves.§ And they did without

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* Not to mention our popular phrase, "Boire comme un templier," to drink like a templar; the English had another: "Dum erat juvenis sæcularis, omnes pueri clamabant publice et vulgariter unus ad alterum: Custodiatis vobis ab osculo Templariorum." Conc. Britann., p. 360, testis 24.

† The austere rule imposed on the order at its origin, seems at its fall like a fearful indictment: Domus hospitis non careat lumine ne tenebrosus hostis..... Vestiti autem camisiis et cum femoralibus dormiant. Dormientibus itaque fratribus usque mane nunquam deerit lucerna....Acts of the council of Troyes 1128, ap. Duc. Templ., 92—102.

‡ See, however, Processus contra Templarios. MS. Bibl. Royale. What we find there in the Interrogatories respecting their relations with women (*Item les maîtres fesoient frères et suers du Temple*, fol. 10), is to be understood of persons affiliated with the order; these there were of both sexes (see Dupuy, 99, 102); but I do not remember to have met with any declaration on this point, even in the depositions most unfavourable to the order. They rather avow another much more infamous and abominable practice.

§ The manner of holding chapter and absolving. After chapter the master or he who holds the chapter shall say: "Fair sirs and brothers, the pardon of our chapter is such that whoso has taken away the alms of the house altogether wrongfully, or who has kept any thing in his own name, shall have no pardon from our chapter. But all the things *you forbear to say for shame of the flesh,*

God, too; taking up with oriental superstitions and Saracen magic. The denial of the faith, which was at first symbolical, became real; they abjured a God who did not give victory, treated him as a faithless ally who betrayed them, insulted him, and spat on the cross.

Their real god, it seems, became the order itself. They worshipped the Temple and the Templars, their chiefs, as living Temples. They symbolised blind devotedness and complete surrender of the will under the filthiest and most revolting ceremonies. The order, thus contracting itself, fell into a ferocious self-worship, a Satanic egotism. That which is supremely diabolical in the devil is his adoration of himself.

These, it will be said, are conjectures. But they flow too naturally from a great number of avowals, obtained without having recourse to torture, particularly in England.*

Whatever may have been the general character of the order, I am far from affirming that the statutes became expressly shameful and impious. Such things are not committed to writing. Corruption enters an order by mutual and tacit connivance. The old forms are continued, only the meaning is changed, and they are perverted by a bad interpretation, which no one openly avows.

But even though these infamies and impieties had been universal in the order, they would not have been sufficient to bring about its destruction. The clergy would have concealed and hushed them up, like so many other ecclesiastical abuses. The cause of the Temple's ruin was, that it was too rich and too powerful. There was another more immediate cause, but of this I will speak presently.

In proportion as the fervour of religious warfare diminished in Europe, and people went less to the crusades, they gave more to the Temple to be dispensed from going. The affiliated of the order were innumerable; it was enough to pay two or three deniers a year to become on Many gave all they had, and even their persons. Two counts of Provençe thus bestowed themselves. A king of Aragon (Alphonso the Battler, 1131-32) bequeathed his kingdom to the Temple; but the kingdom would not sanction the bequest.

We may judge of the prodigious number of the possessions of the templars, from that of the lands, farms, and ruined forts, in our towns or rural districts, which still bear the name of the Temple.

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or fear of the justice of the house, God pardons you them at the request of his sweet Mother." Conciles d'Angleterre, ed. 1737, ii. 383.

* The filthiest depositions, and those which would seem with the most probability to have been dictated by torture, are those of the English witnesses, who, nevertheless, were not tortured :—Post redditas gratias capellanus ordinis templi increpavit fratres dicens: " Diabolus comburet vos," vel similia verba..... Et vidit braccias unius fratrum templi et ipsum tenentem faciem versus occidentem posteriora versus altare.....Ostendebatur imago Crucifixi et dicebatur ei, quod sicut antea honoraverat ipsum sic modo vituperaret, et conspueret in eum : quod et fecit. Item dictum fuit ei quod depositis bracciis verteret dorsum ad crucifixum : quod lacrymando fecit.....Ibid.

They owned, it is said, more than 9000 manors in Christendom.* In a single province of Spain, the kingdom of Valencia, they had seventeen fortresses. They bought the kingdom of Cyprus for ready money; they were not able, indeed, to retain it.

With such privileges, wealth, and possessions, it was very difficult to remain humble.† Richard Cœur de Lion said, when he was dying, "I leave my avarice to the monks of Cîteaux, my luxury to the Gray Friars, and my haughtiness to the Templars."

For want of Mussulmans to contend against, this restless and indomitable soldiery waged war against the Christians. They fought against the King of Cyprus and the Prince of Antioch, dethroned Henry II., King of Jerusalem, and the Duke of Croatia, and ravaged Thrace and Greece. All the croises who came back from Syria talked of nothing but the treacheries of the templars, and their connexions with the infidels.‡ They were notoriously in relation with the Assassins of Syria,§ and the people remarked with dismay the similarity of their costume to that of the followers of the Old Man of the Mountain. They had welcomed the soudan in their houses, permitted the Mohammedan worship, and warned the infidels of the arrival of Frederick II.‖ In their furious quarrels with their rivals, the hospitalers, they had gone so far as to shoot arrows into the Holy Sepulchre.¶ It was alleged that they had slain a Mussulman chief, who wished to turn Christian, in order to cease paying them tribute.

The house of France thought it had especial reason to complain of the templars. They had killed Robert de Brienne at Athens; they had refused to aid in the ransom of St. Louis; and lastly, they had declared for the house of Aragon, against that of Anjou.

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* Habent Templarii in Christianitate novem millia maneriorum. Mat. Paris, 417. Subsequently, the Chronicle of Flanders attributes to them 10,500 manors. In the sénéschausée of Beaucaire the order bought, in forty years, property worth 10,000 livres annually. The single priory of St. Gilles had fifty-four commanderies. Gronvelle, p. 196.

† In their old statutes we find the words, Regula pauperum commilitonum templi Salomonis. Rayn., 2.

‡ "Et Acre une cité traherent ils par leur grande mesprison." Chron. de St. Denys, ap. Dupuy, 26. See Hammer, Hist. of the Assassins.

§ Dupuy, 5, 6.

‖ In 1259, the animosity rose to such an excess, that a battle was fought, in which the templars were cut to pieces. Historians say that not one of them escaped.

¶ Joinville, p. 81, ap. Dup., Pr., 163. When the payment of the ransom was to be made there were 30,000 livres wanting to the full amount. Joinville requested the templars to lend the money to the king. They refused and said: "You know we receive the commands in such wise that we by our oaths cannot surrender them except to those from whom we have received them." They said, however, that he might take the money from them by force, as the order had in Acre wherewith to indemnify itself. Joinville then went on board their "master galley," and going below demanded the keys of a coffer he saw before him. His demand being refused he took up an axe, raised it, and threatened to "use the king's key." Then the marshal of the Temple took him to witness that he compelled him by force, and gave him the key. Joinville, p. 81, ed. 1761.

The Holy Land was utterly and confessedly lost in 1191, and the crusades ended. The knights came back useless, formidable, and objects of odium. They brought back into an exhausted kingdom, and under the eyes of a needy and grasping king, a monstrous treasure, 150,000 florins of gold, and ten mules' load of silver.* What were they going to do, in times of peace, with such forces and riches? Would they not be tempted to create for themselves a sovereignty in the West, as the Teutonic knights did in Prussia, the hospitalers in the islands of the Mediterranean, and the Jesuits in Paraguay?† Had they joined with the hospitalers, no king in the world could have resisted them.‡ There was no state in which they had not fortresses; they were connected with all the noble families. It is true they were scarcely more, in all, than 15,000 knights; but these were all men inured to war, amidst a people that was no longer so, since private wars had ceased. They were admirable horsemen, rivalling the Mamlouks in that accomplishment; as intelligent, nimble, and rapid, as the feudal cavalry was heavy and inert. They were seen everywhere riding proudly along on their admirable Arab horses, followed each by a squire, a page, and a servant at arms, besides their black slaves. They could not vary their dress, but they had oriental arms of great price, of finely-tempered steel, richly damasked.

They were fully conscious of their strength. The templars of England dared to say to Henry III.: "You shall be king, as long as you are just." The phrase was a menace in their mouths. All this gave Philip the Fair matter for serious thought.

He had a grudge against many of them, for not having subscribed to the appeal against Boniface, except under reserve, *sub protestationibus*. They had refused to admit the king into the order. They had refused him, and had served him—a twofold humiliation. He owed them money;§ the Temple was a sort of bank, as the temples of antiquity often were.‖ When he found an asylum among them,

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* Audivit dici a Delphino prædicto quod cum magister venit de ultra mare, portavit secum centum et quinquaginta millia florenorum aureorum et decem summarios oneratos turronum grossorum. Archives of the Vatican. Rayn., 45.

† These orders, equally powerful, were equally objects of attack. The Livonian bishops brought charges no less serious against the Teutonic knights. From the time of John XXIII. to that of Innocent, the hospitalers had to endure the same attacks. See Grouvelle, 22.

‡ See p. 75. In Castile, the templars, the hospitalers, and the knights of St. Iago had a treaty of mutual security against the king himself. Munter, 25.

§ Is magistrum ordinis exosum habuit, propter importunam pecuniæ exactionem, quam in nuptiis filiæ Isabellæ ei mutuo dederat. Thomas de la Moor, in Vita Eduard II., ap. Baluze, Pap. Aven. notœ, p. 189. The Temple served at various times as a depôt for the king's treasures. Philip Augustus ordered (1190) that all his revenues, during his absence beyond sea, should be carried to the Temple and locked up in coffers, of which his agents were to have one key and the templars another. Philip the Bold ordered that the public savings should be deposited there. The treasurer of the templars was styled Trésorier du Temple et du Roi, and even Trésorier du Roi au Temple. Sauval, ii. 37.

‖ See Mitford, Hist. of Greece.

in 1306, from the violence of the insurgent people, he had, no doubt, an opportunity of admiring the treasures of the order; the knights were too confident and too proud to hide any thing from him.

It was a strong temptation for the king.* His victory at Mons en Peuelle had ruined him. Already constrained to give up Guienne, he was now compelled to let go Flemish Flanders. His pecuniary distress was extreme, and yet he was under the necessity of revoking a tax against which Normandy had rebelled. The people was already in so excited a state, that assemblages of more than five persons were prohibited. The king could not get out of this desperate situation, except by some grand confiscation. Now, the Jews having been expelled, the blow could only fall on the priests or the nobles, or else on an order which belonged to the one body or the other, but which, by reason of that very circumstance not appertaining exclusively to either, would be defended by no one. Far from being defended, the templars were rather assailed by their natural defenders. The monks prosecuted them; the nobles and the greatest lords of France gave their written sanction to the proceedings.

Philip the Fair had been educated by a Dominican, and had a Dominican for his confessor. For a long while these monks had been friendly to the templars; so much so, that they had pledged themselves to solicit, from every dying man they confessed, a legacy for the Temple.† But by degrees the two orders had become rivals. The Dominicans had a military order of their own, the *Cavalieri Gaudenti*,‡ which attained no great eminence. To this casual rivalry is to be added a fundamental cause of hatred. The templars were of noble blood; the Dominicans, like all the mendicants, were chiefly *roturiers*, though they numbered illustrious laymen, and even kings, in their third order.

Both the mendicants and the lawyers, Philip the Fair's counsellors, were filled with a common spirit of malice, a leaven of levelling rancour, against the nobles, men of the sword, and knights. The lawyers naturally hated the templars as monks; the Dominicans detested them as soldiers and mundane monks, who enjoyed simultaneously the advantages of sanctity and the pride of the military life. The order of St. Dominick, inquisitorial from its origin, might think itself bound in conscience to destroy, in its rivals, misbelievers doubly

* See in Dupuy a pamphlet which Philip the Fair probably caused to be addressed to himself: Opinio cujusdam prudentis regi Philippo ut regnum Hieros, et Cypri acquireret pro altero filiorum suorum, ac de invasione regni Ægypti et de dispositione bonorum ordinis Templariorum. See also Walsingham. The idea of applying their wealth to the service of the Holy Land is said to have been suggested by Raymond Lulle. Baluz, Pap. Aven.

† Statutes of the chapter general of the Dominicans, in 1243. Grouvelle, p. 25.

‡ See the history of this order by the Dominican Federici, 1787. They profited, however, by the wealth of the Temple; many templars passed into their order. Grouvelle, 116.

dangerous, both by their importation of Saracenic superstitions, and by their connexions with the heretics of the West, who would no longer adore the Holy Spirit.

The blow was not unforeseen, as has been alleged. The templars had time to see it coming;* but pride destroyed them; they always believed that no one would dare to assail them.

The king, indeed, hesitated. He tried indirect means in the first instance. For example, he requested to be admitted into the order. Had he succeeded in this, he would probably have made himself grand master, as Frederic the Catholic did with respect to the military orders of Spain. He would have applied the wealth of the Temple to his own use, and the order would have been preserved.

Since the loss of the Holy Land, and even previously, it had been signified to the templars that it was highly expedient to unite them with the hospitalers.† United with a more docile order, the Temple would have offered less resistance to the kings.

They would not hear of this. The grand master, Jacques Molay, a poor knight of Bourgogne, but a brave veteran, who had done himself honour in the East, in the last battles fought there by the Christians, replied, that St. Louis had, indeed, formerly proposed the union of the two orders, but that the King of Spain had not consented to the measure; that before the hospitalers could unite with the templars, a great amendment in them would be requisite; and, that the order of the Temple was founded more exclusively with a view to war.‡ He concluded with these bold words: "There are many persons who would take away the wealth of the monks, rather than bestow any upon them. . . . . But if this union of the two orders be effected, the new body will be so strong and mighty, that it will be fully able to defend its rights against any person in the world."§

Whilst the templars were so proudly resisting all concession, the ill reports against them were gathering strength. They themselves contributed to them. A knight said to Raoul de Presles, one of the gravest men of the times, that "in the chapter general of the order there was a thing so secret, that if any one had the misfortune to see it, were he even the King of France, no fear of torment would hinder those of the chapter from killing him if they could."‖

* They had gloomy forebodings. An English templar meeting a newly admitted knight, said to him: "Art thou admitted a brother of our order?" The other replying that he was, the first speaker said: "Were thou seated on top of the belfry of St. Paul's in London, thou couldst not look down on greater misfortunes than will befall thyself before thou diest." Conc. Brit., p. 387, col. 2.

† The council of Strasburg held in 1272, and several other ecclesiastical assemblies, had proposed this union. Rayn., 10.

‡ Si unio fieret, multum opporteret quod Templarii lavarentur, vel Hospitalarii restringerentur in pluribus. Et ex hoc possent animarum pericula provenire.....Religio hospitalariorum super hospitalitate fundata est. Templarii vero super militia proprie sunt fundati. Dupuy, Pr., 180.

§ Dupuy, Pr., 181.

‖ Ibid., 139. Another said: "Wert thou my father and couldst become

A templar newly admitted protested against the form of admission before the official of Paris.* Another confessed to a cordelier, who enjoined him for penance to fast every Friday for a year without his shirt.† Another who was of the pope's household, "ingenuously confessed to him all the evil he had perceived in his order, in presence of a cardinal, his cousin, who instantly wrote down this deposition."‡

Ugly rumours were circulated at the same time respecting the terrible prisons to which the heads of the order consigned recalcitrant members. One of the knights declared "that an uncle of his had entered the order sound and hearty, with hawks and hounds, and in three days he was dead."§

The people eagerly received these tales; to their thinking, the templars were too rich‖ and not very generous. Though the grand master in his examinations boasted of the munificence of the order, one of the griefs alleged against this opulent corporation was, that "alms were not made in it as was fitting."¶

Matters were ripe. The king called the grand master and the chiefs of the order to Paris, flattered, cajoled, and lulled them to sleep. They walked of their own accord into the net, like the Protestants at the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day.

He had recently augmented their privileges.** He had requested the grand master to be godfather to one of his children. On the 12th of October, 1307, Jacques Molay, specially named by himself, along with other high personages, held the spade at the burial of Philip's sister-in-law;†† on the 13th he was arrested with the 140

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grand master of the whole order, I would not have thee enter it, because we have three articles among us in our order which no one shall ever know but God and the devil, and we the brothers of the order." (51 test., p. 361.) See the stories that were current of people having been killed for having seen the secret ceremonies of the Temple. Concil. Brit., ii. 361.

* Dupuy, Pr., 207. This was the first of the 140 deponents. Dupuy has mutilated the passage. See MS. in the Archives du Royaume, K. 413.

† Ibid., 241. ‡ Ibid., 13.

§ Sanus et hilaris cum avibus et canibus, et tertia die sequenti mortuus fuit. Conc. Brit., p. 36.

‖ Tosjors achetoient sans vendre...
Tant va pot à eau qu'il brise.
Chron. en vers, citée par Rayn., 7.

¶ In Scotland they were accused, in addition to their cupidity, of not being hospitable: "Likewise they said that they did not willingly grant hospitality to the poor, but for fear's sake to the rich and the powerful; and that they were very greedy of acquiring the property of others for their order by fair means and foul." Concil. Brit., 40th Scotch witness, p. 382.

** It is curious to see with what lavish eulogiums and favours he enticed them into his kingdom since 1304: "Philippus Dei gratia Francorum Rex: opera misericordiæ, magnifica plenitudo quæ in sancta domo militiæ Templi, ab olim divinitus instituta, longe lateque per orbem terrarum exercentur.....merito nos induenut ut dictæ domui Templi et fratribus ejusdem in regno nostro ubilibet constitutis, quos sincere diligimus et prosequi favore cupimus speciali, regiam liberalitatis dextram extendimus. Rayn., 44.

†† Baluze, Pap. Aven., 590.

templars who were in Paris. The same day sixty were arrested in Beaucaire, and then a multitude of others all over France. The consent of the people and that of the university were made sure.* The very day of the arrest the citizens were summoned by parishes and brotherhoods to the king's garden in the city, and were preached to by monks. An idea may be formed of the violence of these popular harangues from that of the royal letter which was sent all over France: "A bitter thing, a deplorable thing, a thing horrible to think of, terrible to hear! a thing execrable for wickedness, detestable for infamy!... A mind endowed with reason compassionates and is distressed in its compassion, in seeing a nature which exiles itself beyond the bounds of nature, which forgets its principle, disregards its dignity, and, lavish of itself, becomes assimilated to beasts devoid of reason; what do I say? which surpasses the brutality of the beasts themselves!"† We may conceive the amazement and terror with which such a letter was received by every Christian soul. It was like a blast of the last trumpet.

Then followed a summary of the charges against the order: renunciation of the faith, betrayal of Christendom in favour of the infidels, disgusting initiation, mutual prostitution; lastly, that climax of horrors, the spitting on the cross!‡

All these facts had been denounced by templars. Two knights, a Gascon and an Italian, in prison for their misdeeds, were said to have revealed all the secrets of the order.§

What most struck the imagination was the strange rumours that were current respecting an idol said to be worshipped by the templars. The stories about it varied. Some said it was a bearded head, others that it was a head with three faces. By some accounts it had glittering eyes. Others made it a human skull; and others again asserted it was a cat.‖

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* The king studied constantly to make it participate in the investigation of this affair, and, therefore, in the responsibility. Nogaret read the act of accusation before the first assembly of the university, held the day after the arrest. Another assembly of all the masters and of all the students in each faculty, was held in the Temple: the grand master and some others were examined there, and again in a second assembly.

† Dupuy, 196.

‡ See the numerous articles of the act of accusation. (Dupuy.) It is curious to compare that document with another of the same kind, the bull of Pope Gregory IX. to the electors of Hildesheim, Lubeck, &c., against the Stadhinghians (Raynald, ann. 1234, xiii. 446). It is the accusation against the templars in a more cogent form. Does this conformity tend to show, as Von Hammer thinks, an affiliation between the templars and these sectaries?

§ Baluze, Pap. Aven., 99.

‖ According to the most numerous testimonies, it was a hideous head with a long white beard and glittering eyes (Rayn. 261), that they were accused of worshipping. In the instructions sent into the provinces by William of Paris, he directed that they should be interrogated concerning "an idol which is in the form of a man's head with a great beard," and the act of accusation published by the court of Rome, stated in Article XVI: "That in all the provinces they had idols that is to say, heads, some of which had three faces and some only one,

Whatever might be the value of these rumours, Philip the Fair had not lost time. The very day of the arrest he went in person

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and that there were among them some with a human skull." Arts. XLVII., sqq. "That in the assemblies, and especially in the great chapters, they worshipped the idol as a god, as their saviour, saying that that head could save them, and that it granted the order all riches, and made the trees to flourish and the plants of the earth to grow." Rayn., 287. The numerous depositions of the templars in France and Italy, and the indirect testimonies in England, corresponded with this count of the indictment, and added some circumstances. The head was worshipped as that of a saviour; "quoddam caput cum barba quod adorant et vocant salvatorem suum. (Rayn., 288.) Deodat Jaffet, admitted into the order at Pedenat, deposed, that he who received him showed him a head or idol, which appeared to him with three faces, saying to him: Thou must adore it as thy saviour and the saviour of the order of the Temple; and that he the witness worshipped the idol saying: Blessed be he who will save my soul (pp. 247—293). Cettus Ragonis, received a templar at Rome in a room in the palace of the Lateran, deposes that they showed him the idol and said to him: Commend thyself to it and pray it to grant thee health (p. 295). According to the first witness of Florence, the brothers said to it the Christian words: Deus adjuva me; and he added, that this adoration was a rite observed throughout the whole order (294). And, indeed, a minor friar in England deposes, that he had been told by an English templar that there existed in that country four principal idols, one in the sacristy of the Temple in London, one in Bristelham, a third apud Brueriam, and the fourth beyond the Humber (p. 297). The second Florentine witness adds a fresh circumstance, declaring that a brother said to the rest in chapter: "Adore this head.... Istud caput vester Deus est et vester Mahumet" (p. 295). Gauscrand de Montpesant says that it was made in figuram Baffometi, and Raymond Rubei deposing that he had been shown a wooden head, on which was painted *Figura Baphometi* adds: Et illam adoravit, osculando sibi pedes dicens *yalla*, verbum Saracenorum. M. Raynouard (p. 301) regards the word Baphomet in these two depositions as a corruption of the word Mahomet given by the first witness; and he thinks it indicative of a tendency on the part of the inquisitors to confirm those accusations of good understanding with the Saracens which were so current against the templars. In that case, we should be forced to admit, that all these depositions are completely false, and extorted only by torture, for nothing certainly can be more absurd than to make the templars more Mahometans than the Mahometans themselves, who do not worship Mahomet. But these testimonies are too numerous, and at once too unanimous and too discordant (Rayn. pp. 232, 237, 286—302). Besides they are far from being of fatal weight against the order. The very utmost the templars say is, that they had been frightened, that they had fancied they saw a devil's head or *tête de mauffe* (p. 290); that they had seen the devil himself in these ceremonies under the form of a cat or a woman (293—4). Without meaning to make the templars in every respect a sect of Gnostics, I am rather inclined to discern here, along with Von Hammer, a result of the influence of oriental doctrines. Baphomet in Greek (according to a rather doubtful etymology indeed) is the god who baptizes with the spirit; that one of whom it is written, "Ipse vos baptizabit in Spiritu Sancto et in igni" (Matth iii. 11.), etc. This was, according to the Gnostics, the Paraclete that descended on the apostles in tongues of fire. The Gnostic baptism was, in fact, a baptism of fire. Perhaps we may surmise an allusion to some ceremony of this kind in the rumours current among the people against the templars, to the effect, that "a new-born child of a templar and a girl, was cooked and roasted at the fire, and all the fat was taken, and their idol annointed therewith." Chron. de St. Denis, 28. May not this pretended idol have been a representation of the Paraclete, whose feast (Pentecost) was the most solemn festival of the Temple? Those heads, one of which should have been found in each chapter, were not discovered, it is true, except one; but this one bore the inscription LIII. The

and established himself in the Temple with his treasure and his Trésor des Chartes, and with an army of men of the law to schedule and inventory. This fine caption made him rich all at once.

CHAPTER IV.

Sequel—Destruction of the Order of the Temple, 1307—1314.

THE pope's astonishment was extreme when he learned that the king was doing without him in the prosecution of an order which could only be tried by the Holy See. His anger made him forget his usual servility, and his precarious and dependent position in the heart of the king's dominions. He suspended the powers of the ordinary judges, archbishops, and bishops, and even those of the inquisitors.

The king's reply was stern. He wrote to the pope: That God detests the lukewarm, that these delays are a sort of connivance at the crimes of the accused, and that the pope ought rather to excite the zeal of the bishops. "It would be a grave wrong to the prelates to take from them the office they hold of God. They have not deserved this outrage; nor will they endure it. The king could not tolerate it without violating his oath ... Who is that sacrilegious man, holy father, who will dare counsel you to despise those whom Jesus Christ sends, or rather to despise Christ himself?* If the inquisitors are suspended, the matter will never be brought to an end .. The king has not taken the affair in hand as accuser, but as champion of the faith and defender of the Church, for which he has to render an account to God."†

Philip led the pope to believe that he would commit the prisoners to his hands, reserving to himself only the custody of their wealth in order to apply it to the service of the Holy Land (Dec. 25, 1307).

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publicity and importance given to this count of the indictment doubtless induced the templars to remove all proof of it as soon as possible. As for the head seized in the chapter of Paris, they gave out that it was a reliquary, being the head of one of the 11,000 virgins (Rayn., 299). It had a great silver beard.

* Quis ergo sacrilegus vobis, Pater sancte, præsumet consulere quod vos eos spernitis, imo potius Jesum Christum eos mittentem? Dupuy, 11.

† Dupuy does not give the whole of this letter. Probably it was not sent, but rather promulgated among the people. On the other hand, we have one from the pope (Dec. 1, 1307), from which it would seem that the king had written to Clement V. *that persons of the pontifical court had given the king's servants to believe* that the pope required him to prosecute; that the king had been eager to *relieve his conscience from such a burden*, and to commit the whole affair to the pope, who thanks him much. This letter of Clement's appears to me, like the other, not so much addressed to the king as to the public: it is probably a reply to a letter that never was written.

His object was to induce the pope to restore the powers of the bishops and inquisitors which he had suspended. He sent him seventy-two templars to Poitiers, and despatched the principal men of the order from Paris, but did not send them further than Chinon. The pope was satisfied with this; he obtained the confessions of the Poitiers prisoners, and at the same time took off the suspension of the ordinary judges, reserving only to himself the trial of the heads of the order.

This languid sort of proceedure could not satisfy the king. If the thing had gone on in this slow and quiet way, and the prisoners had been pardoned as in the confessional, there would have been no pretext for keeping their property. Accordingly, whilst the pope imagined he had every thing in his own hands, the king was taking active measures through his confessor, the inquisitor-general of France. A hundred and forty confessions were obtained at once by tortures, in which fire and steel were employed,* and these confessions being once divulged, it was no longer in the pope's power to arrange the affair. He sent two cardinals to Chinon to ask the grand master and the leading members, if all these things were true; the cardinals persuaded them to confess, and they did so.† The pope, as was foreseen, reconciled them to the Church and recommended them to the king. He imagined that he had saved them.

Philip let him talk, and kept on in his own course. In the beginning of 1308 he caused all the templars in Provençe to be arrested by his cousin, the King of Naples.‡ At Easter the estates of the realm were assembled in Tours; and there the king caused a speech of singular violence against the clergy to be addressed to him: "The people of the realm of France urgently supplicates the king ... Let him bethink him that the prince of the children of Israel, Moses, the friend of God, with whom the Lord spoke face to face, seeing the apostacy of the worshippers of the golden calf, said: Let each man take his sword and slay his near relation ... He did not for this go and ask the consent of his brother Aaron, constituted high priest by order of God .... Why then should not the most Christian king proceed in like manner, *even against the whole clergy*, if the clergy erred thus, or upheld those who err?" §

To back this speech, twenty-six princes and lords constituted themselves accusers, and gave a power of attorney to proceed against the templars before the pope and the king. The power was signed

* Arch. du Royaume, K. 413. These depositions are extant in a great rouleau of parchment; they have been negligently epitomised by Dupuy, pp. 207—212.

† Confessus est abnegationem prædictam, nobis supplicans quatenus quemdam fratrem servientem et familiarem suum, quem secum habebat, volentem confiteri, audiremus. Letter of the cardinals. Dupuy, 241.

‡ Charles the Lame, addressing sealed letters to his officers, writes to them, "On the day I name to you, before it is light, or rather, while it is still quite dark, you shall open them. 13th January, 1308." Dupuy, Pr., 233.

§ Quare non sic procederet rex et princeps christianissimus etiam contra totum clerum, si sic erraret vel errantes sustineret vel faveret? Ap. Rayn. 42.

by the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, the counts of Flanders, Nevers, and Auvergne, the Viscount of Narbonne, and Count Talleyrand de Perigord. Nogaret boldly placed his signature between the names of Lusignan and Coucy.*

Armed with these adhesions, "The king," says Dupuy, "went to Poitiers, accompanied by a great multitude of people, who were those of his *procureurs*, whom the king had retained with him, to take their advice on the difficulties that might arise."†

On accosting the pope, he humbly kissed the holy father's feet; but the latter soon perceived that he had nothing to hope for. Philip would not hear of any kind of forbearance; it was necessary for him to treat the templars with rigour, if he would retain possession of their wealth. The pope, bewildered with vexation, wished to quit the city, and escape from his tyrant; who knows but he would even have fled from France? But he was not the man to go without his money. When he presented himself at the gates with his mules, his baggage, and his money-bags, he could not pass; and he found that he was, no less than the templars, the king's prisoner. Many times he attempted to abscond, but always in vain. It seemed as though his all-powerful master amused himself with the struggling tortures of that miserable soul.

Clement remained, therefore, and seemed to resign himself to necessity. On the 1st of August, 1308, he issued a bull, addressed to the archbishops and bishops. This document is singularly brief and concise, contrary to the usage of the court of Rome. It is evident the pope wrote it in spite of himself, and that some one held his hand as he traced the lines. Some bishops, according to the bull, had written that they knew not how those prisoners ought to be dealt with, who should persist in denying the accusations against them, or who should retract their confessions. "These things," says the pope, "are not left undecided by the written law, of which we know that many among you have full cognisance; it is not our intention, for the present, to make a new law in this matter, and we desire that you proceed as the law requires."

There was here a dangerous equivocation. Whether did *Jura scripta* mean the Roman law, or the canon law, or the rules of the inquisition?

The danger was the more real, inasmuch as the king did not let go his hold of the prisoners, and commit them to the pope, as he had given reason to hope he would. In the interview between them, he still amused Clement, and promised him the wealth of the order, to console him for not having the persons of its members. This wealth was to be disposed of in such a manner as the pope should point out.‡

* Dupuy, 235. † Ibid., 31.

‡ He had even already written to the King of England, assuring him that Philip was delivering over the possessions of the Temple to the papal agents, and urging him to imitate so good an example. Dupuy, 204. Letter of the 4th of October, 1307. Nevertheless, the *ordonnance de mainlevée*, by which Philip directed

This was taking him on his weak side. Clement was very uneasy as to what was to become of the property.*

The pope restored (July 5th, 1308) to the ordinary judges, archbishops, and bishops, their powers, which had been for a while suspended. On the 1st of August, he wrote that the judges might follow the common law; and on the 12th he left the affair to a commission. The commissioners were to collect the evidence in the matter in the province of Sens, at Paris, a bishoprie dependent on Sens. Other commissioners were named, who were to do the same thing in the other parts of Europe; the Archbishop of Canterbury for England, for Germany those of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves. The verdict was to be pronounced within two years from that time, in a general council, beyond the limits of France, at Vienne, in Dauphiné, on the soil of the Empire.

The commission, consisting chiefly of bishops,† was presided over by Gilles d'Aiscelin, Archbishop of Narbonne, a mild, weak man, of great learning and little courage. The king and the pope, each thought this man wholly his own. The pope thought still more surely to assuage Philip's discontent, by adding to the commission the king's confessor, a Dominican monk and grand inquisitor of France, the same who had begun the prosecution with so much violence and audacity.

The king made no remonstrance. He had need of the pope. The death of the Emperor Albert of Austria (May 1st, 1308) opened a grand prospect to the house of France. Philip's brother, Charles of Valois, whose destiny it was to ask for every thing, and get nothing, declared himself a candidate for the Empire. Had he succeeded, the pope would have become for ever the servant and the serf of the house of France. Clement wrote ostensibly for Charles of Valois, secretly against him.

Thenceforth, there was no more safety for the pope in the king's dominions. He contrived to quit Poitiers, and threw himself into Avignon (March 1309). He had pledged himself not to quit

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the property in question to be delivered to the pope's delegates, was not issued until January 15, 1309. Furthermore, he had conjoined with these papal delegates some agents of his own who watched over his interests in France, and who, under cover of the pontifical commission, encroached on the neighbouring domain. This we learn from a remonstrance of the seneschal of Gascony, who complains in the name of Edward II. of the usurpations of the King of France. Dupuy, 312.

* Elsewhere he lauds in the highest terms the disinterestedness of his dear son, who does not act from avarice, and desires to retain no hold on this wealth. Deinde vero Tu cui eadem fuerunt facinora nuntiata, non typo avaritiæ, cum de bonis Templariorum nihil tibi appropriare....immo ea nobis administranda, gubernanda, conservanda et custodienda liberaliter et devote dimisisti.....12th of August, 1308. Dupuy, 240.

† Dupuy, 240—242. The commission consisted of the Archbishop of Narbonne, the bishops of Bayeux, Mende, and Limoges, the three archdeacons of Rouen, Trente, and Maguelonne, and the provost of the church of Aix. The southrons, the more devoted to the pope, were, we see, in a majority.

France; and in this way he did not break, but only eluded his promise. Avignon was and was not France. It was a frontier, a mixed position, a sort of asylum, as Geneva was for Calvin, and Ferney for Voltaire. Avignon depended on many persons, and on no one. It was imperial ground, an old municipality, a republic under two kings. The King of Naples, as Count of Provençe, and the King of France, as Count of Toulouse, had each the lordship of a moiety of Avignon. But the pope was about to be king of it much more than they; he whose abode there would cause such an influx of money into that little town.

Clement thought himself free, but dragged his chain after him. The king still held him fast, by means of the prosecution against Boniface. He was no sooner settled in Avignon, than he was informed that Philip was bringing him an army of witnesses over the Alps. At their head was Raynaldo di Supino, that Captain of Ferentino, who had been Nogaret's right hand at Anagni. Three leagues from Avignon the witnesses fell into an ambush that had been laid for them. Raynaldo escaped with great difficulty to Nîmes, where he had an account of this proceeding drawn up in legal form by the king's lawyers.*

The pope wrote with all speed to Charles of Valois, begging him to quiet his brother. To the king himself he wrote (August 23rd, 1309), that if the witnesses were delayed on their way, it was not his fault, but that of the king's men, who ought to have seen to their safety.† Philip upbraided him with indefinitely postponing the examination of the witnesses, who were old and infirm, and with, in fact, seeking to procrastinate until they were dead. Partisans of Boniface's had, it was said, killed or tortured witnesses. One of the latter had been found dead in his bed. The pope replies, that he knows nothing of all this; but what he does know is, that during this long process, the affairs of kings, prelates, and the whole world, are allowed to go to sleep. One of the witnesses who was reported missing, he says, is actually in France, and in Nogaret's house.

The king had complained to the pope of certain offensive letters. The pope replies that they are, in point of latinity and orthography, manifestly unworthy of the court of Rome, and that he had burned them. As for prosecuting their authors, *recent experience has proved that these sudden processes against important personages have a disagreeable and dangerous issue.*‡

This letter of the pope's was a humble and timid profession of

* Dupuy, 288. † Ibid., 293, 4, 5.

‡ Passing on then to another affair, the pope declares he has suppressed as useless an article in the convention with the Flemings, which through preoccupation or negligence he had signed at Poitiers; to wit, that if the Flemings incurred the papal sentence by violating that convention, they could not be absolved except at the king's request. The said clause might make the pope appear in the light of a very ignorant person. Every excommunicate who makes satisfaction may obtain absolution, even without the consent of the adverse party. The pope cannot abdicate the power of absolving.

independence with regard to the king, a revolt on his knees. The allusion to the templars, with which it ends, sufficiently indicates what hopes the pope built on the embarrassments into which this prosecution would throw Philip.

The pontifical commission, assembled in the bishop's palace in Paris, was for a long while retarded in its proceedings. The king was no more desirous of seeing the templars justified, than the pope was of condemning Boniface. The witnesses for the prosecution against Boniface were maltreated in Avignon; the witnesses for the defence in the affair of the templars, were tortured in Paris. The bishops did not obey the papal commission, and did not send the prisoners to the pope. Every day the commission heard mass, and then began its sitting, an usher crying out at the door of the hall: "If any one will defend the order of the soldiery of the Temple, let him come forward." But no one came forward. The commission returned the next day, but always in vain.*

At last the pope having, by a bull of the 13th of September, 1309, opened the first stage of the proceedings against Boniface, the king gave permission, in November, that the grand master of the templars should be brought before the commissioners.† The old knight at first exhibited much firmness. He said that the order was privileged by the Holy See, and that it seemed to him very surprising that the Roman Church wished to proceed abruptly to its destruction, when it procrastinated the deposition of the Emperor Frederick II. for thirty-two years.

He said, too, that he was ready to defend the order to the best of his ability; that he should regard himself as a wretch, if he did not defend an order from which he had derived so much profit and advantage; but that he feared he had not wisdom and reflection enough; he was the prisoner of the king and the pope, and had not four deniers to spend for the defence, nor any other advice than that of a servant brother;‡ that, after all, the truth would appear, not

* Processus contra Templarios MS. The commissioners wrote a fresh letter in which they said, that apparently the prelates had supposed the commission was to proceed against the order in general, and not against the members; that it was not so; that the pope had assigned to it the trial of the templars.

† Before him, the same day, November 22, there appeared before the bishops a man in secular garb, who declared his name was Jean de Melot (and not Molay, as Raynouard and Dupuy say), that he had been a templar ten years, and had quitted the order, though he said he had not seen any thing bad in it. He declared that he was come to do and say whatever was desired of him. The commissioners asked him if he wished to defend the order, if so they were ready to hear him benignly. He replied, that he was come for nothing else, but first of all he wanted to know what it was meant to do with the order. And he added: "Command me as you please; but make me an allowance for my wants, for I am very poor." The commissioners seeing from his appearance, language, and demeanour, that he was a simple and weak-minded man, took no further heed of him, but sent him away to the Archbishop of Paris, who, they say, would receive him kindly, and have some food given him. Process., MS., fol. 8.

‡ Nisi unum fratrem servientem, cum quo consilium habere posset. Præ-

only by the testimony of the templars, but by that of kings, princes, prelates, dukes, counts, and barons, in all parts of the world.

If the grand-master thus put himself forward as the defender of the order, he would have lent a great amount of strength to the defence, and would, no doubt, have compromised the king. The commissioners recommended him to reflect maturely. They had his deposition read to him before the cardinals. That deposition did not emanate directly from himself, for, whether from modesty or some other motive, he had referred the cardinals to a servant brother whom he directed to speak for him.* But when he was before the commission, and the churchmen read aloud to him those sad confessions, the old knight could not hear patiently such things uttered to his face. He made the sign of the cross, and said, that were the lord commissioners of the pope any other persons, he should know what to say to them.† The commissioners replied, that they were not persons to accept a wager of battle. "That is not what I mean," said the grand-master; "but would to God that the custom of the Saracens and Tartars were observed in such cases against the perverse; they chop off their heads, or cut them in two through the middle."‡

This reply angered the commissioners, and made them throw off their ordinary lenity. They replied with stern coldness: "Those whom the Church finds heretics, she adjudges to be heretics, and abandons the obstinate to the secular tribunal."

Plasian, Philip the Fair's own man, was present at this audience, without having been summoned to it. Jacques Molay, alarmed at the impression his words had produced on these priests, thought it would be better to trust himself to a knight.§ He asked permission to confer with Plasian, who advised him as a friend not to work his own ruin, and persuaded him to ask for a remand to the next Friday. The bishops granted the delay, and they would have granted him a longer one with all their hearts.‖

On Friday, Jacques Molay appeared again before the commission, but quite changed. No doubt Plasian had wrought upon him in his prison. When he was again asked would he defend the order, he replied, humbly, that he was but a poor illiterate knight; that

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dicti domini commissarii dixerunt prædicto Magistro quod bene et plene deliberaret super dicta defensione ad quam se offerebat. Dupuy, 318.

* Dupuy, 242.

† M. Raynouard says the cardinals, but this is erroneous.

‡ Abscindunt caput perversis inventis, vel scindunt eos per medium.

§ Quum idem Magister rogasset nobilem virum dominum Guillelmum de Plasiano.....qui ibidem venerat, sed non de mandato dictorum dominorum commissariorum, secundum quod dixerunt.....et dictus dominus Guillelmus fuisset ad partem locutus cum eodem Magistro, quem sicut asserebat diligebat et dilexerat, quia uterque miles erat. Dupuy, 319.

‖ Quam dilationem concesserunt eidem, majorem etiam se daturos asserentes, si sibi placeret et volebat. Ibid., 320.

he had heard an apostolic bull read, wherein the pope reserved to himself the trial of the heads of the order; and that for the present he asked nothing more.

He was asked expressly would he defend the order. He said no; only he prayed the commissioners to write to the pope and request that his holiness would have him brought before him as soon as possible. He added with the *naïveté* of impatience and fear: "I am mortal like other men; the present moment only is our own."*

The grand-master in thus abandoning the defence, took from it the force and unity it might have derived from him. He only asked leave to say three things in favour of the order. First, that there was no church in which divine service was performed more honourably than in that of the templars. Secondly, that he knew no religious community in which more alms were distributed than in that of the Temple, where alms were bestowed thrice a week on all comers. Thirdly, that to his knowledge there were no men who had shed more blood for the Christian faith, and who were more dreaded by the infidels; that at Mansourah, the Count of Artois had placed them in the van, and that had he hearkened to them. . .

Some one then cried out: "Without faith all this avails nothing to salvation!"

Nogaret, who was present, spoke likewise: "I have heard tell that it is written in the chronicles that are in St. Denis, that in the time of the Sultan of Babylon, the then grand-master and the other great personages of the order, paid homage to Saladin, and that the said Saladin hearing of a great check sustained by those of the Temple, said publicly that it had befallen them in chastisement for an infamous vice, and for their prevarication against their law."

The grand-master replied that he had never heard tell of such a thing; that he only knew the then grand-master had maintained the truces, because otherwise he could not have kept such or such a castle. Jacques Molay concluded by humbly praying the commissioners and the Chancellor Nogaret that he might be permitted to hear mass and have his chaplains. They promised him this, and praised his devotion.

Thus began simultaneously the two prosecutions against the Temple and Boniface VIII. They exhibited the strange spectacle of an indirect war between the king and the pope. The latter, forced by the king to prosecute Boniface, was avenged by the depositions of the templars against the barbarity with which the king's people had conducted the first proceedings. The king dishonoured the papacy, and the papacy dishonoured royalty. But the king had might on his side; he hindered the bishops from

* Requirens eosdem quod cum ipse sicut et alii homines esset mortalis nec haberet de tempore nisi nunc, placeret eisdem Dominis commissariis significare Domino Papæ quod ipsum Magistrum quam citius posset ad ejus præsentiam evocaret. Dupuy, 320.

sending the prisoners of the Temple before the pope's commissioners, while at the same time he was pouring in on Avignon swarms of witnesses who were picked up for him in Italy. The pope, in a manner besieged by them, was condemned to hear the most terrific depositions against the honour of the pontificate.

Many of the witnesses avowed themselves infamous, and detailed at full length the filthy deeds in which they had been concerned along with Boniface.* Of such of their depositions as it is possible to translate, one of the least disgusting is that Boniface had caused his predecessor to be put to death, and that he said to one of these wretches: "Never let me see thee again till thou hast killed Celestine."† It is stated that Boniface held a sabbat, and sacrificed to the devil.‡ What is more likely respecting this old Italian lawyer, this compatriot of Aretino and Machiavelli, is that he was unbelieving, impious, and foul of speech. When some people were frightened at a storm, and said that the end of the world was come, he said: "The world has always been and always will be." "My lord, it is said for certain there will be a resurrection." "Have you ever seen any one come to life again?"

A man who brought him figs from Sicily, said to him: "If I had died on my journey, Christ would have had pity on me;" to which Boniface, we are told, replied: "Go to, I can do more than ever Christ could; I can give away kingdoms."§

He spoke with awful impiety of all the mysteries. He said of the Virgin: "Non credo in Mariola, Mariola, Mariola!" And again: "We do not believe in either the she ass or her foal."‖

These horrible buffooneries are not well proved. A fact that is better substantiated, and that was, perhaps, more fatal to Boniface, is his tolerance. An inquisitor of Calabria said: "I believe the pope favours the hereties, for he does not allow us to fulfil our office."¶ Some monks prosecute their abbot for heresy, and he is convicted by the inquisition, but the pope laughs at them: "You are fools," he tells them; "your abbot is a wise man; go and believe as he does."**

After all these testimonies, Clement V. had to endure face to face the insolence of Nogaret (March 16, 1310), who came in person to Avignon, but accompanied by Plasian, and a strong escort of armed men. This was, for the petty Luther of the fourteenth century, his triumph, his Diet of Worms, with this difference, that Nogaret having the king and the sword on his side, was his judge's oppressor.

Dupuy, 525. † Id., 530. ‡ Id., 537.

§ Vade, vade, ego plus possum quam Christus unquam potuerit, quia ego possum humiliare et depauperare reges, et imperatores, et principes, et possum de uno parvo milite facere unum magnum regem, et possum donare civitates et regna. Dupuy, 566.

‖ Tace, miser, non credimus in asinam nec in pullum ejus. Id., 6.

¶ Id., 546. ** Id., 533.

In the numerous protocols he had already put forth, we find the substance of what he may have said to the pope; it is a medley of humility and insolence, of monarchical servilism and classic republicanism, of pedantic erudition and revolutionary audacity. I was wrong to compare him to Luther. There is no resemblance between Nogaret's bitterness and the hearty, noble indignation of the plain-spoken Wittemberger, in whom the lion and the child were blended: Nogaret reminds us rather of the bitter, concentrated bile of Calvin, that quintessence of all that is rancorous.

In his first memorial, Nogaret declared he would not let go his gripe. An action against heresy, he said, does not lapse on the death of the party, *morte non extinguitur*. He demanded that Boniface should be taken up out of his grave and burned.

In 1310, he condescends to justify himself. But if he does, it is because it is the part of a good soul to fear the idea of fault, even where fault there is none; thus did Job, the Apostle, and St. Augustine. And then, too, he knows some persons who, through ignorance, are scandalised on his account, and he fears, if he does not justify himself, these persons will be damned for thinking evil of him. Therefore it is he supplicates, asks, postulates, and *requires as of right*, with tears and groans, with clasped hands and on his knees . . . In this humble posture he pronounces, by way of self-justification, a frightful invective against Boniface. It contains not fewer than sixty heads of impeachment.

Boniface, he says again, having declined the judgment and repudiated the convocation of the council, was by that fact alone contumacious and convicted. Nogaret had not a minute to lose for the accomplishment of his duty. If the ecclesiastical or civil power would not take up the matter, it was imperatively necessary that the body of the Church should be defended by some Catholic or another; every Catholic is bound to expose his life for the Church. "I, then, Guillaume Nogaret, a private man, and not simply a private man, but a knight bound by the obligations of chivalry to defend the commonwealth, was warranted, nay, constrained, to resist the aforesaid tyrant for the Lord's truth. Item, like as every man is bound to defend his country, *so that were he to kill his father in its defence, the deed would be worthy of reward;** so it was free to me, what do I say? it was obligatory upon me to defend my country, the realm of France, which had reason to fear ravage, the sword, &c."

Since then Boniface maltreated the Church and himself, *more furiosi*, it was absolutely necessary to tie him hand and foot. This was not the act of an enemy, quite the contrary. . . .

But here is something still more extravagant. It was Nogaret who saved Boniface's life, and, moreover, that of one of his ne-

* Pro qua defensione si patrem occidat, meritum habet nec pœnas meretur. Dupuy, 309.

phews! He suffered no food to be given the pope except by persons in whom he had confidence. Accordingly, Boniface, as soon as he was set free, gave him absolution. In Anagni itself, Boniface preached before a great multitude, that all that had befallen him at the hands of Nogaret or his people, had come upon him from the Lord.

Meanwhile, the trial of the templars had begun with much noise, notwithstanding the desertion of the grand-master. On the 28th of March, 1310, the commissioners had the knights who declared their intention of defending the order brought before them in the garden of the bishop's palace. They were in number 546. The articles of accusation were read to them in Latin, and were afterwards about to be read in French; but they cried out that it was quite enough to have heard them in Latin, and they had no wish to have such turpitudes translated into the vulgar tongue.* As they were so numerous, they were told, in order to prevent confusion, to name some among them who should speak with power of attorney for the rest. They would rather have all spoken, so much had their courage revived. "Why did you not torture us by attorney?"† they cried. They named, however, two of their number, Brother Raynaud de Pruin, a knight, and Brother Pierre de Boulogne, a priest, and *procureur* of the order in the pontifical court. To these were added some others.

The commissioners then sent to all the houses in Paris which served as prisons to the templars,‡ and collected the depositions of those who wished to defend the order. It was a horrible sight when daylight was let in upon Philip the Fair's prisons. Strange voices issued from them, some haughty and rude, others pious and ecstatic, many simply pathetic. One of the knights said, merely, "I cannot plead my cause singly against the pope and the King of France."§ Some delivered by way of deposition nothing but a prayer to the Virgin: "Mary, star of the seas, guide us to the haven of safety."‖ But the most curious document is a protest in the vulgar tongue, in which, after asserting the innocence of the order, the knights make known their humiliating wretchedness and gave the sad details of their expenditure; a woful contrast with the pride and wealth for which the order had been so celebrated! Out of their sorry pittance of twelve deniers a day, the unfortunate men were obliged to pay their

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* Quod contenti erant de lectura facta in latino, et quod non curabant quod tantæ turpitudines quas asserebant omnino esse falsas et non nominandas vulgariter, exponerentur. Process. contra Templ. MS.

† Dicentes quod non petebatur ab eis quando ponebantur in jainis si procurtores constituere volebant. Process. contra Templ. MS.

‡ Some were imprisoned in the Temple, others in St. Martin des Champs, others in the hôtel of the Count of Savoy, and in various private houses. Ibid.

§ Respondit quod nolebat litigare cum Dominis papa et rege Franciæ. Ib.

‖ Brother Elias, author of this affecting document, concludes it with a request that the notaries would correct whatever faulty phrases they might find in his Latin. Ib. 31.—Others wrote an apology in the Romance tongue, with a considerable adulteration and admixture of northern French. Ibid., 36—8.

passage across the water on their way to and from the Cité where they were examined, and even to give money to the man who opened and riveted their fetters.*

At last, the select defenders presented a formal act in the name of the order. In this singularly bold and vigorous protest they declare, that they cannot defend themselves without the grand-master, nor otherwise than before a general council. They maintain, "That the religion of the Temple is holy, pure, and undefiled before God and the Father."† Regular institution and wholesome observance have *always* been, are all *still* in vigour therein. All the brethren have but one profession of faith, which throughout all the world has been and is *always observed by all*, from the foundation to the present day; and whosoever says or thinks otherwise, errs totally and sins mortally." This was a very bold assertion, to maintain that *all* had remained true to the rules of the primitive foundation, and that there had been no deviation, no corruption. Whilst the righteous man sins seven times a day, this haughty order deemed itself pure and sinless. Such pride made men shudder.

They did not stop here. They demanded that their apostate brethren should be kept in safe custody until it should appear whether or not they had borne true testimony.

They would also have wished that no layman should be present at the examinations. There can be no doubt, indeed, that the presence of a Plasian and a Nogaret intimidated both the prisoners and the judges.

They conclude by saying, that the papal commission cannot proceed any further. "For after all, we are not in a safe place; we are and have always been in the power of those who suggest false things to our lord the king. Every day, by themselves or others, by word of

* I give this document with its barbarous orthography, just as it was transcribed by the notaries: "A homes honerables et sages, ordenés de per notre père l'Apostelle (*the pope*) pour le fet des Templiers li freres, liquies sunt en prisson a Paris en la masson de Tiron.....Honeur et reverencie. Comes votre comandemans feut a nos ce jeudi prochainement passé et nos feut demandé se nos volens defendre la Religion deu Temple desusdite, tuit disrent oil, et disons que ele est bone et leal, et en tout sans mauvesté et traison tout ceque nos l'en met sus, et somes prest de nos defendre chacun pour soy ou tout ensemble, an telle maniere que droit et sante Eglies et vos an regarderons, come cil qui sunt en prisson an nois frès à cople ii. Et somes en neire fosse oscure toutes les nuits. Item nos vos fessons a savir que les gages de xii. deniers que nos avons ne nos soufficent mie. Car nos convient paier nos lis iii. denier par jour chascun lis. Loage de cuisine, napes, touales pour tenelles et autres choses, ii. sols vi. denier la semaigne. Item pour nos fergier et desfergier puisque nos somes devant les auditors, ii. sols. Item pour laver dras et robes, linges, chacun xv. jours xviii. denier. Item pour buche et candole chascun jor iiii. deniers. Item passer et repasser les dis frères xvi. deniers de asiles de Notre Dame de l'altre part de l'iau." Proc. MS., 39.

† Apud Deum et Patrem.....Et hoc est omnium fratrum Templi communiter una professio, quæ per universum orbem servatur et servata fuit per omnes fratres ejusdem ordinis, a fundamento religionis usque ad diem præsentem. Et quicumque aliud dicit vel aliter credit, errat totaliter, peccat mortaliter. Dup., 333.

mouth, letters, or messages, they warn us not to retract the false depositions that have been forced from us by fear; for that, otherwise, we shall be burned."*

Some days afterwards they put in a fresh protest, still stronger than the former, and rather menacing and accusing in its tone than apologetic. "This trial," they say, "has been sudden, violent, iniquitous, and unjust; there is nothing in it but atrocious violence and intolerable error . . . Many and many have died in the prisons and under tortures, others will remain sufferers for the rest of their lives; several have been constrained to lie against themselves and their order. These acts of violence and these torments have totally robbed them of free will, that is to say, of all the good that man can possess. He who loses free will, loses every good thing; knowledge, memory, and understanding† . . . To prompt them to lie and bear false witness, they were shown letters with the king's seal attached to them, wherein they were guaranteed the preservation of life, limb, and liberty; promises were made them, that good revenues should be carefully provided for them for the rest of their lives; and they were assured, moreover, that the order was condemned beyond recovery."

However habituated men may have been in those days to the violence of inquisitorial proceedings, and to the immorality of the means commonly employed to compel accused persons to speak, it was impossible but that words like these should stir up men's hearts! But what said more than any words could do, was the piteous aspect of the prisoners, their pale and haggard faces, and the hideous marks left by their tortures. One of them, Humbert Dupuy, the fourteenth witness, had been thrice tortured, and kept for thirty-six weeks on bread and water, in a fetid dungeon beneath a castle. Another had been hanged up by the genitals. The knight Bernard Dugué (de Vado), whose feet had been held before a glowing fire, showed two bones which had fallen from his heels.‡

These were cruel spectacles. The judges themselves, lawyers though they were, felt their hearts throb painfully beneath their sullen priestly robes. How much more must the people have felt, who daily saw these wretched men ferried across the river to the episcopal palace in the Cité where the commission was sitting! Indignation augmented every day against the accusers and against the apostate templars. One day, four of the latter presented

* Quia si recesserunt, prout dicunt, comburentur omnino. Dupuy, 334.

† Liberum arbitrium quod est quidquid boni potest homo habere; unde qui caret libero arbitrio caret omni bono, scientia, memoria et intellectu. Dupuy, 340. A most just and moral sentiment, though tardily confessed. The templars who exacted so utter a sacrifice of free will from their adepts, here own that without it man is nothing. In like manner we shall by and by see Nogaret appealing to the real or pretended pardon of his victim, to the absolution of a pope to whom he refused the name of pope.

‡ Ostendens duo ossa quod dicebat illa esse quæ ceciderunt de talis. Proc. ap. Rayn., 73.

themselves before the commission still wearing their beards, but carrying their mantles in their hands. These they threw at the feet of the bishops, declaring that they renounced the garb of the Temple. But the judges looked on them only with disgust, and told them they might do what they pleased out of their presence.*

The trial was taking an awkward turn for those who had begun with so much precipitation and violence. The accusers were gradually falling into the situation of accused persons. Every day the depositions of the prisoners disclosed the barbarities and turpitudes of the interrogatory proceedings. The intention of the prosecution was becoming evident. A prisoner had been tortured to force him to tell the amount of treasure brought from the Holy Land. Was a treasure a crime, or a ground of impeachment?

When we reflect on the number of affiliates the Temple had among the people, and the relations between the knights and the nobles from whose body they were all sprung, we cannot doubt but that the king was alarmed at finding himself advanced so far in this affair. Its shameful purpose and the atrocious means employed in it had been fully unmasked. Was there not reason to fear that the people would rise, perturbed and uneasy as they were in their faith since the tragic fate of Boniface? The Temple had been strong enough to protect Philip the Fair in the riot about the coinage; now all the friends of the Temple were against him.

What further aggravated the danger was, that in all the other countries of Europe† the decisions of the councils were favourable to the templars. They were declared innocent on the 17th of June, 1310, at Ravenna, on the 1st of July at Mayence, on the 21st of September, at Salamanca. From the beginning of the year it was possible to foresee these decisions, and the dangerous reaction that would result from them in Paris. It was important to anticipate this, and to seek safety in extreme audacity. It was necessary at all risks to carry out the prosecution with a high hand, and put an end to it.

The king came to an arrangement with the pope in February, 1310, declaring he left him to do as he should think fit, in the affair of the prosecution of Boniface VIII.‡ In April he required in return that the pope should nominate to the Archbishopric of Sens young Marigni, brother of the famous Enguerrand, virtual King of France under Philip the Fair. On the 10th of May, the Archbishop of Sens assembled a provincial council in Paris, and

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* Sed dicti Domini commissarii dixerunt eis quod eos non dimitterent ibi, nec de eorum mandato seu consilio, sed extra facerent quidquid vellent. Dupuy, 338.

† The King of England had at first declared decidedly enough for the order. Whether from a sense of justice, or out of opposition to Philip, he wrote on the 1st of December, 1307, to the kings of Portugal, Castile, Aragon, and Sicily, in favour of the templars, conjuring their majesties not to credit what was alleged respecting them in France. Dupuy, 226—8.

‡ Id., Preuves, 296—9.

had the templars brought before it. Here then were two tribunals simultaneously trying the same prisoners, by virtue of two papal bulls. The commission alleged the bull that committed the affair to its jurisdiction;* the council appealed to the preceding bull, which restored their previously suspended powers to the ordinary judges.† There remains no official record of this council, nothing but the names of those who sat in it, and the number of those they caused to be burned.

On Sunday, May 10, a day when the commission had assembled, the defenders of the order presented themselves before the Archbishop of Narbonne, and the other papal commissioners, in order to appeal. The archbishop replied, that such an appeal did not concern him or his colleagues; that they had nothing to do with it, since it was not from their tribunal the appeal was made; and that if the defenders desired to speak in defence of the order, they were quite ready to hear them.

The poor knights entreated that at least they should be brought before the council, in order there to enter their appeal; and that they should be assigned two notaries to draw up a formal statement of it. They supplicated the commissioners, and even addressed their entreaties to the notaries present. In their appeal, which they afterwards read, they threw themselves on the protection of the pope in the most pathetic terms. "We beseech the apostles, and again we beseech them, and with the utmost urgency we beseech them."‡ The wretched victims already felt the flames, and clung convulsively to the altar that could not protect them.

The only aid that had been provided for them by that pope on whom they relied, and to whom they commended themselves as to God, was a timid and mean-spirited *consultum*, in which he tried beforehand to interpret the word *relapsed*, in case it should be applied to those who had retracted their confession. "It seems in some sort contrary to reason to judge of such men as relapsed... In such doubtful matters penalties ought to restricted."§

The papal commissioners durst not enforce the tenour of this *consultum*. They replied on Sunday evening, that they felt great compassion for the defenders of the order and the other brethren, but that the affairs with which the Archbishop of Sens and his suffragans were occupied, was quite different from theirs; that they knew not what was passing in that council; that if the commission

* According to Dupuy, p. 45, the pope's commissioners said in reply to the appeal of the defenders, "That the councils judged individuals, and they, the commissioners, heard evidence respecting the order in general." The commission said quite the reverse.

† See Dupuy, p. 44, note.

‡ Petimus Apostolos, et iterum petimus, et cum instantia maxima petimus. Dupuy, 346.

§ Videtur quasi contrarium rationi tales judicare relapsos....In talibus dubiis restringendæ sunt pœnæ. Rayn., p. 106.

was authorised by the Holy See, so, likewise, was the archbishop; that the one had no authority over the other; that upon the *first blush of the thing,* they saw nothing to object against the Archbishop of Sens; but that, nevertheless, they would consider.*

Whilst the commissioners were considering, they learned that fifty-four templars were about to be burned. One day had sufficed fully to enlighten the Archbishop of Sens and his suffragans. Let us follow step by step the narrative of the notaries of the papal commission in all its terrible plainness.

"On Tuesday, the 12th, pending the examination of brother Jean Betrand,† it came to the knowledge of the commissioners that fifty-four templars were about to be burned.‡ They ordered the provost of the church of Poitiers, and the Archdeacon of Orleans, king's clerk, to go and tell the Archbishop of Sens and his suffragans to deliberate maturely, and to delay, for as much as the brethren who had died in prison, were said to have affirmed on the peril of their souls, that they had been falsely accused. If this execution took place, it would hinder the commissioners from proceeding in their office, the accused being so terrified that they seemed out of their senses.§ Furthermore, one of the commissioners ordered them to signify to the archbishop that brother Raynaud de Pruin, Pierre de Boulogne, priest, Guillaume de Chambonnet, and Bertrand de Sartiges, knights, had lodged a certain appeal before the commissioners."

All this involved a serious question of jurisdiction. If the council and the Archbishop of Sens recognised the validity of an appeal laid before the papal commission, they thereby avowed the superiority of that tribunal, and the liberties of the Gallican church became compromised. Besides, the king's orders were, no doubt, pressing; young Marigni, created archbishop expressly for the purpose of carrying out the king's measures, had no time to spend in disputation. He absented himself to avoid receiving the messengers from the commission; and then some one (it is not known who) started a doubt that they had spoken in the name of the commission; Marigni doubted also, and the council went on with its work.‖

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* Quod ipse nesciebant quid in dicto concilio agebatur.....et quod sicut ipsi .....erant Apostolica Auctoritate deputati....propter quod non videbatur dictis commissariis *prima facie,* ut dixerunt quod haberent aliqua inhibere dicto domino archiepiscopo Senonensi.....adhuc tamen deliberarent. Dupuy, 346.

† The name is almost illegible in the text. The writer's hand evidently trembled. Further back the notary wrote plainly: Bertaldi.

‡ Quod liiii. ex Templariis.....erant dicta die comburendi. Proces. MS., folio 72 (the leaf is cut in two).

§ Adeo exterriti....non videbantur in pleno sensu suo.....Ibid.

‖ A quodam fuisse dictum coram domino archiepiscopo Senonensi, ejus suffraganeis et concilio.....quod dicti præpositus....et archidiaconus....(qui in dicta die martis....præmissa intimasse dicebantur, et ipsi iidem hoc attestabantur suffraganeis domini archiepiscopi Senonensis.....*tunc absente dicto domino archiepiscopo Senonensi*) prædicta *non significaverant de mandato* eorumdem dominorum commissariorum. Ibid., 71 verso.

The templars having been brought before the council on Sunday, were sentenced on Monday; some, who had confessed, were set at liberty; others who had always denied, were imprisoned for life; those who had retracted their confessions, were declared relapsed. The latter, fifty-four in number, were degraded the same day by the Bishop of Paris, and delivered over to the seculiar arm. On Tuesday, they were burned at the Porte St. Antoine. The unhappy men had varied in prison, but there was no variation in their language at the stake; they protested their innocence to the very last. The multitude remained mute as if stupified with astonishment.*

Does it not seem almost incredible that the papal commission had the heart to assemble next day to continue their useless proceedings, and go on examining while others were burning?

"On the 13th of May was brought before the commissioners, Brother Aimeri de Villars le Duc, with his beard shaved off, without mantle or coat of the Temple, aged, as he said, fifty years, having been about eight years in the order as a servant-brother, and twenty as knight. The lords commissioners explained to him the articles on which he was to be examined. But the said witness, pale and greatly terrified,† deposing on oath, and at the peril of his soul, praying if he lied, that he might die on the spot suddenly, and forthwith be swallowed up in hell, body and soul, in the presence of the lords commissioners, beating his breast with his fists, bending his knees and lifting up his hands towards the altar, said that all the errors imputed to the order were utterly false, though he had confessed some of them under the tortures inflicted on him by Guillaume de Marcillac and Hugues de Celles, knights of the king. He added, however, that *having seen fifty-four brethren of the order carried on carts to be burned*, who had not chosen to confess the said errors, and *having heard that they had been* burned, he, fearing that he could not have sufficient fortitude and patience if he were burned, was ready to confess and swear through fear, in presence of the commissioners or others, all the errors imputed to the order, and even to say, if it were required, *that he had slain Our Lord*. . . . He supplicated and conjured the said commissioners and us notaries present, not to disclose what he had just

* Constanter et perseveranter in abnegatione communi perstiterunt....non absque multa admiratione stuporeque vehementi. Contin. Guil. Nang. in Spicil. D'Achery, iii., anno 1310.

† Pallidus et multum exterritus.....impetrando sibi ipsi, si mentiebatur in hoc, mortem subitaneam et quod statim in anima et corpore in præsentia Dominorum commissanorum absorbereter in infernum, tondendo sibi pectus cum pugnis, et elevando manus suas versus altare ad majorem assertionem, flectendo genua....cum ipse testis *vidisset*.....duci in quadrigis liiii. fratres dicti ordinis *ad comburendum*.....et AUDIVISSE EOS FUISSE COMBUSTOS; quod ipse qui dubitabat quod nos posset habere bonam patientiam si combureretur, timore mortis confiteretur....omnes errores....*et quidam etiam interfecisse Dominum*, si peteretur ab eo....Proces. MS., 70 verso.

said, to the king's people; fearing, he said, that were they informed of it, he should be consigned to the same death as the fifty-four templars. . . . The commissioners seeing the danger that threatened the deponents if they continued to examine them during this terror,* and moved, also, by other reasons, resolved to adjourn for the present."

The commission seems to have been affected by this terrible scene. Though weakened by the desertion of its president, the Archbishop of Narbonne, and of the Bishop of Bayeux, who no longer attended the sittings, it strove to save the three principal defenders, if there was yet time.

"On Monday, the 18th of May, the pontifical commissioners ordered the provost of the church of Poictiers and the Archdeacon of Orleans to go on their part to the venerable father in God, the Lord Archbishop of Sens and his suffragans, and claim the defenders, Pierre de Boulogne, Guillaume de Chambonnet, and Bertrand de Sartiges; so that they might be brought under good guard as often as they should require it for the defence of the order. The commissioners took care to add that 'They did not wish to make any encroachment on the rights of the Archbishop of Sens and his council, but only to discharge their consciences.'†

"In the evening, the commissioners met at St. Geneviève in the chapel of St. Eloi, and received canons who came to them on the part of the Archbishop of Sens. The archbishop replied, 'that it was now two years‡ since the prosecution had been begun against the knights above named, as individual members of the order, and that he purposed terminating it according to the form of the apostolic mandate. At the same time, it was not his intention in anywise to impede the commissioners in the discharge of their office.'"§ Horrible mockery!

"The messengers from the Archbishop of Sens having retired, there were brought before the commissioners Raynaud de Pruin, Chambonnet, and Sartiges, who announced, that Pierre de Boulogne had been separated from them without their knowing why; adding, that they were simple folks, without experience, and moreover stupified and perplexed in such sort that they could not order or dictate any thing for the defence of the order without the advice of the said

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* Durante terrore prædicto. Proces. MS., fol. 71.

† Non intendentes....aliquam inhibitionem facere. Ibid.

‡ Biennium erat elapsum. Ibid.

§ Non erat intentionis....in aliquo impedire officium. Ibid. "As it was said that the provost of the church of Poitiers, and the Archdeacon of Orleans, had not spoken on the part of the commissioners, the latter desired the messengers of the Archdeacon of Sens to tell him that the provost and the archdeacon had actually spoken in their name. Moreover, they bade them announce to the Archbishop of Sens that Pierre de Boulogne, Chambonnet, and Sartiges, had appealed from the archbishop and his council, on Sunday the 10th of May, and that this appeal should have been announced on Tuesday to the council by the provost and the archdeacon." Ibid.

HELP IN NEED.

In the midst of all these difficulties and annoyances I, nevertheless, enjoyed a most unexpected pleasure, when, one day, I learnt the abiding-place of my friend, Aloys Reding, in a letter from him, demanding passports for himself and his family. He was living in banishment at Rorschach, on the Lake of Constance, when one day he learnt, by chance, that I was now at the head of the Waldstätten government, and that I had preserved the house of his fathers from destruction. I immediately sent him passports, and one evening, shortly after, as I returned to Schwyz, after a visit to the parish of Gothard, I found myself unexpectedly surrounded and welcomed, after our long separation, by my friend and his amiable family. It was a meeting full of tearful rejoicing. I was now regarded as a member of the family, and enjoyed the long untasted comforts of domestic life. Reding himself was appointed by government, on my application, President of the Board of Education, in order that, by an official appointment, he might be secured from the vindictive machinations of the French soldiery.

Throughout the country the misery and want of the people assumed, on the approach of winter, the most threatening aspect. Thousands were without food, shelter, or clothing. In vain 6000 francs were expended in purchasing a quantity of provisions, of the coarsest kind, for the use of the most destitute. The magazine at Lucerne was exhausted as fast as it was filled. In Einsiedeln and other districts dangerous diseases spread in consequence of want of nourishment. The continual encampments and marchings of large numbers of troops had occasioned a general scarcity of pasturage: the greatest of misfortunes in Alpine countries, which depend almost entirely on their flocks and herds. How can I name all the evils which were poured, at the same time, on the mountain districts? The moment seemed near, when entire villages and provinces must be forsaken by their inhabitants, in order that a scanty existence might be sought for elsewhere.

It was not easy to find means of help; but I did not despair. At the cost of the state, hay magazines were established for the use of the army, in order that the mountaineers might retain the little they had left, and provision was made for the wintering of some of their cattle in other cantons. The generals Masséna and Gudin allowed themselves to be persuaded by me to lessen the number of soldiers quartered on the poorer districts. And when the Helvetic government openly confessed to me the poverty of its finances, and its utter inability to stem the tide of want, I threw myself on the compassion of the whole nation, by public address. All the journals echoed my appeal.* The cry of despair resounded through Europe,

* It was printed in many thousand copies, and in all the public journals, under the title of "An Appeal for Suffering Humanity in the Canton of Waldstätten." The

and wherever Swiss were to be found, in Italy, Spain, or Germany, the appeal met with an answering echo in their hearts.

The pecuniary assistance received amounted, in all, only to 34,211 francs; but of far higher value were the contributions which streamed in upon me from all parts of Switzerland, consisting of provisions, woollen and linen cloth, male and female clothing for every age, bedding of all kinds, hemp, flax, and other useful articles. A humane merchant at Lucerne, Joseph Schindler, undertook the care of these contributions, and their distribution, under my direction. In each of the destitute districts I had appointed trustworthy men, to distribute the gifts among the country people. From their reports* I condensed the public accounts, which appeared in succession in different sheets. At their close, I wrote—"In the Waldstätten have I passed the sweetest and bitterest hours of my life. More than once have I shed tears of sorrow and of joy, at the sight of so much suffering and so much charity. Amidst the ruins of our once happy villages, I have learnt to know humanity, in all its loveliness and in all its horror."

I soon received a no less important assistance of another kind. The indefatigable Minister of the Interior, Reugger, gave the first impulse to it. In the cantons of Glarus and the Valais, as well as in Waldstätten, numerous households were now without means of nourishing and clothing their children. In the more fortunate districts of Switzerland, a number of charitable families offered to receive these children, and provide better nourishment and education for them. The canton of Solothurn, alone, offered to provide for 1012 unfortunate little ones. I collected more than a thousand of the most destitute, and distributed them among the cantons of Lucerne, Solothurn, Aargau, and Berne. On one day, 120 children from the districts of Schwyz and Einsiedeln, embarked with their guides at the village of Brunnen. It was a heart-rending spectacle, to see fathers and mothers parting from their weeping little ones, and, driven by the pressure of want, to abandon them to the doubtful care of strangers.

The joy of having contributed to this good work was soon embittered to me. From all sides I received complaints of the laziness and immorality of the children; of their habits of beggary, uncleanliness, mischief, lying, and gluttony, and even of their being addicted to stealing and other vices. Few, even of the oldest, could read and write. Their religion consisted of a thoughtless and soul-

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French papers also published it, and termed it a "*beau morceau d'une noble et simple éloquence;*" but from France, whose government and whose warlike ambition, had occasioned the boundless misery I have described, came not a farthing for its relief.

* They forwarded the names and number of the needy households in their villages; and Schindler regulated according to these reports the distribution of his provisions. I thankfully commemorate here the names of the men to whose zeal and disinterestedness I was so much indebted. They were Aloys Reding in Schwyz, Pastor Buesinger in Stanz, Müller in Altdorf, Meinrad Ochsner in Einsiedeln, and Meyer in Audermatt.

less performance of church ceremonials. What an idea would these complaints give those who heard them of the much-praised innocence, piety, and purity, of the mountain districts!

It is needless to say how deep an impression these painful experiences made upon me. My office resembled a treadmill, on which the criminal walks from morning till night, without ever getting a step the forwarder. It was not for myself I lamented, but for the human race. Had I not met with so many single examples of virtue and wisdom, I should have lost my faith in humanity.

The last winter but one of the eighteenth century, came and passed away, for me, in incessant wandering about, and in incessant correspondence with Helvetic, French, and foreign officials. The general repose of the country was only once broken, and then in a manner so characteristic of that time and people, as to deserve notice here. In Unterwalden ob dem Wald, the villages situated in obscure corners of remote valleys refused to contribute to the payment of those national debts, which had been contracted by the parishes along the main road, in consequence of military requisitions and quarterings, and which fell particularly heavily on the principal town of Sarnen. Impelled by the jealousy and animosity always prevailing between the Swiss villages and the towns, the most desperate of the contumacious resolved upon "chastising" Sarnen for its demands; that is, upon burning and plundering it. The country people actually assembled in large numbers, and well-armed, for this purpose, on a hill covered with rural dwellings, on the western side of Sarnen. The day of attack was already fixed upon, when I, then absent in Uri, was informed of the danger by messengers. I set off immediately, and late in the evening I arrived at Sarnen, accompanied by some chasseurs. The watch-fires of the insurgents were already kindled on the distant hills. I called out the local militia, summoned a company of infantry from Lucerne, and sent to acquaint the insurgents with my arrival, and willingness to hear, without delay, a statement of their grievances. When, however, the messengers sent to them were ill-treated, and one of them returned with bleeding wounds, to announce that the insurgents were resolved to march upon Sarnen that night, or the following morning, I saw the necessity of repairing myself to the camp of the insurgents, to hinder further mischief. I went, accompanied by a few French chasseurs. It was a bright moonlight night, by the time we had climbed the first range of hills, leading our horses by their bridles. To my astonishment, the bands of insurgents crowded round their watch-fires now fled suddenly before us, without waiting for us to come up, and dispersed through woods, forests, and mountain-paths, to seek their several homes. Superstitious fear had seized them, at the sight of gleaming weapons and armed men on those mountain heights, where they had never seen any thing of the kind before. It had seemed to them like a supernatural appearance. The

insurrection was at an end. The ringleaders had fled; the rest begged for pardon; and the debts of the communities were paid without any difficulty.

POLITICAL PROSPECTS.

At the beginning of the spring of the year 1800, I had tolerably well fulfilled the object of my mission in the Waldstätten; the legal authorities were restored to their right position, peace, order, and general security of life and property was restored. The greater part of the French army was withdrawn from Switzerland to carry on the war in Germany. I could now, therefore, give myself up to an ease and freedom from care, to which I had long been a stranger. While I awaited my dismissal from the Executive Directory, I busied myself in finishing various undertakings, and in distributing my last farewell gifts, among others, a thousand copies of Becker's excellent *Rath und Hulfs Buchlein.* The government had allowed me to give away these books as prizes to the most industrious children at the national schools, in the hope of thus scattering the seeds of a more liberal knowledge. Vain hope! All was frustrated by the priesthood, who, as soon as I left the Waldstätten, began to discover traces of heresy and irreligion in the work. They forced every family to give up the "impious book," and as Aloys Reding mournfully informed me, they undid every thing that had been done for the improvement of education and the people.

I spent the greater part of the spring with my dear friends, the Redings, in Schwyz; I again began to philosophise and scribble poetry; I visited, with Reding, the battle fields where he had fought victoriously at the head of his people against the French. I collected materials for a history of the mountain and forest cantons, I talked over with Reding my hopes for his country's future destiny, and discussed with him the means of obtaining for Switzerland a secure, worthy, and independent position among her powerful neighbours.

The freedom and independence of Switzerland, in this we were both agreed,—was to be hoped for neither from the strength and courage of her people, nor from the justice and integrity of her neighbours, but from the judicious balance of their wants and interests. The incorporation of Switzerland with France or Austria would expose the country to which it was united, to a mortal danger in time of war, and the insidious effects of a fermenting poison in time of peace. The amalgamation of Switzerland into a monarchy would establish the most miserable and insecure throne in the world, amidst violence and turbulence at home, and animosity and jealousy abroad. But we were also convinced that Switzerland required for her own internal security, as well as for the peace of her neighbours, a wisely arranged Confederate Union, neither an unnatural forced union, like

that brought about by French bayonets, nor one patched together by accident like that of former times. Both would be now totally unmaintainable; both would restrain the free development of social progress; both would fail to secure to neighbouring states the faithful neutrality of Switzerland, in case of wars among themselves. Reding and I were convinced that the free self-government of each canton, with the general supremacy of a strong central federal authority, alone could secure a peaceful and happy future for Switzerland. This conviction, from which Reding indeed afterwards somewhat drew back, was then as firmly fixed in me as it still is, in spite of all the changes in the national constitution, which have since taken place, without bringing it about. The irreconcilable party-spirit of the democrats and aristocrats, the so-called unitarians and federalists, have perpetually hindered Switzerland from becoming what she is so well adapted to be, the surest fortress of freedom, and the firm partition wall between the great powers of Europe. Yet I doubt not that the advance of civilisation will gradually bring about a more intimate union of the various Swiss nations, and a clearer unity into this confused federalism; just as certainly as the advance of civilisation will ultimately destroy the unity of the enormous British or Russian empires, and split them up into a number of separate states.

The first considerable blow received by the yet infantine constitution of the Helvetic Republic, was the abolition of the Executive Directory by the legislative council, and the appointment in its place of an Executive Committee, and a commission for the improvement of the fundamental laws of the state. This induced me to promulgate my own views, as to the best constitution for Switzerland. I was generally considered a decided unitarian, and had become no less through experience and knowledge of the people.

I shall, perhaps, most faithfully represent the political elements which at that time surrounded me, by fragments from some letters written by me to different friends or correspondents, which have since fallen again into my hands, or been printed by their receivers. Even before the above-mentioned change of government, I had expressed my opinions in an address to the Helvetic senate, on occasion of sending the first account of the voluntary taxes collected for the people of the Waldstätten. "One blessing," I wrote, "the people of the Waldstätten have never lost their undying love of freedom. Neither the bayonets of the French nor of the Russians have been able to destroy that spirit, any more than the blood-stained and unnatural constitution manufactured for them by the French, has been able to inspire them with confidence. Citizen senators, yours may it be, to save the unhappy countries of the Waldstätten. Bestow upon the people an improved constitution, full of simplicity, energy, and freedom, which will enable every Swiss to feel himself a Swiss, and you will have saved your country. Every day of delay is a day of loss."

I expressed myself more distinctly in private letters to influential

members of the senate. "The population of the formerly democratic cantons," I wrote to Senator Krauer of Lucerne, "desire peace above all things. What would be most welcome to them, would be a federal constitution, resembling that of the North American United States, whereby they would be left to appoint their own local government, and would decide their own laws by representative assemblies. Concerning the central government they would then care little, so long as it was strong enough to protect them, and honest enough to let them alone. Should a general peace call the French out of Switzerland before we have obtained a constitution approved of by the people, I foresee that the rising of one canton will draw after it that of all the rest, and the people will struggle to do for themselves, that which their legislators might now prevent much evil by doing for them."

To another member of the senate I wrote: "A new constitution can only be rendered durable either by partiality and confidence in its founder, such as the Spartans felt in Lycurgus, or by the powerful ties of custom, or the secure foundation of real and general conviction of its equity. Upon *custom* we must now no longer calculate in Helvetia; upon partiality to its rulers still less.

"But the safest foundation for every, and above all, for a Republican constitution, is to be found in that attachment of the people to its principles, which arises only from a conviction of their truth and justice. It will be said, the people is yet too ignorant, and we must legislate not for what it is, but for what it ought to be. But the truth is, we are required at present, above all things to legislate for the people as it really is. Such was the system of the great law-givers of antiquity, and they were more fortunate in their labours than we. Moses and Lycurgus, Solon and Numa, Peter and Frederick the Great, entered into the ideas and prejudices of those around them, and attained their object.

"Let the future constitution of Switzerland be as democratic as it can possibly be made, *consistently with the unity and strength of the whole*; and above all, whatever the people *can* do for themselves *let* them do."

MARCH INTO ITALIAN SWITZERLAND.

New and extraordinary fortunes were now preparing for all parts of the world. Napoleon Bonaparte had reached Egypt, as if by miracle, and had returned thence as if by miracle; he had become the First Consul of the French Republic, and was preparing for the reconquest of Italy.

The Helvetic government appointed me Government Commissary in the Valais, that I might do for that canton, as far as possible, exactly what I had done for the Waldstätten; I was also to accompany the First Consul and his army across the St. Bernard's mountain. But I had already promised the Reding family to spend the summer

in happy leisure with them. I declined, therefore, the appointment, I cared little for the honour of passing a few days in official intercourse with the greatest general of the day. Some might have been attracted by the prospect of becoming acquainted with his voice and looks, or, at least, with his coat and hat; I would not have opened my window to do so. I enjoyed more the privilege of roaming with Aloys Reding through the beautiful valleys of Schwyz, or of singing to the accompaniment of his flute, or spending merry days with him, in the pleasant month of May, far away from the dreary tumult of the world, in his own solitary hermitage among the Rigi mountains. But the joys of that joyous time were hastening to an end.

One day an adjutant of General Moncey visited me to invite me to a conference with the latter at Lucerne. On my asking "Why?" I learnt that the Executive Committee had appointed me the Government Commissary for Italian Switzerland, and that I was to accompany the general, who was about to enter Lombardy with an army of 20,000 men. I hastened to Lucerne. I believed that the general must be in error, for I had received no summons of the kind from Berne, and I was by no means inclined to obey any such. Moncey, however, proved the correctness of his information by some letters which he showed me. He entreated me to accompany him on his march, and opposed my excuses with a vehement eloquence which made me waver. "Strange," said he, "that a Frenchman like me must entreat a *Swiss* to become the protector of his countrymen against the evils inseparable from the march of an army. I am about to set out for Italy. Your government has no time to appoint another in your place. Before they could possibly make a decision I shall be on the Milanese frontiers. I therefore entreat you to consent. In truth, it is not for the sake of *my* people that I entreat you; they can shift for themselves, and may get on as best they may. No; it is for your own fellow-citizens that I am anxious; I desire that they may have some authorized protector and guardian during the presence of a foreign army. Can you be more careless of the sufferings of your own country-people than I, a stranger?"

I thought of the unhappy and much-tormented Uri, and saw in the present summons one more opportunity, perhaps the last I should ever obtain, of rendering that country a service. I gave my consent; the general embraced me, and promised the strictest discipline and all possible forbearance towards those districts through which the army should pass. He did not break his word. Moncey, afterwards the Duke of Conegliano, was a man of uncommonly noble appearance, and of no less noble disposition. I felt myself truly honoured by his regard, and have ever retained the highest respect for him.

The day before my departure, I received from Berne the appointment which had been ready seven days before. My faithful pupil and secretary, young Deuz, and an intelligent young citizen of Schwyz, named Aufdermaur, with whom I had become acquainted at

Reding's house, accompanied me. The latter, born in Naples, and early accustomed to the tumult of a great town, was tormented by *ennui* in the delicious rural seclusion of his Swiss home, and followed me as a volunteer. His animation and good humour, although not unmixed with levity and frivolity, were agreeable to me. I also found him of great use on account of his military knowledge and his intimate acquaintance with the Italian language. We hastened to join the advanced guard, which was already crossing St. Gothard. Around us, in the mountains, murmured the thunder of distant *lawines*. The St. Gothard's road resembled a high wall of snow, and was in many places dangerous for man and beast. General Moncey awaited me in the parsonage at Airolo. I found him in despair. He did not dare delay an hour in marching for Italy, yet neither his ammunition nor his provisions had yet arrived. Both lay behind us, in the magazines on the other side of St. Gothard. The Helvetic government had promised him for their transport, 1500 horses, and he had as yet received only 212. There was no help for it, but to have the ammunition and provisions carried on human backs. He gave me 6000 livres, which, judiciously distributed among the country people on both sides of St. Gothard, procured their assistance for the transport; and long processions of men and women dragged the stores across the mountain. Bad roads, stormy weather, and continual showers, rendered the course of the army very slow. Personal exertions such as were then required of us all, I have never experienced before or since. Everywhere was want and discontent. The soldiers were forced by the want of common necessaries, to live at the cost of a land already miserably impoverished by Austrian and Russian extortion. They took all they could find, and left behind them hunger and despair. In vain Moncey, at my entreaty, placed guards along the road, that none might absent himself from the main body for the sake of plunder. The other generals were very negligent in enforcing his orders, and found it very difficult to obtain obedience for their own. Food, shoes, clothing, every thing was stolen, and thousands were rendered destitute. Every day the following provisions were required for 20,000 men; 21,600 rations of bread; 21,500 rations of rice; 1500 rations of hay, and twenty head of cattle. Very frequently 21,600 rations of wine, 16,000 rations of salt, and 3000 pairs of shoes were likewise required.

Sometimes I marched on several miles in advance, sometimes several miles back again, to afford protection and assistance. Incessantly surrounded and stormed by adjutants, generals, commissaries, magazine-controllers, complaining parish-elders, and country people, I spent day and night amid perpetual dispute and noise, amid endless threats and entreaties. The commanders of the troops accused me of disaffection and aristocratic hatred of the French, which is no uncommon feeling among the Swiss; and the more firmly Moncey continued his favour and support, the more they grumbled.

I may here mention one instance of Moncey's constant justice. On the thirtieth of May, he hastily dispatched a joyful note to me in his own hand to inform me of the first conquest he had made, which consisted in the capture of 600 sheep and sixty cows, which he believed to belong to the enemy. Very soon after came, however, the wailing possessors of these flocks and herds, which they now saw themselves about to lose for ever. As soon as the possessors proved themselves to be Swiss, Moncey immediately ordered the cattle to be restored to them.

The army slowly advanced, day by day. Except a light skirmish on the bridge of the Moesa, they met with no hostile resistance. I breathed more freely when I saw the last masses of the army disappear across the frontiers of Lombardy. I now stood alone on the shores of the Tessino, in a country totally strange to me. I was here, as in Waldstätten, to introduce order into the political chaos, and to re-form every thing according to the Helvetic laws. I knew neither the people nor the country; neither their manners, customs, wants, prejudices, or past history. Everywhere I saw the sad memorials of the devastating passages of French, Austrian, and Russian armies. Nor was there as yet any security against the repetition of the very same torments and miseries. The hope of peace, depended solely on the issue of the Italian battles of Bonaparte and Melas.

FORMER EVENTS.

To understand and improve the present, which now surrounded me, it was necessary to become acquainted with the past from which it sprung. On that account I will hastily represent here the condition of the valleys of the Ticino before my arrival.

Let the reader imagine a nation morally brutallised and enslaved by its *Landvögte;* a nation hot-blooded but wanting in energy; fond of luxury but not of work; without perseverance or constancy; rash without courage; boastful yet servile; cunning yet imprudent; passionate in love and hatred; ostentatious in public, but sluttish in private. Imagine such a people when their old yoke was suddenly broken by the Swiss revolution. Instead of freedom, licentious anarchy was desired. The people split into parties. The great question was, whether to join the New Helvetic or the New Cisalpine Republic? The greater part of the population attracted by long habit, or impelled by hatred of the Lombardese, desired union with Switzerland. The pretended enthusiasts for freedom, privately supported by members of the Cisalpine Directory, clamoured for union with Cisalpinia. These called themselves "patriots," and their argument was: "Switzerland can give us only stones; Cisalpinia can give us bread and wine!"

Active measures were soon adopted. The "patriots," unable to make an impression by tracts and pamphlets, paid, clothed, and

armed some idle vagabonds from the Milanese territory, and attacked Lugano on the night of the 14th of February, 1798. The inhabitants of Lugano rose, and drove back the *Briganti*. There were killed and wounded on both sides. A still bloodier skirmish took place between the contending parties, at Mendrisio. The inhabitants, overpowered by the victorious patriots, were compelled by extortions, forced requisitions, and other acts of violence, to declare themselves in favour of the Cisalpine interest, until they were again delivered from the yoke of the patriots by the inhabitants of Lugano.

The people now addressed their complaints to General Berthier, who sent the General Chevalier to collect the real opinions of the people, and learn whether they were inclined to the Helvetic or Cisalpine Republic. Both to him and to General Brune, who was afterwards sent on the same errand, the answer of the majority of the people was: "We are Swiss, and Swiss we will remain." The Bailiwics on the Tessino were consequently incorporated with the Helvetic Republic, and formed two cantons, Lugano and Bellinzona. The vengeance of the victorious party now directed itself against the originators of the disturbances. The patriots saw that their cause was lost; they judiciously implored the protection of the Helvetic Republic, and received a general amnesty.

The people, disappointed in the hope of seeing the Cisalpine party punished, witnessed with silent wrath, their free return to the soil which they had reddened with the blood of its children. Fear of the patriots, and discontent against the government, rose yet higher, when revolutionary measures were adopted in Switzerland, a number of unwise regulations passed concerning military conscriptions, church processions, and other matters, when several popular magistrates were displaced, and their places filled with the hated patriots or their friends. The Cisalpine party, cunning and shrewd, now pretended zeal for freedom and Helvetia, and stigmatised their opponents as aristocrats and partisans of Austria. In Lugano, a military tribunal was established, with the power of executing within twenty-four hours those whom it condemned. This tribunal, whose members chiefly belonged to the hated "patriotic party," excited universal terror by its name and nature, but not yet by its conduct.

New disturbances began. The French, defeated in Italy, were in full retreat. The inhabitants of the valleys rose on every side. The arrival of a few fugitive Cisalpine soldiers at Lugano, occasioned universal preparations for defence. The governor, Cafra, forced by turbulent citizens and peasants, was obliged to order Major Stoppani to open the arsenal. Stoppani was immediately shot by the raging populace; the military of the Cisalpine party were disarmed and taken prisoners, and the houses of their leaders plundered. Many of the Cisalpine citizens fled; others were thrown into prison.

The appearance of a French half-brigade, which landed on the

shore of the Lugano lake in retreat, interrupted for a short time the excesses of the revengeful peasantry. Many of the Cisalpine party were released. But scarcely had the French soldiers disappeared, when the ringing of the alarm bells summoned the people to fresh disturbances. Armed peasants streamed in from all the mountains and valleys of the districts near Lugano, uttering shouts of vengeance against patriots, Jacobins, and Cisalpinians. Three of these, who had had the courage to remain behind, were dragged by the furious mob to the tree of liberty, and there shot with muskets, while a rascal from the Val d'Agno, who had been banished by a former *Landvogt,* sprang forth from the midst of the mob, and cleft with his axe the head of the young advocate, Papi.

Soon afterwards followed the invasion of the Austrian troops. Peace was once more restored; but now one district separated itself from another, until, from the frontiers of Lombardy to St. Gothard, the whole country was broken up into eight or nine little free states, which, unconnected with each other, governed themselves by self-elected rulers, and quarrelled incessantly with each other concerning tolls, turnpikes, &c. The Imperial Austrian Government Commissary, Count Cocastelli, satisfied himself with reimposing a tax discontinued by the Helvetic government, and allowed the people, in other matters, to govern themselves as they pleased.

Such was the condition in which I found this part of Switzerland on my arrival. Lovely as these valleys, this Italian sky, and the rich luxuriance of these southern landscapes must appear to a son of the North, it could not be easy for him to overlook in his admiration of these the corruption and degradation of every thing human around him, the result of a bad religion and a bad government. Let no one, however, attribute the guilt of this corruption to the glowing sky and climate. The soil of Italy bore once an iron-hearted Rome, before it became infected with the pestilential breath of sensuality, and bore only the plague-boils of despotism; the soil of Greece bore an Athens, a Sparta, and a Corinth, before it brought forth only slaves and tyrants.

MISERY ON EVERY SIDE.

All the foregoing events, their origin and connexion, as well as the anarchy in which they had terminated, and the furious hostility of the contending parties were as little known to the Executive Committee at Berne as to me. As soon as I had announced in a proclamation, my principles and wishes, and the object of my arrival, the Helvetic plenipotentiary began to be regarded with very various hopes and fears. With anxious eagerness it was everywhere inquired, "To which political party does he belong?" The interests of both, however, were indifferent to me, and it was my duty to let them remain so. As I stood impartial amidst contending factions, I was soon annoyed, first by the importunate advice of all the factious

leaders, and afterwards by their mistrust and discontent. It was the noisy "patriots" who first became troublesome, and, strangely enough. I now laboured under the odium of being an aristocrat and a partisan of Austria. Some French generals first fastened these epithets upon me. Originating in their head-quarters and gossip-meetings, the calumnious report spread among the common soldiers, and was circulated by them among the people. The rumour was strengthened by the circumstance, that on my first arrival at Lugano, the municipality accidentally or purposely, lodged me in the house of the postmaster, Pietro Rossi, one of the most active chiefs of the aristocratic party. But what most of all seemed to excite the fury of the patriots was, that I would only protect them from persecution, and would not allow them to persecute in return.

My situation was, from the first, very uneasy in another respect. The Helvetic Executive Committee, which knew nothing whatever of persons and events in Italian Switzerland, except what my dispatches acquainted them with, required me to act strictly according to their particular orders in every thing. But amidst the perpetual change of circumstances, wants, and emergencies, I saw myself forced, either to expose myself to punishment, by acting without orders on my own responsibility, or to increase the general confusion and anarchy by strict obedience to injudicious orders. On this account I earnestly and repeatedly requested either dismissal or increase of powers. "When my country is threatened by danger," I wrote, "I feel it to be a duty and a necessity to do what I can to avert that danger. I cannot possibly foresee all the changes and emergencies of the future, and just as impossible is it always to await orders from Berne amidst the constant pressure of events. Perhaps, however, it may be easy for you to appoint a more skilful ruler in my place, whose energy of mind may master these various difficulties." When, however, neither dismissal nor increase of powers were sent me, I determined to assume the power I required at my own responsibility without further delay, and contented myself with sending faithful reports of my proceedings to Berne.

I had been commanded above all things, to bring about the speedy reorganisation of the two cantons. This order sufficed to show me the ignorance and incapacity of the Executive Committee. It was totally impossible to obey such an order, so long as the fate of Lombardy remained undecided, while quarterings, marchings, and encampments of large bodies of troops, the pressure of their support, the tumult of contending factions, and a thousand similar evils, kept the country in a constant ferment. The former magistrates and officials of the country refused to occupy their posts during such a universal insecurity of public affairs. They had become the victims of their zeal, had been left without remuneration by government, and were now obliged to think of saving the remainder of their shattered fortunes. I wished to appoint other capable men in their stead, but knew not where to look for such. I came, indeed, into contact with many useful persons, but they were

most of them pledged to one or the other party, and bound to prefer the interests of their political partisans to those of the state and people. The impartial and peace-loving were very few, and withdrew themselves more and more into the back-ground. I determined, however, to seek and find them.*

I formed a Government Commission of able and experienced men, and made these, with myself at their head, the temporary federal government of this confused knot of petty states. I thus gained time to examine more accurately the internal condition of the country, and prepare my future remedies. This plan of leaving untouched, for the present, the old and accustomed, and yet renewing the bond of union for the benefit of all, had a quieting effect on the mass of the people, and the confidence of the nation in my good will, opened a more favourable field of action to my activity.

I soon found that another and a mightier power than mine was at work in the field; that of the clergy. I had already learnt to know the extent of their influence in the forest cantons. The foundation of their greatness in Switzerland as in the other Catholic countries of Europe, has always been the spiritual bondage of rulers and subjects. Centuries have strengthened this foundation; it must require centuries to substitute for it any nobler basis. Wherever the State subsists within the Church, and the altar is higher than the temporal throne, the power of the State will belong to the priesthood, whose keys of life and death, full of mysterious terrors, will hang like the sword of Damocles over the heads of the people and their rulers. Wherever Church and state enjoy equality of rights, and there is a tolerable peace between them, the temporal government may be at least half the master of its people. Yet the perpetual struggle between states and churches proves how indefinite are the boundaries of their authority. The freedom of the ruler and the freedom of the people can only begin where liberty of conscience supplies the place of an established religion.

In spite of these heretical views of mine, I did not dare to throw the gauntlet of defiance at the feet of my rival, the Church. To gain over the people, it was necessary to conciliate the clergy. In former times, indeed, a *Landvogt* could make the whole shore of the Tessino tremble by lifting up his finger. His sergeants had, by custom, an authority equal to that of an army. But that mysterious and invisible "divinity" which was wont to "hedge" round great and little majesties, had vanished in the tempest of revolution. And since I, without money and without troops, had to restore an ignorant people from anarchy to order, without force, and yet without delay, a league with the clergy appeared to me a means not to be despised. The numerous priesthood were subject to the Archbishop Filippo Visconti, and to the Bishop of Como, Carlo Novelli. In vain I exerted myself to obtain the favour of these clerical princes.

* All these difficulties at last made an impression even on the Helvetic government, and compelled them to defer the reorganisation of the two cantons till the autumn.

Both the secular and monastic clergy were at that time distinguished, with a few remarkable exceptions, by a total want of education and refinement; they spent their time chiefly at public-houses, gaming-tables, and pleasure parties—a state of things which I have never observed in German Switzerland. They were satisfied with the mechanical performance of their church-services, the better among them occasionally giving the boys of their village instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The girls were generally left totally uneducated, instruction being considered useless and dangerous for them. The pastors were mostly very scantily remunerated; even the convents were poor. The poverty of the village clergy was increased by the circumstance, that when troops passed through the country, soldiers and officers were always anxious to quarter themselves upon them, hoping for better accommodation than in the squalid dwellings of the peasantry. When the pastors were unable to entertain their guests in the manner expected by them, explosions of anger frequently followed, which occasioned the destruction of every thing breakable and tearable in the house. One day, in broad daylight, a poor village pastor of Lumino came to implore my compassion and protection in a pitiable case of this kind. He had performed the journey in very bad weather, in a torn, flowered cotton dressing-gown, tattered trousers, and a round felt hat, borrowed from a peasant.

Although I did all in my power for the protection of the clergy, and in order to ward off the suspicion of heresy, was a punctual attendant at church, I could not conciliate them. In the environs of Lugano resistance to the Helvetic Republic was openly preached from the pulpit; and even during the presence of the French troops, prayers were put up in the churches, by episcopal order, for the blessing of the Lord of Hosts on the arms of Austria. This last act of defiance was, indeed, discontinued on my application to the bishop and archbishop. But though the lips were silenced, the prayers of the heart could not be countermanded by episcopal decrees.

I soon saw myself compelled to turn to account even the sins of the Helvetic government. The new legislators of Switzerland, all on fire for freedom and equality, had committed the injustice of abolishing tithes and church-rates, without appointing any substitute. The clergy had thus fallen into the lowest poverty and destitution. The Austrian Count Cocastelli, my predecessor, had repealed the law of abolition, and restored the clergy to their rights, but it was a very critical thing for me to do any thing which Count Cocastelli had done. Yet I determined to imitate his example, although the Executive Committee had given me no permission. I found some justification in the circumstance, that the Helvetic constitution had not been formally re-established in Italian Switzerland. The announcement of my intention to restore the laws of tithes, worked like a magic spell. Everywhere quiet was restored. The pastors in all the villages saw themselves out of danger, and prayed

every where for peace and order. What I had vainly endeavoured to accomplish for public order was now fulfilled by episcopal decrees, and I suddenly saw myself dignified by the title of "*Protettore della Religione Cattolica.*"

PARTY WARFARE IN THE ITALIAN STYLE.

When the fate of Italy appeared for the present decided on the plains of Marengo, by the good fortune of Bonaparte, I determined to set myself boldly against the perpetual party warfare, productive of so much mischief in Italian Switzerland. I could not enforce reconciliation, but cessation from open disturbances of the public peace I could at least command. I declared loudly enough, but in vain, my detestation of the malice, injustice, and violence, of both factions; I was hated and feared by both parties, and accused by them, secretly and openly, of Helvetic, French, and Austrian partialities; the one party called me a revolutionist, and the other a secret agent of Austria, or a paid tool of England. At Milan, certain Swiss, hostile to me, and some French generals out of Moncey's corps, persuaded the young Cisalpine government to regard me as a sordid dependent of Austria. Discontented Luganese patriots printed there in French and Italian, a "*Compendio storico degli avvenimenti seguiti in Lugano, dall 'epoca della proclamazione della libertà, sino al presente,*" wherein I was represented as the protector "*Degli scelleraggini e degli orrori.*" On the other hand, the journals of the aristocratic party delighted to exhibit me as a "ranting Jacobin," who had seduced even the "honest mountaineers of Schwyz and Unterwalden." No less violent was the language of the well-known Haller, who termed me a "mere vagabond, a runaway Prussian, full of revolutionary fanaticism."

In the revolting strife with the fury and cunning of these factions, restless vigilance and promptitude of action could alone afford any chance of success. Fortunately each party betrayed to me the schemes of the other. I often received anonymous letters, threatening me with assassination; but to these I paid no attention. In spite of the warnings and entreaties of my faithful friends, Deuz and Aufdermaur, I never took a military escort with me on my journeys. He who betrays no fear, is himself feared by cowards.

As both parties continued to besiege me with their opposite complaints, and to demand indemnification for the losses they had sustained from the violence of the opposite faction, I proclaimed a renewed amnesty, from the Helvetic government, for all past political offences. The possibility of enforcing it on the banks of the Tessino was doubted, for here all kinds of social crimes, robbery, murder, and every species of violence, were mixed up with political offences. The tribunals and magistrates of the different little communities were also very unwilling to restore the sequestered estates of many

of the obnoxious "patriots," and to break off their trials, in which already a considerable pile of papers had been amassed. I ordered these papers to be brought to Lugano for my inspection; they filled several large chests. In order to cut the Gordian knot at once, I had them all packed up and sent away to Berne, where they were buried, I trust for ever, in the archives of the senate. Thus the thread of legal persecution was broken at once. The different families returned to their estates. But this did not satisfy the patriots. They demanded vengeance on their persecutors, the provisionary rulers. I answered that no government could ever be answerable to any other power than that from which it had received its own. But while I was thus taking under my protection the former authorities of the state, in spite of the past tyranny of which they had, no doubt, been guilty, they, on the other hand, resisted my orders, as to the repeal of the sequestrations; the magistrates at Mendrisio were the most obstinate in their resistance. My threats to displace them, if they resisted any longer, and their own fears of seeing their posts occupied by their enemies, soon drove them to obedience. The despotic tones and gestures of a feudal *Landvogt*, were very difficult for a good republican like me to assume; yet I found them necessary here. Those accustomed to the yoke of despotism, bow more willingly before it than before the majesty of justice.

I will give here one anecdote, characteristic of the time and people with whom I had to deal. One day, a lady of good family in Lugano demanded audience. I ordered her to be admitted. A slender, youthful figure entered the room, clothed in deep mourning, from head to foot, and enveloped in a long black veil. Through this woven darkness, I perceived a beautiful female face, about twenty years of age. Before I could address a word of welcome to the fair Queen of night, she threw herself at my feet, and, raising her clasped hands, cried with wild vehemence: "*Vendetta! Vendetta!*" It was long before I could induce her to explain her meaning with any degree of coherence. I then discovered that she was the sister of Papi, the advocate, who had been murdered by the notorious criminal, Curti, under the tree of liberty. This daring bandit had again shown himself on Swiss ground, attracted partly by the persuasions of his partisans, and partly by the report of my aristocratic tendencies. Never, however, has female beauty appeared so horrible to me, as that of this lovely young fury. I dismissed her, and requested her to send her male relatives to me.

To leave unpunished a murder like this, however, would have been to encourage every villain to do the same, in every hour of victorious anarchy. I ordered the commandant of the Helvetic company, Rüttiman, of Lucerne, to bring the murderer before me, alive or dead. One stormy night, that gallant officer surrounded with soldiers the house of Curti, in the Val d'Agno. In spite of the most undeniable traces of the man's presence, his wife swore, by God and all the saints, that he whom they sought had never re-

The pious confidence of the middle ages, which feared not to shut up a great dame with her knights in a castle or a narrow tower, the vassalage which made the most pleasing cares a feudal duty for young men—all this was a dangerous trial for human nature when religion was losing strength.* *Le Petit Jean de Saintré*, that story or history of the time of Charles VI., speaks but too plainly on this head.

Whether the crime was real or not, the punishment was atrocious. The two knights were taken to the Place du Martroi, near St. Gervais' elm, and there flayed alive, castrated, decapitated, and hung by the armpits. Just as the priests sought out infinite torments to avenge God, so the king, that new god of the world, could find no penalties sufficiently great to satisfy his offended majesty. Two victims were not sufficient; accomplices were looked for. An usher of the palace was laid hold of, then a multitude of others, men and women, nobles and *roturiers;* some were cast into the Seine, others put to death secretly.

Of the three princesses one only escaped. Philip le Long, her husband, did not care to find her guilty, since he would have had to give up Franche Comté which she brought him in dowry. As for the two others, Margaret and Blanche, the wives of Louis Hutin and Charles the Fair, they were ignominiously shorn of their locks, and thrown into prison in a fortress. Louis on his accession had his wife strangled (April 15, 1313), that he might be free to marry again. Blanche left alone in prison, was far more unfortunate.†

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* Jean de Meung Clopinel, who, it is said, by order of Philip the Fair, added 18,000 verses to the too long "Roman de la Rose," broadly expresses what he thinks of the ladies of that age. There is a story that those ladies, to avenge their reputation for honour and modesty, waited for the poet, armed with rods, for the purpose of whipping him. He got off by begging, as the sole favour to be granted him, that the lady he had most outraged should strike first. "Chaste women!" he says, "by St. Denis, there are just as many of them in the world as there are phenixes." He himself, by the by, had taken care to justify them by the doctrine preached in his book, which is nothing less than that of community of women:—

> Car nature n'est pas si sotte....
> Ains vous a fait, beau fils, n'en doubtes,
> Toutes pour tous, et tous pour toutes,
> Chascune pour chascun commune,
> Et chascun commun pour chascune.
>
> Roman de la Rose, V. 14, 653, Ed. 1735—7.

This insipid work, which can boast no other merits than the gallantry of the time and the obscenity of the conclusion seems the confession of faith of the gross sensualism that reigned in the fourteenth century. Jean Molinet *moralised* it, and turned it into prose.

† "She was got with child by her gaoler, or by others," says the coarse monkish historian. Cont. de G. de Nangis, 70. He passes on to other matters with cruel indifference; perhaps he dares not say more. From what we know of the princes of those times, we can easily believe that the poor creature whose first failing had not been clearly proved, was placed at the discretion of a man who was ordered to disgrace her. This horrible fate of the daughters-in-law of Philip the Fair has perhaps given rise, through a misconception, to the tradition respecting that

The career of crime once begun, men's imaginations once started in this direction, every death passed for the effect of poison. The king's wife is poisoned, so is his sister; by and by the Emperor Henry VII. will be poisoned by the Host. The Count of Flanders narrowly escapes that fate at the hands of his son; Philip the Fair, it is said, undergoes it at the hands of his ministers, the very men who lost most by his death; and not only Philip, but his father, too, who died thirty years before him. It was not for want of will that the hunt after crimes was not carried still further back.*

All these rumours terrified the people, who would fain have appeased God by penance. What between famines and the bankruptcies of the mint, between the vexations of the devil and the king's executions, they went weeping and howling about the towns in filthy processions of stark-naked penitents and obscene flagellants: bad forms of devotion that led to sin.†

Such was the sad state of the world when Philip and his pope went to meet their judgment in the other. Jacques Molay, it was said, had from among the faggots summoned them to appear after a year's space before the bar of God. Clement went first. He had shortly before in a dream beheld all his palace in flames. "From that hour," says his biographer, "he was no longer cheerful, and lasted but a little while."‡

Philip's turn came seven months afterwards. He died in his house at Fontainebleau, and is buried beside Monaldeschi in the little church of Avon.

Some say he was killed in the chase by a boar. Dante, in his exuberant hatred, strives hard to find the most ignominious terms in which he may tell the fact. "He died of a blow with a pig's skin—the false coiner!" §

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king's wife, Jane of Navarre, and the hôtel de Nesle. There is no old testimony in support of this tradition See Bayle, article Buridan. This tradition would, however, be still less probable, if we were to apply it, as Bayle does, to one of the king's daughters-in-law. Young as they were, they had no need of such expedients to find paramours. Be this as it may, Jane of Navarre appears to have been of a harsh and sanguinary character (See *supra*). She was queen in her own right, and had so much the less reason to stand in awe of her husband.

* Contin. G. de Nangis, ann. 1304, 1308, 1313, 1315, 1320, pp. 58, 61, 67, 68, 70, 77, 78.

† Totis nudis corporibus processionaliter.... Id. anno 1315, p.70.

‡ At his death he was left forsaken for some time: Gascones qui cum eo steterant, intenti circa sarcinas, videbantur de sepultura corporis non curare, quia diu remansit insepultum. Baluz., Vit. Pap. Aven., i. 22.

§ Dante, Paradiso, xix.

Lì si vedrà il duol che sopra Senna
Induce, falseggiando la moneta,
Quel che morrà di colpa di cotenna.

According to many authors he was really killed in hunting the stag. "He saw the stag coming, and drew his sword, and clapped spurs to his horse, and thought to strike the stag; but his horse carried him so violently against a tree, that the good king fell to the ground, and was very severely hurt in the heart, and was carried to Corbeil. There his malady grew very sore.... Chronique, trad. par Sauvage, p. 110. Lyon, 1572, folio.

But the contemporary French historian does not speak of this accident. He says, that Philip sank without fever or visible malady, to the great astonishment of his physicians.* Nothing indicated that he was to die so soon ; his age was but forty-six. His handsome, inexpressive countenance remained unchanged amidst all the fearful events around him. Did he secretly think himself smitten by the malediction of Boniface or of the grand-master ? Or rather, was he really smitten by the confederation of the grandees of the realm which was formed against him the very year of his death ? The barons and the nobles had followed him blindly against the pope; they had not said a word in favour of their brethren, the younger scions of the noblesse, I mean the templars; but the encroachments made on their justiciary and coinage rights made them lose patience. After all, the king of the lawyers and the enemy of feudalism had no other military force to oppose to it than the feudal force. It was a vicious circle from which he had no means of escaping. Death delivered him from this perplexity.

What share he really had in the great events of his reign is not known : only we see him incessantly travelling about through his kingdom. Nothing of magnitude for good or evil is done without his personal presence; at Courtrai and Mons en Puelle (1302, 1304), at St. Jean d'Angely, Lyons (1305), Poitiers, and Vienne (1308, 1313).

He appears to have been a prince of moderate and regular habits; there remains no trace of his private expenditure. He settled accounts with his treasurer every twenty-five days.

Son of a Spanish woman, and educated by the Dominican Egidio, of the Roman house of Colonna, there was evidently in him something of the sombre spirit of St. Dominick, as St. Louis displayed the mystic gentleness of the order of St. Francis. Egidio wrote for his pupil a book, *De regimine principum*, and had no difficulty in inculcating upon him the doctrine of the unlimited power of kings.†

Philip had translations made for him of Boethius' "Consolation," the works of Vegetius on the Military Art, and the "Letters of Abailard and Héloise."‡ The universitary and amorous misfortunes of the

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* Diuturna detentus infirmitate, cujus causa medicis erat incognita, non solum ipsis, sed et aliis multis multi stuporis materiam et admirationis induxit; præsertim cum infirmitatis aut mortis periculum nec pulsus ostenderet nec urina. Contin. G. de Nangis, fol. 69.

† See S. Ægidii Romani, archiep. Bituricensis questis De utraque potestate, edid. Goldastus, Monarchia, ii. 95. A Colonna could only inspire his pupil with hatred to the popes.

‡ It was Jean de Meung, author of the Roman de la Rose, who translated this book for him. He enumerates all his literary achievements in the *Epître liminaire*, which he has prefixed to the book on Consolation. "A la royale Majesté, très noble Prince par la Grâce de Dieu, Roy des François, Philippes le Quart; je, Jehan de Meung, qui jadis au Romans de la Rose, puisque Jalousie et mis en prison Bel-acueil, ay enseigné la manière du Chastel prendre, et de la

celebrated professor, so ill-treated by the priests, were a popular text in the height of the great warfare waged by the king against the clergy. Philip the Fair relied on the support of the university of Paris;* he cherished that turbulent republic, and it backed his measures. Whilst Boniface was seeking to attach the mendicants to him,† the university was persecuting them through its famous doctor, John *Goad-Ass* (*Pungens asinum*),‡ the king's champion against the pope. The moment the templars were arrested, Nogaret assembled all the universitary people in the Temple, masters and scholars, theologians and *artists*, and read the indictment to them. It was a great means of strength to have such a body on one's side, and that in the capital. Accordingly, the king would not allow Clement V. to raise the schools of Orleans into an university, and create a rival to his university of Paris.§

This reign is an epoch of foundation for the university. More colleges were founded in it than in all the thirteenth century, and those, too, the most celebrated.‖ The wife of Philip the Fair, notwithstand-

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Rose cueillir; et translaté de latin in françois le livre de Vegèce de chevalerie, et le livre des merveilles de Hirlande: et le livre des Epistres de Pierre Abeillard et Héloise sa femme: et le livre d'Aelred, de spirituelle amitié: envoye ores Boëce de Consolation, que j'ai translaté en françois, jaçoit ce qu'entendes bien latin."

The confidence with which he was honoured by the king did not prevent him from drawing this rude picture of primitive royalty in the Roman de la Rose (v. 1064):

Ung grant villain entre eulx esleurent
Le plus corsu de quanqu'ils furent,
Le plus ossu, et le greigneur
Et le firent prince et seigneur.
Cil jura que droit leur tiendroit
Se chacun en droit soy luy livre
Des biens dont il se puisse vivre..
De la vint le commencement
Aux rois et prince terriens
Selon les livres anciens.

* Bulæus, Hist. Univ., iii., anno 1285. "In this year great dissension broke out between the rector, masters, and scholars of the university of Paris and the provost of the same; because the said provost had hanged a clerk of the said university. Then the lectures ceased in all the faculties until the provost made great amends, and among other things he was condemned to take down the man he had hanged up and kiss him. And the said provost agreed to go to Avignon to the pope and obtain absolution." Nicolas Gilles, ap. Bulæum, iv. 73.

† Id., iii. 511, 516, 595.

‡ Id., iv. 70. See in Goldast, ii. 408, Johannes de Parisiis Tractatus de potestate regia et papali.

§ Ord., i. 502. The king declares there shall be no professors of theology. See also Bulæus, iv. 101-107.

‖ To the college of Navarre and that of Montaigu add the college d'Harcourt (1280), *la maison du Cardinal* (1303); the college of Bayeux (1308); of Laon (1314); Narbonne (1317); Tréguier (1319); Cornouailles (1317-21); Plessis and des Ecossais (1326); Marmoutiers (1329); a new college of Narbonne, founded in accordance with the last will of Jeanne de Bourgogne (1382); college of the Lombards (1334); Tours (1334); Lisieux (1386); Autun (1337), &c.

ing her bad reputation, founded the college of Navarre (1304), that seminary of Gallicans, whence issued d'Ailly, Gerson, and Bossuet. The councillors of Philip the Fair, who had also much to expiate, almost all made similar foundations. The Archbishop Gilles d'Aiscelin, the weak and servile judge of the templars, founded the Mont Aigu, that formidable college, the poorest and most democratic of the high schools, in which as the proverb said, wit and teeth were equally sharp set.* There, under the inspiration of hunger, grew up the *poor* scholars, the *poor* masters,† who rendered the name of the *Cappets* illustrious;‡ they had poor feeding, but ample privileges ; they were not dependents as to confession on the Bishop of Paris or even on the pope. §

Whether or not Philip the Fair was a wicked man, or a bad king, there is no denying that his reign was the grand era from which we date civil order in France, and the foundation of the modern monarchy. St. Louis was still a feudal king. A single phrase gives the measure of the whole way made between the one reign and the other; St. Louis assembled the deputies of the towns of the South, Philip the Fair those of the estates of France. The former made establishments for his domains, the latter ordonnances for the kingdom. The one laid down as a principle, the supremacy of the royal justice over that of the lords, and the appeal to the king; and he tried to moderate private wars by *quarantaine and assurement.* Under Philip the Fair, the appeal to the king was a thing so firmly established, that the most independent of the great feudatories, the Duke of Bretagne, requested, as a singular favour, to be exempted from the operation of the principle.‖ The parliament of Paris wrote on the king's behalf to the most remote of the barons, the Count of Comminges, that petty sovereign of the Upper Pyrenees, and used the following words, which, a century before, would not even have been understood: "Throughout the whole realm, the cognizance and punishment of the carrying of arms belongs only to us."¶

The new tendency announces itself strongly in the beginning of this reign. The king determines to exclude priests from the administration of justice, and from municipal functions.** He protects

* Mons acutus, dentes acuti, ingenium acutum.

† The master shall be elected from among the poor scholars and by them..... The individual elected shall be called the minister of the poor. Mention is made in these regulations of eighty-four poor scholars' places, founded in honour of the twelve apostles and the seventy-two disciples.

‡ The dress of this society was a cape closed in front, such as was worn by the masters of arts in the Rue de Fouarre, and a *camail* or hood, also closed before and behind, whence their name of Capètes. Parents could not threaten their children with any punishment more severe than that of making them Capètes. Felibien, i. 526, sqq.

§ Ibid.

‖ Ord., i. 329.

¶ Olim Parliamenti, iii., folio cxxxiv. Archives, Sect. jud.

** Omnes in regno Franciæ temperatam juridictionem habentes, baillivum, præpositum et servientes laicos et nullatenus clericos instituant, ut si ibi de-

Jews* and heretics, augments the royal tax on mortmains, or the acquisition of real estate by the churches.† He prohibits private wars and tourneys.‡ This prohibition, grounded on the king's want of men for his wars in Flanders, was often repeated;§ once, even the king ordered his provosts to arrest those who went to the tourneys. At each campaign he was obliged to have recourse to impressment, and collect by force the indolent chivalry, that cared little about the affairs of the king and the realm.‖

This government, inimical to feudalism and the priests, had no other military force than the lords, and hardly any money except through the Church. Thence came many contradictions, and many a retrograde step.

In 1287, the king grants permission to the lords to pursue their fugitive serfs into the towns. Perhaps, indeed, it was needful to retard the great influx of the people into the towns, and to hinder the fields from being deserted;¶ else the towns would have absorbed the whole population, and the land would have remained a desert, as happened in the Roman empire.

In 1290, the clergy extorted an exorbitant, impracticable charter from the king, which would have destroyed the royal authority. The chief articles were, that the prelates *should be judges in matters of testaments, bequests, and dowers;* that the king's bailiffs and servants should not abide on the lands of the Church; that the bishops alone should have power to arrest ecclesiastics; that clerks should not plead in lay courts to personal actions, even though obliged thereto by the king's letters (this was tantamount to impunity for

linquant, superiores sui possint animadverte in eosdem. Et si aliqui clerici sunt in prædictis officiis, amoveantur. Ord., i. 316. Années, 1287—8.

* Non capiantur aut incarcerentur ad mandatum aliquorum patrum, fratrum alicujus ordinis vel aliorum, quocunque fungantur officio. Ord., i. 317.

† Ord., i. 322. It makes distinctions between fiefs held of the king, fiefs held of an intermediate lord, and freeholds. In all cases the royal tax is twice as great upon acquisitions by way of purchase as upon those obtained gratuitously. Ecclesiastical purchase was more feared than donations to the Church.

‡ Ad instar sancti Ludovici, eximii confessoris.....guerras.....bella.....provocationes etiam ad duellum .....durantibus guerris nostris expresse inhibemus. Ord., i. 390. Cf. 328 ann. 1296, 344 ann. 1302, 549 ann. 1314, July.

§ Quatenus omnes et singulos nobiles.....capias et arrestes, capique et arrestari facias, et tamdiu in arresto teneri, donec a nobis mandatum. Ord., i. 424, ann. 1304.

‖ In 1302 the *bailly* of Amiens is ordered to send to the wars in Flanders all who were worth more than 100 livres in real, and 200 in chattel property; the rest were to be spared. Ord., i. 345. But on the 29th of May, in the following year, it was ordered that every *roturier* who had fifty livres in chattels or twenty in real property, should contribute with his person or in money. Ord., i. 373.

¶ There were formalities analogous to those which are now imposed on the foreigner who wishes to become a French citizen: authorisation by the provost or mayor; domicile established by purchase, by the occupation of a house for a year and a day of the value of sixty sols parisis at least; notification to the lord under whom the man is settled; obligatory residence from All-Saints to St. John's day, &c. Ord., i. 314.

priests); that the prelates should not pay for property newly acquired by their churches; that the local judges should have no cognizance of tithes; that is to say, that the clergy alone should be judges of the fiscal abuses of the clergy.*

In 1291, Philip the Fair violently attacked the tyranny of the inquisition in the South.† In 1298, in the beginning of the war against the pope, he backed the intolerance of the bishops, and ordered the lords and the royal judges to deliver heretics into their hands, that they might condemn and punish them without appeal.‡ The following year he promises that the bailiffs shall not harass the churches with violent seizures; they shall seize only one manor at a time, &c.§

The nobles, also, were to be contented. He granted them an ordonnance against their creditors, the Jewish usurers.‖ He guaranteed their rights of chase. The royal collectors were no longer to meddle with the inheritance of bastards and aliens on the lands of the lords high justiciaries: "*Unless,*" the king adds, warily, "*it be established by competent persons that we have good right to levy.*"¶

In 1302, after the defeat of Courtrai, the king ventured to do a great deal. He took half the silver plate in the kingdom** (his bailiffs and other servants were to give up all theirs) for the use of the mint; he seized the temporalities of the bishops who had gone to Rome;†† and he levied imposts upon the nobles, after their defeat and humiliation at Courtrai; the moment was a favourable one for forcing them to pay.‡‡

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* Ord., i. 318. Quod bona nobilia clericorum capi vel justiciari non possint .....per justiciam secularem.....Causæ ordinariæ prælatorum in parliamentis tantummodo agitentur.....nec ad senescallos aut baillivos.....liceat appellare .....Non impediantur a taillis.....etc.

† Hist. du Lang., xxviii. 22.

‡ Baillivis.....injungimus.....diocesanis episcopis, et inquisitoribus.....pareant, et intendant in hæreticorum investigatione, captione..... condemnatos sibi relictos statim recipiant, indilate animadversione debita puniendos.....non obstantibus appellationibus. Ord., i. 330, ann. 1298.

§ Mandate addressed to the bailiffs of Touraine and Maine, commanding them to respect ecclesiastics. Letters granted to the bishops of Normandy against the oppressions of the bailiffs, viscounts, &c. Ord., i. 331, 334. Similar ordinance in favour of the churches of Languedoc, May 8, 1302, ibid., 340.

‖ Contra usurarum voraginem....volumus ut debita quantum ad sortem primariam plenarie persolvantur, quod vero ultra sortem fuerit legaliter penitus remittendo. Ord., i. 334.

¶ Nisi prius per aliquem idoneum virum *quem ad hoc specialiter deputaverimus* .....constiterit quod nos sumus in bona saisina percipiendi.....Ord., i. 338, 339.

** "Notify to all by general proclamation, without making mention of prelates or of barons, to wit, that all manner of persons shall bring the half of their silver plate." Ord., i. 347.

†† Non nulli prælati, abbates, priores.....inhibitione nostra spreta.....abregno egredi.....Nolentes igitur ob ipsarum absentiam personarum bona earum dissipari et potius cupientes ea conservari.....mandamus, etc. Ord., i. 349. The irritation against the priests seems to have been great; the king is obliged to forbid the Normans to mob the clerks (*de crier Haro sur les clercs*). Ord., i. 348.

‡‡ Ord. i. 330; end of the year 1302.

In 1303, during the crisis, when Nogaret had accused Boniface (March 12), when excommunication might at any moment fall on the king's head, he promised whatever people chose to ask. In his reforming ordonnance (end of March), he pledged himself to the nobles and prelates, *not to make any acquisition* with respect to their lands.* Nevertheless, in this instance, again he added a reservation that destroyed the whole force of the concession: "*Except in such case as concerns our royal right.*"† The same ordonnance contained a regulation relative to the parliament; that is to say, mixed up with privileges was the organisation of the body which was to destroy privileges and privileged classes.‡

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* The king declares that in reformation of his kingdom, he takes the churches under his protection, and designs that they shall enjoy their franchises or privileges as in the time of his grandfather St. Louis. In consequence, if it occurs to him to pronounce any sentence of seizure against a priest, his bailiff shall not proceed to it until after mature inquiry, and the seizure shall never exceed the amount of the fine. The good customs that existed in the time of St. Louis shall be searched out all over the kingdom and re-established. If the prelates or barons have any affair before the parliament, they shall be treated honourably, and their business promptly despatched. Ord., i. 357.

† Nisi in casu pertinente ad jus nostrum regium.....He added, however, that the fief thus acquired by forfeiture should, after a year and a day, pass out of his hand into that of a suitable person, who should serve the fief. But again he reserved to himself this other alternative: "Or we will give the master of the fief a sufficient and reasonable recompense." Ibid., 358.—The greater part of this reforming ordonnance relates to the bailiffs and other royal officers, and tends to prevent the abuses of power. Nominated by the great council (14), they shall not be allowed to be members of that assembly (16). They shall not have their relations by blood or marriage for provosts or lieutenants, or exercise their office in their birth-place (27), or attach themselves by marriage or the purchase of real estate to the district over which they have jurisdiction; a precautionary measure imitated from the Romans, but extended to the children, sisters, nieces, and nephews of the royal officers (50, 51). The ordonnance regulated the times of their assizes (26), each of which at its close was to notify the beginning of the next; it fixed the limits of their powers with regard to each other (60), to the jurisdictions of the prelates and barons (25), and to those who were cognizable by them judicially. They could not keep any one in prison unless he was subjected to personal arrest (*contrainte par corps*) by letter under royal seal (52). The same ordonnance forbade them to accept any thing by way of gift or loan (40-43), either for themselves or their children (41) (they were not to receive wine, nisi in barillis, seu boutellis vel potis), and they were not to sell the surplus; nor to give any thing to the great council their judges (44), nor to take any thing from the inferior bailiffs, who were answerable to them (48). The nominations to these offices were to be made by them with the greatest caution (56); the king continues to exclude clerks from them, and puts these personages in very bad company: Non clerici, non usurarii, non infames, nec suspecti circa oppressiones subjectorum (19). Ord., i. 357—367.

‡ No doubt the origin of the parliament goes further back. We find the first trace of it in the ordonnance called Testament de Philippe Auguste (1190). See M. Klimrath's important memoir *Sur les Olim et sur le Parlement.* See also a MS. dissertation on the origin of the parliament (*Archives du royaume*). The anonymous author, who, perhaps, wrote under the Chancellor Maupeou, coincides in opinion with M. Klimrath. If, however, we consider the quite new importance which the parliament acquired under Philip the Fair, we shall not be surprised that most historians have called him its founder.

In the succeeding years, he allows the bishops to resume their places in the parliament. Toulouse recovers its municipal judicature; the nobles of Auvergne obtain guarantees that their judicial rights shall be respected, that the king's officers shall be done away with, &c. Lastly, in 1306, when the coinage insurrection forces the king to take refuge in the Temple, no longer counting on the support of the burghers, he restores wager of battle to the nobles, and proof by duel in default of witnesses.*

The great affair of the templars (1308-9) forced him again to lower his tone. He renewed the promises of 1303, laid down rules for the accountability of the bailiffs, pledged himself no longer to tax the rent-rolls of the nobles, set bounds to the violent proceedings of the lords, and promised the Parisians that he would moderate the exercise of his right of seizure and purveyance, the Bretons, that he would coin good money, the Poitevins, that he would suppress the furnaces of the false coiners. He confirmed the privileges of Rouen. All at once, seized with a charitable and almsgiving fit, he wished to employ the manorial fines levied on a change of tenants, in marrying poor girls of noble birth; and he liberally bestowed on the hospitals the straw with which the royal lodgings were strewed in his frequent journeys.

The hypocrisy of this government is in nothing more remarkable than in the affairs of the coinage. It is curious to follow, year by year, the lies and tergiversations of the royal false coiner. In 1295, he informs the people that he is about to issue money, "in which there will, perhaps, be something deficient with reference to the nominal value or the weight; but he will indemnify those who shall receive it. His dear wife, Queen Jane of Navarre, is pleased to allow that the revenues of Normandy shall be made liable for that purpose."† In 1305, he has it proclaimed through the streets with sound of trumpet, that his new coin is as good as that of St. Louis.‡ He repeatedly ordered the persons employed in the mint to keep the adulterations secret. By and by he gives out that his coinage had been adulterated by others, and orders that the furnaces should be destroyed *in which false coin had been made.*§ In 1310 and 1311, he prohibits the importation of foreign coin, fearing a comparison between it and his own.‖ In 1311, he forbids the weighing or testing of the royal moneys.¶

No doubt, in all these transactions, the king was fully assured of his own right, and considered it an attribute of his omnipotence to augment the value of moneys at his pleasure. But the comical part of the matter is, to see the shuffling tricks with which

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* Ann. 1304, Ord., i. 547. This ordonnance appears to be the enforcement of Art. 62 of the edict we have just analysed. It is the administrative regulation forming the complement of the law.

† Nos autem Johanna impertimus assensum. Ord., i. 326.

‡ Ord., i. 429.

§ Ord., i. 451.

‖ Ord., i. 475, Jan. 20, 1310.

¶ Ord., i. 481, May 16, 1311.

this omnipotence, this divinity, is forced to elude the mistrust of the people. The nascent religion of royalty has already its sceptics.

At last, royalty, too, seems to have doubts of itself. That haughty power, after having exhausted all resources of force and fraud, makes an implicit acknowledgment of its own weakness, and appeals to liberty. We have seen what bold words the king caused to be addressed to himself, both in the famous "*Supplique du pueble de France*," and in the speech of the deputies of the estates of 1308; but nothing is more remarkable than the terms of the ordonnance by which he confirms the enfranchisements of the serfs of Valois, granted by his brother: "Whereas every human creature who is formed in the image of our Lord, ought generally to be free by natural right; and in some countries this natural liberty or franchise is, by the yoke of servitude, which is so hateful, effaced and obscured, so that the men and women inhabiting the places and countries aforesaid, are reputed as dead in their lifetime; and at the end of their painful and wretched existence, are so strictly tied and bound, that they cannot by their last will dispose of the goods which God has lent them in this world. . . . ."*

These words must have sounded ill in feudal ears. They seemed a protest against serfdom, and the tyranny of the lords. That complaint which had never dared to rise from below, even in whispers, now burst forth from the highest station, and fell on the oppressors' heads with the force of a condemnation. The king having got the better of all his enemies, with the help of the lords, now kept no measure with the latter. On the 13th of June, 1313, he prohibited their coining any money, until they had letters from the king authorising them to do so.†

This ordonnance made the cup overflow. Whatever dread the king must have inspired after the affair of the Temple, the grandees determined to run all risks, and adopt a decisive course. Most of the lords in the North and East (Picardy, Artois, Ponthieu, Bourgogne, and Forez) formed a confederation against the king: "To all those who shall see and hear these present letters, the nobles and *the commons* of Champagne, for us, for the country of Vermandois, and *for our allies and adjuncts* being within the points of the realm of France, greeting. Know all men, that whereas the most excellent and most puissant prince, our most dear and redoubted lord, Philip by the grace of God, King of France, has made and levied many *tailles*, subventions, exactions not due, alteration of moneys, and many other things which have been done, whereby the nobles and the commons have been much aggrieved and impoverished. . . . And it does not appear that they have turned out for the honour and profit of the king or of the realm, nor in defence of the common profit. Concerning which griefs we have many times requested, and humbly and devotedly supplicated the said lord the king, that

* Ord., xii. 387, ann. 1311

† Ord., i. 5—22, Art. 14.

he would undo and put an end to these things; and this he has not done at all. And again, in this present year, 1314, our said lord the king has laid impositions unduly on the nobles and commons of the kingdom, and subventions which he has endeavoured to raise; the which thing we cannot suffer or endure in good conscience; for thus we shall lose our honours, franchise, and liberty, both we and those who shall come after us. . . . . We have sworn and promised by our oaths, loyally and in good faith, for us and our heirs in the counties of Auxerre and Tonnerre, to the nobles and commons of the said counties, their allies and adjuncts, that we, as regards the subvention of the present year, and all other griefs and innovations not duly made and to be made, now and hereafter, which the King of France, our lord, or other person shall desire to inflict on them, will aid and succour them at our proper cost and expense. . . . ."*

This act would seem to be a reply to the king's dangerous words on serfdom. The king denounced the lords, the lords the king. The two forces which had joined together to despoil the Church, now accused each other before the people, which did not yet exist as a people, and could not reply.

The king, defenceless against this confederation, applied to the towns, and summoned their deputies to come and consult with him respecting the coinage (1314). These deputies, obedient to the royal suggestions, demanded, *that the king should during eleven years hinder the barons from coining money*, in order himself to make good coin by which he should gain nothing.†

Philip the Fair died in the midst of this crisis, 1314. The accession of his son Louis X., so well surnamed Hutin (disorder, uproar), was a violent reaction of the feudal, local, provincial spirit, which aimed at breaking up the still feeble unity of the realm; it was a demand for dismemberment, a reclamation of chaos.‡

The Duke of Bretagne desires to judge without appeal; so does the exchequer of Rouen. Amiens will not have the king's serjeants make any citations in the domains of the lords, nor the provosts withdraw any prisoners out of their hands. Bourgogne and Nevers insist upon the king's respecting feudal justice, and no longer setting up his scutcheons on the castles and barriers of the lords.§

The unanimous demand of the barons is, that the king should no longer have any thing to do with their men. The nobles of Burgundy take upon themselves the duty of punishing their own officers. Champagne and Vermandois forbid the king to summon the inferior vassals.‖

* Boulainvilliers, Lettres sur les anciens parlements, iii. 29, 81.

† Ord., i. 548, 549. So strong, however, was the resistance of the barons and the prelates interested in the matter, that all that could be done was to prescribe the alloy, the weight, and the marks to be used in their coins. Leblanc, 229.

‡ See how the Continuator of Nangis all at once changes his language, how bold he grows, how he lifts up his voice. Fol. 69, 70.

§ Ord., i. 551, 592, 561—567, 625, 572.

‖ Ord., i. 559 (8°); 574 (50); 554 (2°).

Provinces the most remote from each other, Perigord, Nîmes, and Champagne, agree in complaining of the king's attempts to tax the tenants of the nobles.*

Amiens would have the bailiffs make no committal to prison or seizure until after condemnation. Bourgogne, Amiens, and Champagne, unanimously call for the re-establishment of wager of battle and judicial combat.†

The king is no longer to acquire fief or advowson on the lands of the lords in Bourgogne, Tours, and Nevers, nor in Champagne, (except in case of inheritance or confiscation).‡

The young king grants and signs all. There are only three points on which he hesitates and wishes to procrastinate. The lords of Bourgogne set up a claim against the king's jurisdiction over the *rivers, roads, and consecrated places.* Those of Champagne doubt the king's right to march them to war *out of their province.* Those of Amiens, with the characteristic violence of Picardy, roundly demand, that *all gentlemen may be entitled to wage war on each other, not to grant truces, but to ride, go, come, and be at arms in war* and *molest each other.* To these insolent and absurd demands, the king merely replies: "*We will have the registers of Monseigneur St. Loys shown, and wilt grant the said nobles two good persons of our council to be named by themselves, who shall diligently inquire into the truth of the said article.*"§

This reply is rather adroit. They all demanded, that a return should be made *to the good customs of St. Louis*, forgetting that St. Louis had laboured to prevent private wars. But in using the name of St. Louis, they meant nothing else than the old feudal independence, the opposite of the quasi-legal, venal and pettifogging government of Philip the Fair.

The grandees destroyed bit by bit all that government of the late king; but they did not believe it dead so long as they had not destroyed his *Alter ego*, his *Mayor of the Palace*, Enguerrand de Marigny, who in the last years of the late reign had been *coadjutor and rector of the kingdom*, and had had his own statue set up in the palace beside the king's. His real name was Le Portier, but he purchased that of Marigny with an estate. This Norman, a *gracious and cautious* person,‖ but apparently not less taciturn than his master, has left behind no written document: it seems as though he never wrote or spoke. He had the templars condemned through the agency of his brother, whom he made Archbishop of Sens for that express purpose. No doubt he had the chief share in the king's dealings with the popes,

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* Ord., i. 562 (20). † Ibid., 507, 558.

‡ "The fourth article which is as follows: *Item, that the king shall not acquire or gain aught of the baronies and castellanies, fiefs and subfiefs of the said nobles and religious persons, except with their own consent*, we grant them."

§ Ord., i. 572 (31); 576 (15); 564 (6).

‖ Gratiosus, cautus et sapiens. Cont. G. de Nangis, p. 69. See also Dupuy, Pr., 45; and Bern. Guidonis vita Clem. V., Baluze, 82.

but he managed so well that he had the credit of having let Clement escape out of Poitiers.* The pope was probably thankful to him for this; and, besides, he could make the king believe that the pope would be more useful to him in Avignon in apparent independence, than in a captivity which would have been revolting to the Christian world.†

It was to the Temple, to the very place where Marigny had installed his master to plunder the templars, that young Louis repaired to hear the solemn accusation laid against Marigny.‡ The accuser was the brother of Philip the Fair, the violent Charles of Valois, a bustling and commonplace man, who set himself up for leader of the barons. Born so near the throne of France, he had run all over Christendom in search of another, whilst a petty knight of Normandy was reigning beside Philip the Fair. We need not wonder if he was maddened with envy.

It would not have been difficult for Marigny to defend himself if he could have obtained a hearing. He had done nothing except having been the very mind and conscience of Philip the Fair. It was for the young king as though he had to sit in judgment on his father's soul; his wish, therefore, was only to send away Marigny, banish him to the isle of Cyprus, and recall him at a later period. To effect his ruin, Charles of Valois was obliged to have recourse to the grand accusation of the time from which no one escaped. It was discovered or pretended, that the wife or sister of Marigny, in order to prompt his deliverance or bewitch the king, had caused certain little figures to be made by one Jacques de Lor: "The said Jacques being thrown into prison, hanged himself in despair, and then his wife, and the sister of Enguerrand were put in prison; and Enguerrand himself, after being tried in presence of the knights, was hanged in Paris on the thieves' gibbet. Howbeit, he acknowledged nothing of the aforesaid magic practices, and said, only, that as for the extortions and alteration of the coinage, he had not been the sole author of those things ... Therefore, his death, of which many did not entirely comprehend the causes, was matter of great wonder and stupefaction."

Pierre de Latilly, Bishop of Chalons, suspected of the death of Philip, the King of France, and of his predecessor, was by the king's order kept in prison in the name of the Archbishop of Reims. Raoul de Presles, attorney-general (*advocatus præcipuus*) to the parliament, also confined for the like suspicion, was kept in the prison of Sainte Geneviève in Paris, and subjected to divers kinds

* His enemies accused him of this. See Paul Emile. It was said also that he had for money procured a truce for the Count of Flanders. Oudegherst, ann. 1313.

† This reminds us of the manner in which Themistocles contrived to keep well with both parties before the battle of Salamis. See Herodotus.

‡ Contin. G. de Nangis, 69. Modern writers have superadded many circumstances concerning the rupture between Charles of Valois and Marigny, the lie given, a blow, &c.

of torture. As no confession could be forced from his lips as to the crimes whereof he was accused, though he had endured the most various and the most painful tortures, he was let to go at last, great part of his property, both movable and immovable, having been given away, or lost, or pillaged.*

It was nothing that they had hanged Marigny, imprisoned Raoul de Presles, and ruined Nogaret, as they did subsequently: the lawyer was more vivacious than the barons supposed. Marigny springs to life again with every new reign, and always they kill him in vain. The old system, battered and shaken, each time crushes an enemy in its fall. It is not the stronger for this. The whole history of this period is comprised in the fight to the death between the lawyer and the baron.

Each accession to the throne presents itself as a restoration of the *good old usages* of St. Louis, as an expiation of the preceding reign. The new king, companion and friend of the princes and barons, begins as first baron, as a *good and stern justiciary*, to hang up the servants of his predecessor. A great gibbet is erected; the people follow to it with hootings the man of the people, the king's man, the poor *roturier* king who, in each reign, bears the sins of royalty: after St. Louis, the barber La Brosse; after Philip the Fair, Marigny; after Philip the Long, Gerard Guecte; after Charles the Fair, the treasurer Remy. The victim dies illegally, but not unjustly. He dies sullied with the violences of an imperfect system in which evil still predominates over good; but in dying, he bequeaths to the government that sentences him his instruments of power, and to the people that curses him institutions of peace and order.

Few years elapsed before Marigny's corpse was respectfully brought down from Montfaucon and received Christian burial. Louis le Hutin bequeathed 10,000 livres to Marigny's son. Charles of Valois in his last illness thought it expedient for his soul's weal to rehabilitate his victim. He had large alms distributed, with orders to say to the poor: "Pray to God for Monseigneur Enguerrand de Marigny, and for Monseigneur Charles de Valois."†

Marigny's most signal vengeance was, that royalty, so strong in his time, fell after he was gone into the most deplorable weakness. Louis le Hutin having need of money for the war in Flanders, treated on terms of mere equality with the City of Paris. The

* There were three Raoul de Presles. The first, who deposed, in 1309, against the templars, was implicated in the affair of Pierre Latilly, and recovered his liberty with the loss of his property. Louis Hutin felt remorse for this, and directed by his will that all that had been taken from Raoul should be given back to him, *as was reasonable*. Philip the Long and Charles the Fair ennobled him for his good services. The second Raoul is known only for a forgery, and also for a bastard he had in prison. That bastard was the most illustrious of the Raouls. In 1365, he made himself known to Charles V. by an allegory entitled *La Muse*. He was ordered by that prince to translate the "Cité de Dieu," and appears to have had some hand in the composition of the "Songe du Vergier."

† Contin. G. de Nangis, anno 1325.

nobles of Champagne hastened to profit by the right of private war they had just recovered, and made war on the Countess of Artois, without heeding the decision of the king who had adjudged that fief. All the barons had begun again to coin money, Charles of Valois, the king's uncle, setting them the example. But instead of doing so only for their own domains, conformably with the ordonnances of Philip the Bold and Philip the Fair, they manufactured false coin on a grand scale, and set it in circulation all over the kingdom.*

It was then full time for the king to rouse himself and fall back on the system of government of Marigny and Philip the Fair. He cried down the barons' moneys (November 19, 1315), and ordered that they should have currency only in their own several domains.† He fixed the proportions between the royal moneys and thirteen different moneys, which thirty-one bishops and barons had the right of coining for their own lands.‡ Eighty lords had possessed this right in the time of St. Louis.

The young feudal king, humanised by want of money, did not disdain to treat with serfs and Jews. The famous ordonnance of Louis Hutin for the enfranchisement of the serfs of his domains, is entirely conformable to that of Philip the Fair for Valois which we have quoted: "As according to natural right every one ought to be born free; and by some usages and customs which, from long antiquity, have been introduced, and kept until now in our realm, and peradventure by reason of the misdeeds of their predecessors, many persons of our common people are fallen into bond of servitudes and of divers conditions, which thing much displease us: We considering that our kingdom is called and named the kingdom of the Francs (Freemen), and willing that the thing should be in truth accordant with the name, and that the condition of folks should amend through us, and the accession of our new government; by deliberation of our great council have ordained and do ordain that generally throughout all our realm, as far as may pertain to us and our successors, such servitudes shall be reduced to franchises, and that to all those who by origin, or antiquity, or newly by marriage, or by residence in places of servile condition, are fallen or may fall into servile bondage, franchise be given on good and suitable conditions."§

It is curious to see the son of Philip the Fair crying up liberty to serfs. But it is labour lost. The merchant may shout as loud as he will, and extol the excellence of his goods, the poor serfs will

* Et cucurrit. Contin. G. de Nangis, 71.

† We, having heard the great complaint of our people of the realm of France, who have shown us how, by the moneys made out of our realm, and counterfeited from our dies, and from the dies of our barons, and by the moneys of our said barons, which moneys are not all of legal weight, nor of the old or proper stamp, our subjects and our people are damaged in many manners, and that often grossly.... Ordain, &c. Ord., i. 609.

‡ Ibid., 615, sqq.

§ Ord., i. 585.

have nothing to do with them. They are too poor, too humble, too bowed down to the ground. If they have hid any paltry piece of bad coin in that ground, they have no inclination to dig it up in order to buy a piece of parchment. In vain the king frets to see them regardless of such a signal favour. At last he orders the commissioners appointed for the enfranchisement to value the property of such serfs as preferred "remaining in the wretchedness of serfdom," and to tax them "as amply and sufficiently as the condition and wealth of the persons may fully endure, and the necessity of our war requires."

It is, nevertheless, a great spectacle to see the imprescriptible right of every man to freedom proclaimed from the throne. The serfs do not buy, but they will remember both the royal lesson and the dangerous appeal it contains against the lords.*

The short and obscure reign of Philip the Long is hardly less important as regards public law in France, than that even of Philip the Fair.

In the first place his accession to the crown settled one great question. Louis Hutin leaving his wife pregnant, his brother Philip is regent and curator, *au ventre*. The child is still-born, and Philip makes himself king to the prejudice of his brother's daughter. The thing seemed the more surprising, as Philip the Fair had supported the rights of women in matters of inheritance in Franche Comté and Artois. The barons would have wished that daughters should be excluded from fiefs, and that they should succeed to the crown of France; their leader, Charles of Valois, favoured his grand-niece against his nephew Philip.†

Philip assembled the estates and gained his cause, which was substantially a good one, upon absurd grounds. He alleged in his favour the old German law of the Franks which excluded daughters *from the Salique land*. He maintained that the crown of France was too noble as fief *to fall to the spindle*, a feudal argument, the effect of which, however, was to ruin feudalism. Whilst the progress of civil equity, and the introduction of the Roman law were opening inheritances to females, whilst fiefs were becoming female, and were passing from family to family, the crown never

* At the end of his very short reign Louis seems to have become the enemy of the barons. Philip the Fair, probably, never made them a more tart or more derisive reply than that of his son to the nobles of Champagne (Dec. 1, 1315). They asked for an explanation of that vague phrase, *Royal cases*, by means of which the king's judges evoked before them whatever matter they pleased. The king answered, "We have enlightened them in this manner: The Royal Majesty is understood of cases which of right, or by ancient custom, may and ought to belong to the sovereign prince, and no other." Ord., i. 606.

† Contin. G. de Nangis, 73. "Returning to Paris not until a month after the death of Louis X. he found his uncle, the Count of Valois, at the head of a party ready to dispute the regency with him. The citizens of Paris took up arms under Gaucher de Châtillon, and drove out the soldiers of the Count of Valois, who had already got possession of the Louvre." Felibien, Hist. de Paris, i. 535, from the Chronique de Flandre.

quitted the same house, but remained immovable whilst every thing around was fluctuating. The house of France received from without that mobile and variable element, the wife; but preserved in the male series the fixed element of the family, the identity of the paterfamilias. The wife changes her name and her penates; the husband, inhabiting the abode of his ancestors and continuing their name, is led to walk in their ways. This invariable transmission of the crown in the male line gave more continuity to the policy of our kings, and served as an useful counterpoise to the levity of our oblivious nation.

In thus repudiating the right of daughters to succeed at the very moment when that right was gaining full admission in the fiefs, the crown adopted the principle of always receiving and never giving. At the same period a sweeping revocation of all donations made since the reign of St. Louis* seems to involve the notion of the inalienability of the royal domain. Unfortunately, the feudal principle, which recovered strength in the times of the Valois, under favour of war, occasioned most mischievous creations of appanages, and founded in behalf of the several branches of the royal house, a princely feudalism as embarrassing to Charles VI. and Louis XI., as the other had been to Philip the Fair.

This contested succession, and this ill-will of the lords, forced Philip the Long into the ways of Philip the Fair. He flattered the cities, Paris, and, above all, the University, the great Parisian power. He made the nobles swear fealty to him, *in presence of the masters of the University who approved the act.*† He would have his good towns *stored with arms;* desired that the citizens should have arms *in safe places*, and appointed them a captain *in each bailiwick, or district* (1316, March 2).‡ Senlis, Amiens, and Le Vermandois, Caen, Rouen, Gisors, Le Cotentin, and the Pays de Caux, Orleans, Sens, and Troyes, are especially mentioned.

Philip the Long would have wished (for fiscal motives, it is true) to establish an uniformity of measures and moneys; but this great step could not yet be taken.§

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* The king especially revokes the gifts made to Guillaume Flotte, Nogaret, Plasian, and some others. Ord., i. 667.

† Magistris universitatis civitatis ipsius hoc ipsum unanimiter approbantibus. Cont. G. de Nangis, 79.

‡ Ord., i. 635, sqq.

§ "The king had begun to rule, that no one should use in the kingdom any other than one uniform measure for wine, corn, and all kinds of merchandise; but he was prevented by illness from completing the work he had begun. The said king proposed also that, throughout the realm, all moneys should be reduced to one only; and, as the execution of such a scheme required great outlay, seduced, it is said, by false counsels, he resolved to extort from all his subjects a fifth of their wealth. He sent deputies, therefore, for this affair, into different countries; but the prelates and grandees, who had long possessed the right of issuing various moneys, according to the diversity of places and the wants of the inhabitants; and, likewise, the commonalties of the good towns of the realm, not having consented to this scheme, the deputies returned to their master, without having succeeded in their business." Cont. G. de Nangis, 79.

He made some efforts to introduce some degree of regularity into the public accounts. The receivers were, after defraying all expenses, to send the balance to the king's treasury; but secretly, *and without any one's knowing the hour or the day.* The bailiffs and seneschals were to come once a year to Paris, and render their accounts. The treasurers were to account twice a year. The particular sort of moneys in which payments were made was to be specified. The auditors of the accounts were to inspect them forthwith. . . . . And then "*the king shall know how much he has to receive.*"*

Among the finance regulations, we find the following: "*All wages of castles* which are not on the frontiers *cease* wholly from this time forth."† This sentence involves an immense fact. Internal peace is beginning for France, at least until interrupted by the English wars.

The guarantee of this internal peace is the organisation of a strong judicial power. The parliament is constituted. An ordonnance determines the relative proportions in which the clergy and the laity shall be admitted into it; a majority is secured to the latter.‡ As for advisers not belonging to the body, but called in for temporary purposes, Philip the Long repeats the exclusion already pronounced against the prelates by Philip the Fair: "There shall be no prelates deputed to parliament, *for the king holds it a point of conscience not to hinder them in the government of their special departments.*"§

If we would know with what vigour the parliament of Paris acted, we must read, in the Continuator of Nangis, the history of Jordan de Lille, "a Gascon lord, famous for his high birth, but ignoble for acts of brigandage." He had, nevertheless, obtained the hand of the pope's niece, and had received the king's pardon, through the pope's mediation. The only use he made of it was, "to accumulate crimes, murders, and rapes, maintaining bands of assassins, a friend to brigands, a rebel to the king. He would, perhaps, have escaped again. One of the king's men went to fetch him, and he slew the man with the very staff marked with the king's arms, the token of his office. Being summoned to abide his trial, he came to Paris with a brilliant escort of counts and barons, of the noblest in Aquitaine. . . . . Nevertheless, he was confined in the prison of the Châtelet, condemned to death by the masters of the parliament, and dragged, on Trinity-eve, at a horse's tail to the common gallows, and hanged."‖

This parliament, which so vigorously defended the king's honour, was itself a real king, as regarded judicial matters. It wore the royal costume, the long robe, the purple and the ermine. It was not, as it seemed to be, but the shadow and effigy of the king; it was rather his mind, and his constant will, immutable and truly royal. It was the king's will that justice should have its course, "all concessions, ordonnances, and royal letters to the contrary notwith-

* Ord., i. 713, 629, 659.
† Ibid., 660 (27).
‡ Ibid., 728—31.
§ Ibid., 702.
‖ Cont. G. de Nangis, anno 1323.

standing." Thus the king marks his mistrust of the king, and sees himself rather in his parliament than in his own person. He discerns in himself a twofold character, the king and the man, and the king orders that the man shall be disobeyed: a noble confession of the *homo duplex*, an honourable and truly humane inconsistency, which involves the whole mystery of our old monarchy.

Many texts of ordonnances conceived in this spirit, do honour to the wisdom of the councillors who dictated them. The king endeavours to fix bounds to his own liberality, and expresses a fear lest excessive donations be snatched from his weakness or his inattention; and lest, while he sleeps or reposes, privilege and usurpation shall be but too fully awake.*

Thus, in 1318, he speaks of certain feudal rights, "which are often solicited of us, and which are of greater value *than we are aware;* we must be advised if any one solicits them of us."†

Elsewhere he desires the receivers not to "*give intimation* to any one of extraordinary receipts, or of casualties which shall fall in to us, *in order that we may not be requested to give them away.*"‡

These confessions of weakness and ignorance, which the king's councillors allowed him to make, crude as they are, are not the less worthy of respect. It seems as though the new royalty, become all at once the providence of a people, feels sensibly the disproportion between its means and its duties. This contrast is marked in a curious manner in the ordonnance of Philip the Long: on the government of his hostel and the good of his kingdom. He lays it down, in the first place, in a noble preamble, that the Lord God has instituted kings on the earth, to the end, that, well ordered in their own persons, they may order and govern fitly in their kingdoms. Then he makes known that he hears mass every morning, and forbids that any should interrupt him during mass, for the purpose of presenting memorials to him. No person is to speak to him in chapel, "unless it be our confessor, who may speak to us of the things that concern our conscience."§ He then makes provision for the safe keeping of his royal person. "Let no unknown person nor groom of low condition enter our *garde robe*, nor put hand to, nor be at the making of our bed, and let no strange sheets be suffered to be put on it." The dread of poisoning and witchcraft is a characteristic of this period.

After these domestic details come regulations as to the council, the treasury, the domain, &c. The state figures here as a mere royal appanage, the realm as an accessory to the *Hostel.*‖ The whole

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* See in my Symbolique du Droit the king's noontide sleep.

† Ord., i. 661 (39). ‡ Ord., i, 713 (9).

§ Ord., i. 669.

‖ Whereas, by the extravagant gifts which have been made in past times by our predecessors, the domains of the realm are much diminished, we, much desiring the increase and good condition of our realm and of our subjects, are minded henceforth to refrain from such gifts as much as we well may, and we

document is full of the petty wisdom of the *gens du roi*, of that burgher thrift which is exact and scrupulous in such matters, and pliant in great ones. No doubt the ordonnance gives us the ideal of royalty, as contemplated by the men of the long robe, and the model they set before the feudal king, in order to make him a true king, according to their own conceptions.

These laudable efforts after order and government made no change in the sufferings of the people. Under Louis Hutin, a horrible malady, it is said, carried off one-third of the population of the North.* The war in Flanders had exhausted the last resources of the country. In 1320, it was imperatively necessary to put an end to that war; France had enough to do at home. The minds of men having been wrought up to a high pitch by excessive wretchedness, a great movement had taken place among the people. Just as in the times of St. Louis, a multitude of poor people, peasants, shepherds, or *pastoreaux*, as they were called, flocked together, and said that they would go over sea, and that it was through them the Holy Land was to be recovered. Their leaders were a degraded priest and an apostate monk. They beguiled a great number of simple people to join them, and even children who ran away from home.† At first they begged, but afterwards they helped themselves. Some of them were arrested, but the others forced the prisons and set them free. The provost of the Châtelet attempted to defend the gates against them, and they flung him down the steps; they then went and arranged themselves in order of battle, in the Pré aux Cleres, and quietly left Paris; good care was taken not to impede their departure. They took their course towards the South, everywhere slaughtering the Jews,‡ whom the king's men vainly endeavoured to protect. At last troops were collected in Toulouse, the *pastoureaux* were routed, and hung by scores and by thirties; the rest dispersed.§

These strange emigrations of the people were not so much indicative of fanaticism, as of want and wretchedness. The lords, ruined by the base coinage, and pinched by usury, fell back on the peasants. The latter was not yet arrived at the age of Jacquerie; he was not yet daring enough to turn against his lord; instead of doing so, he ran away, and massacred the Jews. The latter were so detested, that many persons were shocked, on seeing the king's men

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forbid that one shall dare to supplicate us to make gifts heritably, unless it be in presence of our great council. Ord., i. 670 (6).

* Contin. G. de Nangis, 71.

† Cum solis pera et baculo sine pecunia, dimissis in campis porcis et pecoribus, post ipsos quasi pecora confluebant. Cont. G. de Nangis, 77.

‡ Projectis innumerabilibus lignis et lapidibus, propriis projectis pueris, se viriliter et inhumaniter defensabant.... Videntes autem dicti judæi quod evadere non valebant....locaverunt unum de suis....ut eos gladio jugularent. Ibid.

§ Illic viginti, illic triginta secundum plus et minus suspendens in patibulis et arboribus. Ibid.

stand up in their defence. The commercial cities of the South regarded them with vindictive jealousy. This was just the period when they were beginning to reign in Spain as financiers, collectors, and farmers of the taxes. Liked by the kings for their talents and their servility, they grew more emboldened every day, even to assuming the title of Don. Bishop Agobart wrote a treatise "De insolentia Judæorum," in the reign of Louis le Débonnaire. Under Philip Augustus, people beheld with astonishment a Jew filling the office of king's bailiff; and in 1267, the pope was obliged to issue a bull against Judaising Christians.*

Philip the Fair had expelled them; but they had stealthily come in again. Louis Hutin insured them a sojourn for twelve years. By the terms of his ordonnance, their privileges were to be restored to them, if discovered; and also their books, synagogues, and cemeteries; if not, the king was to pay them for the loss. Two auditors were named, who should take cognisance of patrimonies sold at half-price by the Jews in the hurry of their flight, and the king entered into partnership with them for the recovery of their debts, of which he was to have two-thirds.† The noble debtors who had had influence enough with Philip the Fair to have a stop put to the inquiry after debts due to the Jews, found themselves again at their mercy. As the books and papers of the Jews were received in evidence in courts of justice, they could at pleasure point out its victims to the fisc. The Jew, with a heart festering from so many wrongs, had it in his power to avenge himself in the king's name.

With the old rancour thus irritated to madness by fear, the enemies of the Jews were ready to do any thing they could against them. In the height of the great mortality caused by want, a report was suddenly spread that the Jews and the lepers had poisoned the fountains. The Sire de Parthenay wrote word to the king that *a great leper*,‡ seized on his lands, had confessed to have received money and certain drugs from a rich Jew. These drugs were composed of human blood and urine, to which was added the body of Christ; and the whole being dried and pounded, was put in a bag with a weight, and thrown into the fountains or the wells.§ Previously to this, several lepers had been burned in Gascony. The king, alarmed by these symptoms of ferment, returned hastily from Poitou to France, and ordered that the lepers should be everywhere arrested.

No one entertained any doubt of this horrible league between the Jews and the lepers. "We ourselves," says the contemporary chronicler,

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* See M. Beugnot's "Mémoire sur les Juifs d'Occident," and the great history of Jozt.

† Ord., i. 595.

‡ Scripsisse confessionem.....magni cujusdam leprosi. Cont. G. de Nang., anno 1321.

§ Fiebant de sanguine humano et urina de tribus herbis....ponebatur etiam Corpus Christi, et cum essent omnia desiccata usque ad pulverem terebantur, quæ missa in sacculis cum aliquo ponderoso.....in puteis....jactabantur.

"saw one of these bags with our own eyes, in a town of our vassalage in Poitou. A female leper who was passing through, afraid of being taken, threw down behind her a tied rag, which was immediately laid before justice, and in it were found a snake's head, the feet of a toad, and something like a woman's hair smeared over with a black and stinking liquid: a thing horrible to see and to smell. The whole placed in a great fire would not burn, a sure proof that it was a violent poison.* . . . . Many things were said, and there were many various opinions. The most probable was, that the Moorish King of Grenada, vexed to find himself so often beaten, thought to avenge himself by concerting with the Jews for the destruction of the Christians. But the Jews being themselves too much exposed to suspicion, applied to the lepers . . . . who, with the aid of the devil, were persuaded by the Jews. The principal lepers held four councils, so to speak, and the devil intimated to them, through the Jews, that since the lepers were reputed abject, and accounted nothing, it would be well to contrive that all the Christians should die, or become lepers.† This was approved of them by them all; each on his departure repeated it to the rest. . . . . A great number, lured by promises of kingdoms, counties, and other temporal possessions, said, and firmly believed, that the thing should be so done."‡

The King of Grenada's vengeance is evidently fabulous; the culpability of the Jews is improbable; they were then favoured by the king, and usury afforded them a more useful kind of vengeance. As for the lepers, the story is not so extravagant as modern historians have considered it. Culpable follies might well enter the minds of those melancholy outcasts. The accusation was at least specious. The Jews and the lepers had one common characteristic in the eyes of the people, their filth, and their existence apart. The house of the leper was not less mysterious and ill-famed than that of the Jew. The susceptible temper of those times was provoked by every kind of mystery, like a child who is frightened at night, and hits the harder at every thing that comes in his way.

The institution of the *leprosies*, *ladreries*, *maladreries*, that foul remnant of the crusades, was regarded with aversion and ill-will, just like the order of the Temple, from the time there was no more to be done for the Holy Land. The lepers themselves, thenceforth neglected, must naturally have lost that religious resignation which

* Inventum est in panno caput colubri, pedes bufonis et capilli quasi mulieris, infecti quodam liquore niggerimo. . . . quod totum in ignem copiosum. . . . projectum nullo modo comburi potuit, habito manifesto experimento et hoc itidem esse venenum fortissimum. Cont. G. de Nangis, ann. 1321.

† Suadente diabolo per ministerium Judæorum. . . . ut christiani omnes morerentur, vel omnes uniformiter leprosi efficerentur, et sic cum omnes essent uniformes, nullus ab alio despiceretur. Ibid.

‡ See respecting lepers the Dictionaries of Bouchel and Brion, and, above all, the Dictionnaire de Police, par Delamarre, i. 603. See also Les Olim du Parlement, iv. 76, etc.

in the preceding centuries made them take in good part the anticipated death to which they were condemned here below.

The ritual for the sequestration of lepers differed little from the office for the dead. A black cloth was spread over two tressels set up before the altar; the leper knelt beneath it, and devoutly heard mass. The priest, taking a little earth in his mantle, threw some of it on one of the leper's feet;* then he put him out of the church, *if the weather was not too rainy*, led him to his hut in the fields, and gave him the usual prohibitory orders: "I forbid thee to enter the church . . . or the company of men. I forbid thee to come forth from thy hut without thy leper's garment,† &c.," and then: "Take this garment and put it on in token of humility.... Take these gloves . . . Receive these clappers in token that it is forbidden you to speak to people, &c. You will not be displeased at being thus separated from other men . . . And as for your little wants, the good people will provide for them, and God will not forsake you‡ . . ." We may still read in an old ritual for lepers these sad words: "When it shall come to pass that the leper departs from this world, he is to be buried in his hut and not in the cemetery.§"

At first, it had been a question whether wives were to accompany their husbands who had become lepers, or might remain in society and marry again. The Church decided that the marriage was indissoluble; it granted the unfortunate beings that immense consolation. But then what became of the simulated death? What signified the pall? They lived, they loved, they perpetuated their kind, and formed a people: a miserable people it is true, envious and yet envied. Idle and useless, they seemed a burden, whether they begged their bread, or lived on the bounty of the wealthy endowments of the preceding century.

Their guilt was readily believed. The king ordered that such of them as were convicted should be burned, excepting women with child, who should not be executed until after their delivery; the others were to be confined in the leper houses.

As for the Jews, they were burned without distinction, particularly in the South. At Chignon, a great trench was dug in one day, fire was placed in it copiously, and 160 Jews were burned in it, men and women promiscuously. Many of them of both sexes, singing like wedding guests, jumped into the trench.‖ Many a widow

* Leprosum aqua benedicta respersum ducat ad ecclesiam cruce procedente ....cantando Libera me Domine....In ecclesia, ante altare pannus niger. Presbyter cum palla terram super quemlibet pedum ejus perducit dicendo: Sis mortuus mundo, vivens iterum Deo. Rituel du Berri, Martène, ii. 1010. Many rituals, at a later period, prohibited these dismal ceremonies, *e. g.* those of Angers and Reims. Ib., 1005, 1006.

† Rituel d'Angers. Ibid.

‡ Ibid., 1008, 1009.

§ Ibid., 1006. This, however, was not meant in token of reprobation. Dead to the world, the leper seemed to have endured his purgatory on earth, and, in some places, the office of the confessor was celebrated over him: "Os justi meditabitur sapientiam." Martène, ii. 1010.

‖ Judæi....sine differentia combusti....Facta quadam fovea permaxima, igne copiose in eam injecto, octies viginti sexies promiscui sunt combusti; unde

threw her child into it before her, lest it should be carried off and baptised.* In Paris, only the guilty were burned. The others were banished for ever, some of the richer being reserved until the debts due to them should be ascertained, and transferred to the fisc along with the rest of their wealth. There fell in to the king about 150,000 livres.

"It is affirmed, that forty Jews in the king's prison at Vitry, seeing that they were certain of death, and not wishing to fall into the hands of the circumcised, agreed unanimously to have themselves put to death by one of their old men, who was reputed a good and holy person, and whom they styled their father.† He would not consent unless they gave him a young man to assist him. When all the rest were killed, and these two remained, each wished to die by the hand of the other. The old man prevailed, and by force of entreaties induced the young man to kill him. Then the young man, left alone, collected the gold and silver he found on the dead, made himself a cord with their clothes, and let himself down from the top of the tower. But the cord was too short, the gold too heavy; he broke his leg, was taken, confessed all, and died ignominiously.‡"

Philip the Long did not enjoy the spoils of the lepers and the Jews longer than his father had enjoyed those of the templars. In August, that same year, he was seized with fever, without his physicians being able to conjecture the cause, and died after languishing for five months. "Some suspect he was thus smitten because of the maledictions of his people for all his unparalleled extortions, not to speak of those that were in preparation. During his malady, the exactions slackened without wholly ceasing."

His brother Charles succeeded him, without paying more heed to the rights of Philip's daughter, than Philip to those of the daughter of Louis.

The reign of Charles the Fair is as barren of facts pertaining to France, as it is rich with regard to Germany, England, and Flanders. The Flemings imprison their count. The Germans part into two factions that side respectively with Frederick of Austria and Louis of Bavaria, the latter of whom takes his rival prisoner at Muhldorf. In this period of general distraction, France appears strong from the fact alone that she is one. Charles the Fair interferes on behalf of the Count of Flanders. He undertakes with the pope's aid to make himself emperor. His sister actually becomes Queen of England by the murder of Edward II.

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et multi illorum et illarum cantantes quasique invitati ad nuptias in foveam saliebant. Contin. G. de Nang., 78.

* Ne ad baptismum raperentur. Ibid.

† Unius antiqui....sanctior et melior videbatur; unde et ob ejus bonitatem et antiquitatem pater vocabatur. Id. 79.

‡ Cum funis esset brevior....dimittens se deorsum cadere, tibiam sibi fregit, auri et argenti præ maximo pondere gravatus. Ibid.

What a fearful history is that of the children of Philip the Fair! His eldest son puts his wife to death; his daughter, her husband.

Edward II., King of England, born amidst his father's victories, and promised to the Welsh as a prince who should realise the notion of their Arthur, was nevertheless always beaten. In France, he suffered Guienne to be encroached on, and promised to do homage to the king. In Britain, he was roughly handled by Robert Bruce, but he prosecuted him before the court of Rome. He once put the question to the pope, whether he might without sin rub himself over with a marvellous oil that had the virtue of imparting courage. His wife despised him. But he did not love women; he preferred solacing himself for his disasters with handsome young men. The queen retaliated by taking Baron Mortimer for her paramour. The barons, who detested the king's minions, first killed his brilliant Gaveston, an impudent Gascon and bold cavalier, who used to amuse himself in the tournaments with unhorsing the most noble lords. Spencer, who succeeded Gaveston, was not less hated.

England, being disarmed by these internal broils, the King of France availed himself of the opportunity to seize Agenois.* Isabella proceeded to France to make reclamation, as she said, but it was against her husband she reclaimed. Charles the Fair, not wishing to embark in his own name in an enterprise so hazardous as an invasion of England, forbade his knights to take the queen's part,† and even made believe, that he was disposed to arrest her and send

* See le Différend entre la France et l'Angleterre sous Charles le Bel, by M. de Bréquigny. The quarrel, which at first related only to the possession of a petty fortress, afterwards assumed the most serious character, through the weakness of Edward and the audacity of his officers. Whilst Edward was offering excuses for his delaying to render homage, and was begging the King of France to put a stop to the enterprises against his dominions, the English officers in Guienne were ruining the disputed fortress, and putting to ransom the grand-master of the crossbow men of France, who had attempted to obtain satisfaction from them. Edward hastened to disavow these acts to Charles, and at the same time he was giving orders to all persons to afford assistance to Raoul Basset, the author of the insult offered to the King of France. But he soon recoiled from the aspect of war, and dismissed Raoul Basset. His officers, left without support, were forced to make satisfaction to Charles the Fair, who failed not to make the best of such favourable circumstances. Edward's ambassadors wrote him word that it was openly said in the court of France, "That they would by no means be put off with mere parchment and words, as they had been." Edward, who at first had had recourse to the pope, and had made some preparations, was frightened at this storm, which threatened to disturb his pleasures. He sent a Frenchman, as his plenipotentiary, to Charles, with full powers to settle every thing. The king listened to the Frenchman, expelled the English, and marched his troops into Guienne. Agen opened its gates, after waiting, in vain, for succour from Kent. Fresh ambassadors came from England; but the only reply vouchsafed them was, that "the King of France must be allowed, without obstacle, to take possession of all the rest of Gascony, and Edward must repair to him. Then, if Edward asked right of him, he would give him good and speedy right; if he entreated grace, he would do what to him should seem good."

† "Whereat many knights were much incensed....and said that gold and silver had come abundantly from England." Froissart, edit. Dacier, i. 26.

her back to her husband.* Like a true son of Philip the Fair, he gave not an army but money to raise one. This money was lent by the Bardi, Florentine bankers. At the same time, the King of France sent troops into Guienne, to put down, as he said, some Gascon adventurers.

The Count of Hainaut gave his daughter in marriage to Isabella's young son, and the count's brother took upon him the command of the small force she had raised. A large body of troops could only have done mischief by alarming the English. Edward was disarmed and given up beforehand. He sent out his fleet against Isabella, but it did not care to meet her. He despatched Robert de Watteville with troops, and they united with hers. He supplicated the citizens of London, and they prudently replied, that: "It was their privilege not to go forth to battle; that they would not receive foreigners, but very readily the king, the queen, and the prince royal." No less prudently did the churchmen welcome the queen on her arrival. The Archbishop of Canterbury preached from the text: "*Vox populi vox Dei;*† and the Bishop of Hereford took for his: "*Caput meum doleo*"—I am ill in the head;‡ and the Bishop of Oxford preached from Genesis: "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and she shall bruise thy head:" the homicidal prophecy was verified.

Meanwhile, the queen was advancing with her son, and her little force, presenting herself in the character of an unhappy wife, who desired only to remove from her husband the bad advisers who were ruining him. It was piteous to see her so afflicted and woe-begone. Every body sided with her, and she soon had Edward and Spencer in her hands. They brought her that Spencer she hated so much; she feasted her eyes on the sight of her captive; and then he was led out in front of the palace, under the queen's windows, and obscenely mutilated before being put to death.§

For the present she durst do no more; she sounded the temper of the people, and abstained, as yet, from her husband's blood. She wept, and took her measures all the while she wept; but nothing seemed to be done by her, every thing seemed to occur in the regular course of justice. Edward still remained in possession of the royal crown; this was a bar to every thing. Three counts, two barons, two bishops, and William Trussel, procurator of the parliament, went to Kennilworth Castle, and announced to the prisoner, that if he did not speedily surrender the crown he would gain nothing thereby, but would rather run the risk of depriving his son of the

* He had heard secretly that Charles the Fair was minded to arrest his sister, her son, the Earl of Kent, and Lord Roger de Mortimer, and to deliver them into the hands of the King of England and of the said Spencer, and so went by night and told it to the Queen of England, and warned her of the danger in which she stood. Froissart, i. 29.

† Walsingham, Hist. Angl., p. 126.

‡ Thom. de la Moor. He concluded that the only means of curing the body was to cut off the head.

§ See the horrid details in Froissart, i. 24.

throne, for it was very likely the people would choose a king from another family. Edward wept, fainted, and at last resigned the crown. The procurator then drew up and read the formula, which has been preserved as a good precedent: "I, William Trussel, procurator of the parliament, in the name of all the men of England, do take back the homage I paid thee, Edward. From this time forth I renounce fealty to thee, and I deprive thee of all royal power. Henceforth I will no longer obey thee as king."*

Edward expected, at least, to live; as yet, no king had been killed. His wife flattered him continually, wrote to him in fond terms, and sent him handsome clothes.† A deposed king, however, is a very embarrassing incumbrance. There was no knowing when Edward might escape from prison. Isabella and Mortimer, in their perplexity, asked advice of the Bishop of Hereford, who only gave them this equivocal reply: "*Edwardum occidere nolite temere bonum est; To shed King Edward's blood forbear to fear I hold it good.*" This was an answer without answer; the position of a comma converted this dubious oracle into a sentence of life or death. The deadly interpretation was adopted. The queen was in mortal fear so long as her husband lived. A new governor was appointed to his prison, Sir John Maltravers; the name was a bad one, but the man was worse.

Maltravers made his prisoner endure the terrors of death in protracted measure, and harassed him with indignities for some days, in the hope, probably, that he would commit suicide. He was shaved with cold water, and a crown of hay was put on his head; but at last, as he still persisted in living, he was thrown down on his face, a heavy door was laid on his back, and he was impaled with a red-hot spit. The iron, it is said, was passed through a horn tube, so as to leave no outward mark. The body was exhibited to the people, and honourably interred, and a mass was founded for the deceased king's soul. There was no mark of injury, but cries had been heard, and the distortion of the features bore evidence to the horrible invention of the murderers.‡

Charles the Fair derived no advantage from this revolution. He himself died almost simultaneously with Edward, leaving but a daughter, and was succeeded by his cousin. All that goodly family of princes, that had sat by their father at the council of Vienne, was extinct, conformably with what was related of Boniface's maledictions.

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* Walsingh., 126. Thom. de la Moor, 600.

† Ut innotuit viri dejectio, plena dolore (ut foris apparuit), fere mente alienata fuit.....Misit indumenta delicata et litteras blandientes. Eodem tempore assignata fuit dos reginæ talis et tanta, quod regi filio regni pars tertia vix remansit. Wals., 126.

‡ Ipso prostrato et sub ostio ponderoso detento ne surgeret, dum tortores imponerent cornu, et per foramen immitterent ignitum veru in viscera sua. Wals., 126.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

CHAPTER I.

England—Philip of Valois, 1328—1349.

THIS memorable epoch, which so lowered England, and proportionally exalted France, nevertheless, presents two analogous events in the two countries. In England, the barons depose Edward II.; in France, the feudal party place the feudal branch of the Valois on the throne.

The young King of England, maternal grandson of Philip the Fair, after first protesting, repairs to Amiens to do homage. But humbled as she is, England has not less within her elements of success which will soon make her prevail over France.

The new English government, intimately connected with Flanders, calls foreigners about it, and renews the commercial charter granted by Edward I. to the merchants of all nations. France, on the contrary, cannot take part in the new commercial movement. A word as to this great revolution, by which alone the subsequent events may be accounted for. The secret of the battles of Créci and Poitiers lay in the counting-houses of the merchants of London, Bordeaux, and Bruges.

In 1291, the Holy Land is lost, the age of the crusades is ended. In 1298, the Venetian Marco Polo, the Christopher Columbus of Asia,* dictates the narrative of twenty years' travel and sojourn in China and Japan.† For the first time the fact is made known, that a twelvemonths' march beyond Jerusalem, there are kingdoms and organised nations. Jerusalem is no longer the centre, either of the world or of human thought. Europe loses the Holy Land, but gets a glimpse of the earth.

In 1321, appears the first work on political economy and commerce: *Secreta fidelium crucis*,‡ by the Venetian Sanuto. The

* Like Christopher Columbus he had his contradictors. But the return of Columbus put an end to all doubts in his case; in Marco Polo's they began on his return. His Latin translator appeals to the testimony of Polo's father and uncle, the companions of his travels.

† Maro Paolo, a prisoner in Genoa, dictated to the countrymen of Christopher Columbus the book which prompted the latter to his great enterprise.

‡ *Secrets of the believers in the Cross.* "In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen. In the year 1321 I was introduced to our lord the pope, and presented to him two books on the recovery of the Holy Land and the weal of the faith-

title is a new one, the purport of the book is new. The author proposes, not a crusade, but rather a commercial and maritime blockade against Egypt. His book is a queer composition; the transition from religious to commercial ideas is awkwardly effected. The Venetian, whose only desire is, perhaps, to restore to Venice what she had lost by the return of the Greeks to Constantinople, first sets forth all the sacred texts that enjoin the good Christian to achieve the conquest of Jerusalem, and then gives a *catalogue raisonné* of the spices of which the Holy Land is the entrepôt: pepper, frankincense, ginger,* &c. He goes through the whole list, gives the qualities and the price-current, article by article, and calculates, with admirable precision, the cost of transport, &c.†

A great crusade is in fact beginning, but one of a quite novel character: less poetic than the former ones, it is not undertaken in quest of the holy lance, the graal, or the empire of Trebisond. If we stop a vessel at sea we shall not find on board a younger son of France in search of a kingdom,‡ but in all probability a Genoese or a Venetian, who will be glad to sell us sugar and cinnamon. Such is the hero of the modern world; and a hero he is, no less than the older ones; he will encounter as much risk to gain a sequin as ever Richard Cœur de Lion did for Acre. The commercial crusader has his crusade in every direction, his Jerusalem in every part of the earth.

The new religion, that of riches, the faith in gold, has its pil-

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ful; the one was covered in red, the other in yellow. At the same time I placed under his eyes four geographical maps; one of the Mediterranean Sea, another of the land and the sea, a third of the Holy Land, a fourth of Egypt." At the end of Bongars, Gesta Dei per Francos.

* He divides his book into three parts, in honour of the Holy Trinity, giving as his reason that there are three principal things for the re-establishment of the health of the body, the preparatory syrup, medicine, and good regimen. Ibid.

† He demonstrates the superiority of the route by Egypt over that by Syria. Then he proposes against the Soudan of Egypt not a crusade but a mere blockade; for this ten galleys would be sufficient. He estimates quite in the style of modern forethought the amount requisite, whether of men, money, or provision. The fleet ought to be equipped in Venice. The Venetian seamen, he says, are the only ones who will know what is to be done on the low shores of Egypt, which are like their own lagoons (p. 35). He does not venture to insist on the admiral's being a Venetian, but says he ought to be a friend of the Venetians, in order to act in concert with them (p. 85). The blockade would ruin the soudan, and consequently, the Mohammedan world, of which Egypt was the heart. "Access to Egypt," he says plainly, "must either be interdicted absolutely, or it must be enlarged and facilitated in such manner, that every one may be able to go and come and trade in the soudan's dominions in perfect freedom, and, in that case, no more must be said of recovering the Holy Land." "But it will be said, what if the soudan diverts the course of the Nile from the Mediterranean into the Red Sea? The thing is impossible; and if it took place Egypt would be destroyed, it would become a desert.....The soudan being reduced, the fortresses of maritime Egypt will become a secure asylum for the Christian nations, as were for the Venetians the lagoons of the Adriatic, which remained inviolate during the tempests of the Gaulish, African, and Lombard invasions, and in that of Attila." (Part iii., ch. 2.) These latter words allude to the fears which the Mongol invasions had recently excited throughout all Christendom.

‡ In the fourth crusade.

grims, its monks, and its martyrs; they, too, dare and suffer, watch, fast, and live in abstinence. They pass their best years on perilous roads, in distant markets, at Tyre, London, and Novgorod. In loneliness and celibacy, shut up in fortified quarters, they sleep in arms in their counting-houses amidst their huge dogs;* almost always pillaged beyond the towns, often massacred within them.

Commerce was not an easy thing to ply in those days. The merchant who had successfully crossed the sea from Alexandria to Venice without meeting any unlucky chance, had done nothing yet. To sell to good profit he had to journey far into the north. His goods had to take their way through the Tyrol, by the wild banks of the Danube to Augsburg or Vienna; to descend the Rhine between its gloomy forests and its frowning castles, and reach Cologne, the holy city. There it was the merchant returned thanks to God.† There met the North and the South, the men of the Hansa trafficked with the Venetians. Or else he turned towards the left and entered France, relying on the good Count of Champagne. He broke bulk at the old fairs of Troyes and at those of Lagny, Bar-sur-Aube, and Provins.‡ From thence a few days' journey brought him, but not without risk, to Bruges, the grand station of the Low Countries, the city of the seventeen-nations.§

But this route through France was no longer tenable, when Philip the Fair, having become Count of Champagne in right of his wife, passed his ordonnances against the Lombards, threw the coinage into confusion, and meddled with the regulation of the interest paid at the fairs.‖ Then came Louis Hutin, who imposed dues on every thing that could be bought or sold. This was enough to close the counting-houses of Troyes. It was, needless, for him to interdict as he did all traffic "with the Flemings, the Genoese, the Italians, and the Provençals."

By and by, the King of France, perceiving that he had killed the goose that laid him golden eggs, lowered the dues and recalled the merchants.¶ But he had himself taught them to take another route.

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* See Sartorius, Hist. of the Hansa, and Mullet's abridgment of it.

† Ulmann, Städtw., i. 337, 368, 386, 397.

‡ Grosley, Ephemerides, 104.

§ Hallam's Europe in the Middle Ages, ii. 382.

‖ The fairs of Champagne were older even than the county. They are mentioned in 427 in a letter from Sidonius Apollinaris to St. Loup. They continued in uninterrupted prosperity, no one ever impeding their transactions. The ordonnance of Philip the Fair is the oldest royal document concerning them. Grosley, Ephem., 102—4.

¶ See the ordonnances of Charles the Fair and Philip of Valois. The rivalry of Lyons was what completed the ruin of the fairs of Champagne. When the terrors and plunderings of civil war were added to fiscal vexations, Troyes was deserted, and Lyons threw herself open as an asylum to commerce. It was necessary to abolish the fairs of Lyons, in order to restore some life to those of Champagne. Of the four fairs of Lyons two were transferred in 1486 to Bourges and two to Troyes; but they fell to the ground when Lyons was allowed to reopen her markets. Grosley, 107—9.

They now went to Flanders by way of Germany or by sea. This gave occasion to Venice to engage in a bolder course of navigation, which placed it in direct communication with the Flemings and the English.

The kingdom of France, in its great breadth, remained almost impenetrable to commerce. The roads were too dangerous, the tolls too numerous. The lords robbed less, but the king's agents did so in their places. Robbed like a merchant was a proverbial expression.* The royal hand covered every thing, but it was scarcely felt except through the fangs of the fisc. If order came, it was by universal distraint. Salt, water, air, the rivers, forests, fords, defiles, nothing escaped the ubiquity of the fisc.

Whilst the coinage was continually varying in France, it underwent little change in England. The King of France failed in the attempt to produce uniformity of measures: this was one of the principle articles of the charter granted by the King of England to foreigners. In that charter, the king declares that he is greatly solicitous about the merchants who visit or inhabit England; Germans, French, Spaniards, Portuguese, Navarrese, Lombards, Tuscans, Provençals, Catalans, Gascons, Toulousans, Cahorsins, Flemings, Brabançons, and others. He insures them protection, good and prompt justice, good weight, and good measure. The judges who shall wrong a merchant shall be punished, even after having indemnified him. Foreigners shall have a judge in London, to render them summary justice. In causes in which they are concerned, the jury shall consist half of Englishmen, and half of men of their own nation.†

Even before this charter was granted foreigners abounded in

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* Qu'ils en fissent leur profit comme d'un marchand. Comines, ii. 10.

† The king declares that he grants them for ever for himself and his successors, the following privileges:—1. They might come in safety under the royal protection, and should be free from several dues which he specifies: *De muragio, pontagio et panagic liberi et quieti;* 2, they might sell wholesale to whom they pleased, and might sell merceries and spices by retail; 3, they might import and export every thing, on paying the dues, except wines, which could not be exported without the king's licence; 4, their goods should not be liable to seizure or distraint; 5, they should have good justice rendered them, for if a judge wronged them he should be punished, even after indemnifying the merchants; 6, in all cases in which they were concerned the jury should consist half of English, half of their own countrymen; 7, throughout all the realm there was to be but one standard of weight and measure; in every town or place where fairs were held there was to be a royal weight, the balance was to be quite clear, and the weigher was not to touch it with his hands; 8, there was to be a judge of the said merchants in London, to render them summary justice; 9, in lieu of all previous dues, they were to pay two sous more than formerly on each barrel they brought in, forty deniers more on each bag of wool, &c.; 10, these dues once paid they should be free to go and deal where they pleased in the kingdom. Shortly afterwards the privileges of the towns which would have impeded the freedom of commerce were declared null and void. The king and the barons never cared to consider whether or not Englishmen were injured by the competition of the foreigners. Rymer, ii. 747. New edition.

England. When we see the progress commerce had made in the thirteenth century, it does not surprise us that an English merchant, in the fourteenth century, invited and entertained five kings.* The historians of the middle ages speak of the English commerce in terms that would be applicable at the present day.

"O, England! could the vessels of Tharsis, vaunted in Scripture, compare with thine. Aromatic spices come to thee from the four ends of the earth. Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians, bring thee the sapphires and emeralds of the rivers of Paradise. Asia for purple, Africa for balm, Spain for gold, Germany for silver, are thy handmaidens. Flanders, thy spinner, has woven precious garments of thy wool. Gascony pours out its wines for thee. The isles, from the Bear to the Hyades, all have served thee . . . . . But, more fortunate still by thy fecundity, the sides of all the nations in the world have blessed thee, being warmed with the fleeces of thy sheep."†

Wool and meat are what was primitively the making of England, and the English race. England was a manufactory of meat before she became the great manufactory of iron and cloth for the world. Her people have been graziers and cattle-breeders from time immemorial: a race fed on flesh meat. Hence their fresh complexion, beauty, and vigour. Their greatest man, Shakspeare, was originally a butcher.

Let me be allowed in this place to record a personal impression.

I had seen London, and great part of England and Scotland, and had admired rather than comprehended. It was not until my return, as I journeyed from York to Manchester, crossing the island in the direction of its breadth, that I, at last, had a real intuition of England. It was a cold, foggy morning, and the land appeared to me not only surrounded by, but covered and drenched by the ocean. A pale sunshine hardly coloured half the landscape. The new, red-brick houses would have contrasted offensively with the green turf, if the floating mist had not harmonised the discordant tints. Above the pastures, covered with sheep, flamed the red chimneys of the factories. Pasturage, tillage, manufacturing industry, all were there, combined in a narrow space, accumulated upon, and nourished by each other; the grass feeding on fog, the sheep on grass, man on blood.

In this greedy climate, man, always hungering, can live only by labour. Nature compels him to it; but he fully retaliates upon her: he makes herself labour, and subjugates her with fire and steel. All England pants with strife. Her sons seem flushed by combat. Look at the Englishman's red face, his strange air. You would almost

* Hallam, Middle Ages, ii.

† Tibi de tua materia vestes pretiosas tua textrix Flandria texuit. Tibi vinum tua Vasconia ministravit. Tibi servierunt omnes insulæ.....Tibi per orbem benedixerunt omnium latera nationum, de tuis ovium velleribus calefacta. Math. Westm., p. 340.

imagine he was drunk; but his head and his hand are steady: he is drunk only with blood and vigour. He treats himself like his steam-engine, which he charges and feeds to excess, that he may extract from it its utmost action and velocity.

In the middle ages the Englishman was, what he now is, over-fed; involuntarily impelled to action, and devoted to war for want of manufacturing employment.

England, already agricultural, had as yet no manufactures; she furnished the raw material, and others wrought it. There was wool on one side of the Straits, the workman was on the other. The English butcher and the Flemish clothier were bound together by an indissoluble alliance, amidst the quarrels of princes. France wished to break that league, and it cost her a hundred years of war. The King of England fought for the succession to the throne of France; his people for the freedom of trade, for a free market for English wool. Assembled round the woolsack, the commons higgled the less about the king's demands, and freely voted him armies.

This medley of industrialism and chivalry gives an odd aspect to all this history. That haughty Edward III., who *swore on the heron* at the Round Table to conquer France;* that seriously mad chivalry, that kept one eye covered with red cloth, in pursuance of a vow,† were not so mad as to serve at their own cost. The pious

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* Par devant la roïne Robert s'agenouilla
Et dist que le hairon par temps departira,
Mès que chou ait voué que le cuer li dira.
"Vassal, dit la roïne, or ne me parlés ja;
Dame ne puet vouer puisqu'elle seigneur a;
Car si elle veue riens, son mari pooir a,
Que bien peut rapeller chou qu'elle vouera;
Et honnis soit li corps que jasi pensera.
Devant que mes chiers sires commandé le m'ara."
Et dist le roy: "Vonés, mes cors l'aquittera.
Mes que finir en puisse, mes cors s'en penera;
Voues hardiment, et Dieux vous aidera."
"Adone, dit la roïne, je sai bien que piecha
Que suis grosse d'enfant, que mon cors senti la,
Encore n'a il gaires, qu'en mon corps se tourna,
Et je voue et prometh à Dieu qui me créa,
Qui nasqui de la Vierge, que ses corps n'enpira,
Et qui mourut en crois, on le crucifia,
Que jà le fruis de moi de mon corps n'istera.
Si m'en arès menée ou pais par delà
Pour avanchier le veu que vo corps voué a;
E s'il en voelh isir, quant besoins n'en sera
D'un grand coutel d'achier li miens corps s'ochira;
Serai m'asme perdue, e li fruis perira."
Et quant li rois l'entent, moult forment l'en pensa;
Et dist: "Certainement nuls plus ne vouera"
Li hairons fu partis, la roïne en mengna.
Adone quand che fu fait, li rois s'apareilla,
Et fit garner les nés, la roïne i entra
Et maint franc chevalier avecques lui mena.
De illoc en Anvers, li rois ne s'arrêta.
Quand outre sout venu, la dame délivra;
D'un beau fils gracieux la dame s'acouka.
Lyon d'Anvers ot non, quant on le baptisa.
Ensi le franque Dame le sien veu aquitta;
Ainsque soient tout fait, main preudomme en morra,
Et maint bon chevalier dolent s'en clamera,
Et mainte preude femme pour lasse s'en tenra.
Adonc parti li cours des Englès par delà.
Chi finent les veus du hairon.

This little poem is to be found at the end of the first volume of Froissart, ed. Dacier Buchon.

† "There were in the suite of the Bishop of Lincoln several bachelors, who had each one eye covered with red cloth, so that they could not see; and these, it was said, had vowed in presence of ladies of their country that they would never see but with one eye until they had done some prowesses in the realm of France." Froissart, ann. 1337, i. 180.

simplicity of the crusades is not of this age. These knights are, in fact, mercenary agents; the commercial travellers of the merchants of London and Ghent. Edward must humanise himself, lay down his pride, try to please drapers and weavers, shake hands with his gossip, the brewer Artevelde, and harangue the populace from a butcher's counter.*

The noble tragedies of the fourteenth century have their comic part. In the loftiest knights there is a touch of Falstaff. In France, Italy, Spain, in the fine climes of the South, the English display no less gluttony than valour; they are the anti-types of the Hercules *Bouphagos*. They come literally to eat up the land; but in reprisal they are vanquished by the fruits and the wines. Their princes die of indigestion, their armies of dysentery.

After this read Froissart, that Walter Scott of the middle ages; follow him through his everlasting narratives of adventures and feats of arms. Contemplate the heavy and brilliant armours of the fourteenth century in our museums. Do they not seem like the spoils of Renaud or Roland? Nevertheless, these thick cuirasses, these moving fortresses of steel, do honour especially to the prudence of those who loaded themselves with them. Whenever war becomes a trade and a matter of bargain, defensive arms thus assume a cumbrous appearance. It was exactly thus the merchants of Carthage and Palmyra equipped themselves for war.†

Such is the strange character of this period, martial and mercantile. Its history is a mixture of the epopœa and the tale, of the romance of "Arthur" and the farce of "Slyboots." The whole epoch is twofold and squinting, full of glaring contrasts; prose and poetry belying and mocking each other. The two centuries intervening between Dante's dreams and Shakspeare's seem themselves a dream. They are like the "Midsummer Night's Dream," in which the poet capriciously mixes up artisans and heroes, and makes the noble Theseus figure beside Bottom, the weaver, whose handsome ass's ears turn Titania's head.

Whilst young Edward III. was making a sorry beginning of his reign by doing homage to France, Philip of Valois was opening his with loud and boastful trumpet peals. A feudalist, son of the feudal Charles of Valois, and of a stock beloved by the lords, he was supported by them. And yet these lords, and Charles of Valois himself, had advocated the hereditary rights of woman, upon the death of Louis Hutin, and had then desired that the crown should be treated as a female fief, should pass by marriage into various families, and so remain weak. They forgot this policy, when the right of male heirs raised one of their own party, the son of Charles of Valois, their leader, to the throne. They felt full sure he would repair the unjust and violent proceedings of the preceding reigns; that he would, for

* Froissart, ann. 1337, i. 214.

† As to Carthage, see especially Plutarch, Life of Timoleon. For Palmyra, see the authors cited in my Life of Zenobia, Biog. Univ. de Michaud.

instance, restore Franche-Comté and Artois to those who had so long claimed them in vain. Robert of Artois, believing that, at last, his cause was gained, aided potently towards the election of Philip.

The new king was, at first, all complaisance to the lords. He began by dispensing them from paying their debts.* In token of his gracious accession and of good justice, he had his predecessor's treasurer hung upon a new gibbet made expressly for the occasion.† This, as we have said, was the usual course in those times. But, as a king who is truly a lover of justice is the natural protector of the weak and the afflicted, Philip hospitably received the Count of Flanders, who had been ill-treated by the men of Bruges, just as Charles the Fair had comforted the good Queen Isabella.

A war against these burghers was a pleasing diversion, well suited to the joyous occasion of a new reign. The noblesse followed the king's standard with great alacrity. The men of Bruges and Ypres, however, though forsaken by those of Ghent, were not at all dismayed. Well armed, and in good order, they advanced as far as Cassel, which they proposed to defend (August 23rd, 1328). The insolent varlets had a cock on their flag, with this jeering motto:—

Quand re coy icy chantera
Le roy trouvé cy entrera.‡

If they did not keep their word it was not for want of courage, but of patience and perseverance. While the two armies stood watching each other, the Flemings felt that their business was suffering, that the looms of Ypres were not at work, and that the bales were lying untouched in the market of Bruges. The souls of these merchants were still in their counting-houses. Every day as they saw the smoke of their burning villages, they calculated what they were positively losing and what gain they were missing. They could bear it no longer, and determined to end all by a battle. Their leader, Zanekin (Little John), disguised as a fishmonger, went and reconnoitred the French camp. No one there gave a thought to the enemy. The lords, dressed in fine robes, chatted, banqueted, and paid visits. The king was at supper when the Flemings fell upon his camp, carried all before them, and forced their way up to the royal tent.§ There was the same headlong impetuosity on the part of the Flemings as at Mons en Puelle, the same improvidence on the

* They pretended there was a conspiracy of the lower ranks to ruin the French nobility, in consequence of which they obtained an order from the king in the first place, that all their creditors should be cast into prison, and their property sequestrated; then came the ordonnance, which reduced all the debts of the nobles to three-fourths, and to four months term without interest. Cont. G. de Nangis, 96. Ord., ii. 59.

† Pierre Remy. Contin. G. de Nangis, 87.

‡ Calling the said King Philip *foundling king* (roy trouvé). Oudegherst, folio 257.

§ Oncques en l'ost du roy ne feit on guet; et les grands seigneurs alèrent d'une tente en l'autre, pour eux deduire, en leurs belles robes, &c. Froissart, i. 69.

part of the French; but the result was no better for the assailants on this occasion than on the former. These bulky Flemings, whether prompted by arrogant reliance in their own physical powers, or by mercantile prudence, or the ostentation of wealth, had chosen to wear heavy horsemen's cuirasses on foot. Their persons were well defended, indeed, but they could hardly move. Their armour was enough to smother them. Thirteen thousand of them were laid low, and the count returning into his dominions put 10,000 of them to death in three days.*

Assuredly the King of France was then a great king. He had brought Flanders again into dependence upon him. He had received the King of England's homage for his French provinces. His cousins were reigning in Naples and Hungary. He was the protector of the King of Scotland. He was surrounded almost by a court of kings, the kings of Navarre, Majorca, Bohemia, and often of Scotland. The famous John of Bohemia, of the house of Luxemburg, whose son was emperor under the name of Charles IV., declared he could not live out of Paris, *the most chivalric abode in the world.* He fluttered all over Europe, but always came back to the court of the great King of France, where reigned one eternal festival, with unceasing jousts and tournaments, the realisation of the romances of chivalry, King Arthur and the Round Table.

To picture to ourselves this royalty we must see Vincennes, the Windsor of the Valois. We should see it not as it now is, half razed, but as it was when its four towers poured forth by their drawbridges to the four winds† the plumed and blazoned squadrons of the great feudal armies; when four kings entering the lists jousted before the most Christian king; when a majestic forest served as a frame to that noble scene, oaks that had seen a hundred years lifted up their heads to the battlements, and stags brayed by night at the foot of the towers, until daylight and the hunter's horn drove them into the depths of the forest. Vincennes is nothing now, and yet not to mention the keep, I see from here the little Clock Tower, which has still not less than eleven stories of ogives.

Amidst all this feudal pomp which delighted the lords, they had soon reason to perceive that the son of their friend Charles of Valois would reign precisely after the same manner as the sons of Philip the Fair. This chivalric reign began with an ignoble process at law; the royal château was soon a rolls-court, in which writings were compared together and forgeries detected. The process in hand

* Cont. G. de Nangis, 90. Oudegherst, c. 154, folio 259. I regret that when I printed my account of the battle of Courtrai I had not in my hands the important work of M. Warnkönig: Hist. de la Flandre et de ses Institutions civiles et politiques jusqu'à l'année 1305, trad. de l'allemand par M. Ghueldorf, 1835. See particularly in pages 305, 308 of the first volume, some interesting circumstances that complete my narrative.

† The castles as well as the churches of the middle ages, and the cities of antiquity, were generally, I believe, laid out in accordance with the four cardinal points. See Michelet's Histoire Romaine, and his Symbolique du Droit.

tended to nothing less than ruining and dishonouring one of the greatest barons, a prince of the blood, and the very one who had contributed most to the elevation of Philip, namely, his cousin and brother-in-law, Robert of Artois. In it was seen the most humiliating of all things for the great lords, one of their own body exposed as a forger and a sorcerer. These two crimes belong peculiarly to this century, but hitherto they had not been found in a man of high and knightly rank.

Robert had for twenty-six years been complaining of having been supplanted in the possession of Artois by Mahaut, his father's younger sister, and wife of the Count of Bourgogne. Philip the Fair had supported Mahaut and her two daughters, who had brought his son the magnificent marriage portion of Artois and Franche-Comté.* On the death of Louis Hutin, Robert, taking advantage of the feudal re-action, had seized on Artois, but he was forced to let go his grasp; Philip the Long marched against him. He waited, therefore, until all the sons of Philip the Fair were dead, and a son of Charles of Valois ascended the throne. No one had a larger share than Robert in bringing about this event.† Philip of Valois, as a mark of gratitude, gave him the command of the vanguard in the Flemish campaign, and annexed the peerage to his county of Beaumont. Robert had married the king's sister, Jane of Valois, who was not content with being Countess of Beaumont, and expected that her brother would restore Artois to her husband. She told Robert that the king would do him justice if he could produce any new document, *however small it might be.*‡

The Countess Mahaut, warned of the danger, repaired in haste to Paris, but died almost immediately after her arrival. Her rights devolved on her daughter, the wife of Philip the Long, who also died three months after her mother.§ Robert had now no adversary left but the Duke of Bourgogne, the husband of Jane, daughter of Philip the Long, and grand-daughter of Mahaut. The duke himself was

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* A decree of the court of France pronounced in full parliament, for ever barred the claims of Robert and his successors, and ordered that "The said Robert should love the said countess as his dear aunt, and the said countess the said Robert as her good nephew." Chron., c. 67, p. 131. Mem. Ac. Inscr., x. 579, sqq.

† The old chronicle of Flanders went the length even of assigning him the whole honour: "The barons could never agree in the choice of a king, but through the agency of Messire Robert d'Artois it was brought to pass that Messire Philip was elected King of France." Ibid., 592.

‡ Que se il li en peut monstrer lettre, ja si petite ne sera, que il li délivrera la Comté. Ibid., xi. 600.

§ The common report was that Mahaut had been *enherbée* (killed with herbs). As for her daughter Jane :" She was one night with her ladies in her apartment, and they took a fancy to drink claret, and she had a butler named Huppin, who had been with the countess her mother.... As soon as the queen was in bed she fell mortally sick, and very soon gave up the ghost, and the poison ran out at her eyes, mouth, nose, and ears, and her body became spotted all over with black and white." Ibid., 605.

brother to the king's wife. The king granted him possession of the county, but at the same time reserved to Robert the right of setting forth his claims.*

Robert had no lack either of documents or witnesses. The chief adviser of the Countess Mahaut had been the Bishop of Arras, who dying and leaving much property, the countess brought a suit for restitution against his mistress, a certain Dame Divion, wife of a knight.† La Divion fled to Paris with her husband, and was no sooner there than Jane of Valois, who knew she was acquainted with all the late bishop's secrets, urged her to give up whatever papers she might have kept. La Divion even alleged that the princess threatened her with drowning or burning.‡ She had no documents, but fabricated some: first, a letter from the Bishop of Arras, in which she asked pardon of Robert of Artois, for having filched away the title deeds; and, next, a charter of Robert's grandfather, which secured Artois to his father. These and other documents in Robert's favour, were hastily fabricated by a clerk under La Divion's orders, and she fastened two old seals to them.§ She had taken care to send to the abbey of St. Denis and inquire who were the peers at the date of the forged documents.‖ With this exception but little precaution was observed. The documents, which are still extant in the Trésor de

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* As to what he has been given to understand of the fact, that on the treaty of marriage between Philip of Artois and Blanche of Bretagne....of which treaty there were made two pairs of letters ratified by Philip the Fair....and they were registered in our court of registry, which letters since the decease of the said count have been abstracted by our dear cousin Mahault d'Artois. 1329, Mém. Ac. Ins., x. 601.

† Quædam mulier nobilis et formosa, quæ fuerat M. Theodorici concubina. Gest. episc. Leod., 408.

‡ She even threatened her with this in the king's name. "I wished to excuse you," she said, "by representing to him that you had no such letters, and he answered me that he would have you burned if you did not give them to him." Ibid., 600.

§ La Divion was sent into Artois expressly to procure the count's seal, and after some search she succeeded in finding one in the hands of Ourson le Borgne, commonly called Le beau Parisis. He asked 300 livres for it. As she had not the money she offered in pledge for it a black horse, on which her husband had jousted at Arras. Ourson refused the offer, and she then with her husband's consent deposited jewels, to wit, two crowns, three hats, two *affiches*, and two rings, all in gold, and valued at 780 livres parisis. Ibid., 609.—"Then she took a seal of a letter which was sealed by the said Bishop Thierry, and with cunningly contrived barratry removed it from the old letter and put it on the new one. And there were present when this was done, Jane and Mary, servants of the said Divion, which Mary held the candle and Jane helped her." Ibid., 598. Deposition de Martin de Nuesport. La Divion declared that she alone was present with the lady of Beaumont and Jane when the seals were applied, and that no one but they three had any hand in the matter. Ibid., 611.

‖ Furthermore, "because King Philip had been accustomed to write his letters in Latin," Thibaulx, a chaplain of Meaux, was asked to furnish a Latin beginning and ending of a letter of confirmation, which it was said was to be employed on the marriage of John of Artois with the Demoiselle de Leuze. Ibid., 612.

Chartes, are manifestly spurious.* Important documents were written with far greater care in that calligraphic age.†

Robert brought forward fifty-five witnesses in support of the authenticity of these documents. Many affirmed that Enguerrand de Marigny when about to be hung, and after he had actually entered the cart, confessed he had been the accomplice of the Bishop of Arras in the suppression of the title deeds.‡

Robert supported this romance but badly. Being called on by the king's attorney in the king's own presence to declare whether or not it was his intention to make use of these equivocal documents, he first said yes, and then no.§ La Divion and the other witnesses acknowledged all,|| and were extremely minute as to details. She said, among other things, that she went to the *Palais de Justice* to see if seals could be counterfeited, that the charter from which the seals were taken was bought of a burgher for a hundred crowns, and that the documents were written in her hotel in the Place Baudoyer, by a clerk who was greatly afraid and used a brass pen to disguise his hand, &c.¶ It was in vain the unfortunate

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* Archives, Sect. Hist., J., 439.

† La Divion seems, nevertheless, to have thought very highly of her workmanship; she sent the pieces as she fabricated them to Robert of Artois, "saying words like these: My lord, here is a copy of the letters we have, see it is good, and he answered: If I had it of this form it would be sufficient for me." She wished even to submit them in the first place to the scrutiny of technical competent persons. Ibid.

‡ Archives, Sect. Hist., J., 439, No. 2. They took care to provide a commencement of written proof in corroboration of these depositions, in the spurious letter of the Bishop of Arras: "Of which letters I have one, and the others on the treaty of marriage of Queen Jane were thrown into the fire by one of our great lords." Mém. Ac. Insc., x. 597.

§ ...."And he swore to the king, with hands raised towards the saints, that a man dressed in black, just like the Archbishop of Rouen, had given him the said letters of confirmation." This man dressed in black was his confessor, to whom Robert had handed the letters and then received them back from him; by this contrivance he was enabled to swear with a safe conscience. Ibid., 610.

|| Jacques Rondelle acknowledged, that he had been told if he deposed "it would be as good to him as a journey to St. James in Galicia." Gerard de Juvigny owned that he had borne false testimony at the request of the said Monsieur Robert, who came to him so often that he was quite tired of it. Ibid., 599.

¶ La Divion's deposition: "Item, she confesses that Prot, her said clerk, by her command, wrote all the said false letters with his hand, and wrote that one from which the seal of the late countess hangs with a brass pen to disguise his hand... ...Item, she said that very soon afterwards, Mons. Robert sent away the said Prot she knew not whither; that she had said to Mons. Robert: My lord, I know not what we can do with this clerk; I am very doubtful of his steadiness for he is so timorous it is a wonder to see, and at every thing he heard at night he cried out: 'Ay, ma demoiselle! Ay, Jehanne! Ay, Jehanne! The sergeants are come to fetch me,' trembling with terror and saying: 'I am exceedingly frightened.' And to myself he often said, that so great was his fear he would tell all without reserve if he was taken and put in prison. And she said that Mons. Robert made answer to her: We will take good care of ourselves. But she does not know where he is, only she thinks he is lodged somewhere in the domains of the said Mons. Robert. Item, she says that the said Dame Mary often knelt down before

woman declared she had been forced to act by Jane of Valois, she was notwithstanding burned in the swine market near the Porte St. Honoré.* Robert, who was accused besides of having poisoned Mahaut and her daughter, did not wait for trial,† but fled to Brussels,‡ and afterwards to London to the King of England. His wife, the king's sister, was sent into a sort of banishment to Normandy. His sister, the Countess of Foix, was accused of lasciviousness, and her son Gaston was authorised to imprison her in the castle of Orthez. The king thought he had every thing to fear at the hands of that family. Robert actually sent assassins to despatch the Duke of Burgundy, the chancellor, the high treasurer and some others of his enemies.§ Against assassination, at least, there was a possibility of guarding; but what help was there against witchcraft? Robert endeavoured to bewitch the queen and her son.‖

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her, praying and beseeching with clasped hands in these words: 'For God's sake, demoiselle, manage that Monseigneur may have the letters you wot of, which are necessary to him for his right to the county of Artois, and I am sure you will do it if you please, for it would be a great pity if he were disinherited for want of letters, when a very little were enough for him. The king told Madame that if he can show a letter, be it ever so small, he will deliver the county to him; so for God's sake think about it and put Monseigneur and Madame out of their present uneasiness, for they are in such great sadness that they cannot eat, drink, sleep, or rest night or day." Archives, Sect. Hist., T., 440, No. 11.

* Jeannette, the servant, suffered the same punishment there four years afterwards. As for the false witnesses, the principal among them were set in the pillory, dressed in smocks covered with red tongues. Archives, ibid., No. 45.

† Mem. de l'Académie, x. 616—21.

‡ He remained a long while in Brabant; the duke advised him to quit Brussels for Louvain, and promised in the marriage contract between his son and Mary of France, that Robert should leave his dominions. The latter, nevertheless, remained some time longer on the frontiers, going from castle to castle, "and the Duke of Brabant was well aware of this." The *avoué* de Huys gave him his chaplain, Frère Henry, to be his guide, and "to minister to his necessities in that savage country." After taking refuge in the castle of Argenteau, and being forced to quit it "on account of the ribaldry of his valet," he went to Namur and had to negotiate a long while before he was admitted; he had to wait in a poor house until the count, his cousin, had gone away to meet the King of Bohemia. Ibid., 621—23.

§ "The assassins came as far as Reims, where they expected to find the Count de Bar at an entertainment he was to hold for the ladies;" but their proceedings were known and they were obliged to retreat. Failing in this attempt Robert determined to visit France in person. He remained there a fortnight, and returned, convinced by his wife's suggestions, that all Paris would be for him if he killed the king. Ibid., x. 625—6.

‖ Between St. Remy's and All Saints' day of the same year (1333) Frère Henry was sent for by Robert, who after a great deal of cajolery began by again telling him a falsehood; namely, that his friends in France had sent him a *volt* or *voust*, which the queen had made against him. Frère Henry asked him: "What is a voust?" "It is a wax image," replied Robert, "which is made to be baptised for the purpose of damaging those one wishes to damage." "In this country they do not call them voulz," replied the monk, "but *manies*." Robert did not persist long in this imposture, and owned that what he had just told Frère Henry of the queen was not true, but that he had an important secret to

The king's pertinacity in thus hunting down one of the first barons in the realm, and heaping upon him a disgrace that reflected on all the lords, was of a nature to weaken their good will towards the son of Charles of Valois. The burghers and merchants had still greater reason for dissatisfaction. The king had ordered his bailiffs to enforce a new tariff for goods and wages in the markets at a reduction of one-half. Thus he proposed to pay but half-price for every thing, whilst he doubled all dues to the crown by insisting on their being paid in money of the full standard value.*

One of the King of France's subjects, and perhaps the one worst used, was the pope. The king treated him less like a subject than a slave. He threatened John XXII. to have him prosecuted by the University of Paris as a heretic. His conduct with respect to the emperor was singularly Machiavellian; all the while he was negotiating with that potentate he was forcing the pope to wage a war of bulls against him; he wanted in fact to make himself emperor. Benedict XII. declared with tears to the imperial ambassadors, that the King of France had threatened to make him fare worse than Boniface VIII. if he absolved the Emperor.† It was with difficulty the same pope withstood a fresh demand of Philip's which would have ensured the latter's omnipotence and the prostration of the papacy. He required the pope to grant him for three years the disposal of all benefices in France, and for ten the right of levying crusading tithes throughout

communicate to him, which, however, he would not disclose until the monk had sworn to receive it under seal of confession. The monk swore "with his hand on the pix." Then Robert opened a little case and took from it "a waxen image wrapped up in a crape kerchief, which image was in the likeness of a young man, and seemed to be about a foot and half long; and he saw it distinctly through the kerchief, which was very fine, and there was hair about the head like that of a young man." The monk was going to touch it. "Do not touch it, Frère Henry," said Robert, "it is ready-made and baptised; it has been sent to me ready-made and baptised from France; nothing is wanting to it, and it is made against Jehan of France, and in his name to damage him: This I tell you in confession, but I should like to have another which I would desire to have baptised." "And for whom?" said Frère Robert. "It is against a she devil," said Robert, "against the queen, no queen but a she devil: truly so long as she lives she will do no good, she will do nothing but aggrieve me; so long as she lives I shall have no peace, but if she and her son were dead I should forthwith have my peace with the king; for I doubt not I could do with him whatever I pleased. Wherefore, I pray you to baptise it, for it is quite ready and only wants baptism, and I have the godfathers and godmothers at hand, and every thing necessary except the baptism... nothing more is requisite than to do just the same as in baptising a child, and to say the names belonging to it." The monk refused to have any part in such operations; argued that it was wrong to put faith in them, and said it was not becoming a man of such high station to think of doing this thing against the king and the queen, who are of all persons in the world those who can most restore you to honour. Monsieur Robert replied: "I would rather strangle the devil than that the devil should strangle me." Mém. Ac., x. 627.

* Nov., 1330. Ord., ii. 49, 50, 58.

† In aurem nuntiis quasi flens conquerebatur, quod ad principem esset inclinatus, et quod rex Franciæ sibi scripserit certis litteris, si Bavarum sine ejus voluntate absolveret, pejora sibi fierent, quam papæ Bonifacio a suis prædecessoribus essent facta. Albertus Argent., 127.

all Christendom.* Had he become collector of this universal tax, Philip would have sent out his agents in all directions, and would probably have entangled all Europe in the net of French administration and fiscality.

Philip of Valois had contrived in a few years to dissatisfy every body; the lords through Robert of Artois' affair, the burghers and merchants by his maximum and his money, the pope by his threats, and all Christendom by his duplicity with regard to the emperor, and by his demand to levy the tithes of the crusade in all Christian states.

Whilst this great power was thus undermining itself, England was recovering from her depression. Young Edward III. had avenged his father, put Mortimer to death, and shut up his mother Isabella. He had given shelter to Robert of Artois and refused to give him up. He was beginning to raise objections as to the homage he had paid to France. The two powers at first made war on each other through the medium of Scotland. Philip seconded the Scotch who were beaten notwithstanding. A more direct attack was made in Guienne, where the seneschal of the King of France expelled the English from the contested possessions.

But the grand movement began in Flanders, in Ghent. The Flemings were then under a count altogether French, Louis de Nevers, who had become count only through the battle of Cassel and the humiliation of his country. Louis resided wholly in Paris at the court of Philip of Valois. Without consulting his subjects he ordered that the English should be arrested in all parts of Flanders. Edward retaliated by arresting the Flemings in England,† and the commerce without which the two nations could not subsist was abruptly broken off.

To attack the English through Guienne and Flanders was to assail them where they were most susceptible of injury; it was to deprive them of cloth and wine. They used to sell their wool in Bruges, and buy wine at Bordeaux with the proceeds. The Flemings on their part knew not what to do without the English wool,‡ and Edward, by prohibiting its exportation, reduced Flanders to despair and compelled it to throw itself into his arms.§

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* He made his departure for the crusade depend on twenty-seven conditions, among which were the re-establishment of the kingdom of Arles in favour of his son, the concession of the crown of Italy to his brother Charles, Count of Alençon, and the free disposal of John XXIII's famous treasure. He postponed his departure for three years, and as there might occur in the interval some obstacle which would oblige him to renounce his expedition, the right of judging the validity of such reasons was to be reposed in two prelates of his realm. Villani, x. 196. Sism., x. 69. After many negotiations the pope granted him the tithes of France for ten years.

† But he wrote at the same time to the burgomasters of the three great towns, complaining of this violence. Oudegherst, c. 156, f. 262; Meyer, f. 136, ap. Sism., x. 103.

‡ Statutum fuit quod nulla lana crescens in Anglia exeat, sed quod ex ea fierent panni in Anglia. Walsingh., Hist. Angl.

§ Vidisses tum multos per Flandriam textores fullones, aliosque qui lanificio

At first a multitude of Flemish weavers emigrated to England, to which they were enticed at any price, and by every lure that could be held out to them.* It is curious to see exemplified even then how low that haughty people can occasionally stoop when their interests demand it. "Their garments shall be goodly," said the English writing to Flanders, "and their bedfellows still better."† These emigrations, which continued during the whole of the fourteenth century, have, I think, notably modified the English character. Before they took place we see no indication in the English of that patient and persevering industry which they now exhibit. By his efforts to separate Flanders and England the King of France did nothing else than incite the Flemish workmen to emigrate, and lay the foundations of English manufacturing industry.

Flanders, however, did not tamely endure its fate. The towns broke out into insurrection. They had long hated the count, whether for his supporting the country parts against the monopoly of the towns,‡ or for his admitting French foreigners to a share in their trade.§

The men of Ghent, who no doubt repented of not having aided those of Ypres and Bruges at the battle of Cassel, took the brewer Jacquemart Artevelde for their leader in 1337. Supported by the trade corporations, particularly by the fullers and cloth workers, Artevelde organised a vigorous tyranny.‖ He assembled the men of

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vitam tolerant, aut inopia mendicantes aut præ pudore et gravamine æris alieni solum vertentes. Meyer, 137.

* Quod omnes operatores pannorum, undicunque in Angliam venientes reciperentur, et quod loca opportuna assignarentur eisdem, cum multis libertatibus et privilegiis, et quod haberent.....The necessity of emigrating was rendered more urgent upon them, not only by refusing them wool, but furthermore by prohibiting the produce of their looms. Item statutum fuit quod nullus uteretur panno extra Angliam operato. Walsingham, 1335, 1336. See Rymer, passim; Anderson's History of Commerce, &c.

† Walsingham says, however, that their admission into England was interdicted for three years longer. "Ut sic retunderetur superbia Flandritorum, *qui plus saccos quam Anglos* venerabantur. Anno 1337.

‡ Meyer, anno 1322.

§ Mercatoribus S. Joannis Angeliaci et Rupellæ dedit ut liceret illis.....frequentare portum Flandrensem apud Silusam ad ferentes quascumque mercaturas constituentesque stabilem sibi sedem vinorum suorum in oppido Dummensi..... eaque in mercatura omne monopolium prohibens. Meyer, 135.

‖ And there was then in Ghent a man who had been a brewer of metheglin, and he had got into such great fortune and favour with all the Flemings that his command had force from one end of Flanders to the other, and there was none so great as dared to gainsay him. He had always after him as he went through the town of Ghent three or four scores of armed varlets, among whom there were two or three who knew some of his secrets; and when he met a man he hated or of whom he had suspicion, the same was instantly killed, for he had commanded his secret varlets, saying: "As soon as I meet a man and make you such a sign, kill him without delay, however great or high he be, without waiting for another word." So it happened frequently, and in this way he had many great masters slain: whereby he was so dreaded that no one dared to speak against any thing he chose to do, or hardly to think of contradicting him. And as soon as these sixty

the three great towns in Ghent, "and showed them that without the King of England they could not live; for all Flanders was founded on the cloth trade, and without wool they could not weave; therefore, he advised that they should keep friends with the King of England."*

Edward was a very petty prince to set himself up against the great might of Philip of Valois, but the wishes of Flanders and the unanimous feeling of the English were with him. The lords, vendors of wool, and the merchants who trafficked in that commodity, all longed for war. To render it still more popular he had a circular read to the people in the parishes, informing them of his griefs against Philip, and of the overtures he had ineffectually made for peace.†

It is curious to compare together the administrative systems of the two kings at the beginning of this war. The acts of the King of England are numerous beyond counting at this period. He orders that every man shall take arms from sixteen years of age to sixty.‡ In order to protect the country from the French fleets, and from the inroads of the Scotch, he has signals arranged all along the coasts.§ He commends the Welsh, and grants them *an uniform.*‖ He procures artillery,¶ and is the first to avail himself of that great and terrible invention. He sees to his marine and to the victualling of his forces. He writes in threatening terms to the counts who are to prepare the passage of the army, and addresses to the Arch-

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varlets had escorted him back to his hotel, each went home to dine; and immediately after dinner they assembled again before his house, and waited in the street until it was his pleasure to go down the street to divert himself in the town; and so they escorted him until supper. And know that each of these soldiers had four Flemish groats daily for his expenses and his pay, and he paid them duly every week. And, likewise, he had in all the towns and castles of Flanders sergeants and soldiers in his pay, to do all his commands, and spy out if there were peradventure anywhere persons rebellious to him, or who said or told any thing contrary to his will. And as soon as he was aware of any such person in a town, he never ceased until he had caused him to be banished or slain, nor could the said person at all preserve himself from him. And even all the most puissant in Flanders, knights, squires, and burghers of the good towns, whom he thought in anywise favourable to the Count of Flanders, he did banish from Flanders, seizing the half of their wealth, and leaving the other half for the dower of their wives and the support of children. Froissart, i. 65.

* Sauvage, 143. Ejus fœderis præcipui auctores fuere Jacob Artevelda, et Sigerus Curtracensis eques Flandrus nobilissimus. Sed hunc Ludovicus.... jussu Philippi regis, Bruges decollavit. Meyer, 138. G. Froissart, p. 187.

† Rymer, iv. 804. In like manner, before the campaign which ended with the battle of Crécy, he wrote to the two leaders of the Dominicans and the Augustines, popular preachers: Rex dilecto sibi in Christo.....ad informandum intelligentius et animandum nostrorum corda fidelium....specialiter vos quibus expedire videretis clero et populo velitis patentu exponere....Rymer, Acta public., v. 496.

‡ Rymer, ii. 916, edit. 1821.

§ Signa per ignem. Ibid., 996; campanæ, ibid. 1066.

‖ Ibid., 993, Una secta vestiti.

¶ Ibid., 1025, ann. 1338.

bishop of Canterbury words of comfort and soothing for the people. "The people of our realm, we own with grief, has hitherto laboured under various burdens, tallages and imposts. The necessity of our affairs hinders us from relieving them. Be it your grace's part, therefore, to sustain this people in meekness, humility, and patience, &c."

The King of France has by no means so many details to attend to. War is still for him a feudal affair. The lords of the South oblige him to restore their right of private warfare, and to respect their judiciary privileges.* But at the same time the nobles require to be paid for serving the king; they demand an honorarium, they stretch out the hand for money, these proud barons. The knight banneret shall have twenty sols a day, the knight ten, &c.† This was the worst of all systems, a system at once feudal and mercenary, and which united the inconveniences of both.

Whilst the King of England is renewing the commercial charter which secures liberty of trade to foreign merchants, the King of France orders the Lombards to attend his fairs in Champagne, and takes upon him to mark out the route by which they are to come.‡

The English set out on the expedition full of hope (1338). They felt themselves called to arms by all Christendom. Their friends in the Low Countries promised them potent aid. The lords were favourable to them, and Artevelde assured them of the support of the three great towns. The English, who have always thought that every thing may be done with the help of money, were sumptuous and profuse on their arrival, "and spared neither gold nor silver, no more than if it rained down on them from the clouds, and gave great jewels to the lords and dames and demoiselles to acquire the praise of those with whom they had converse; and they did obtain it, and were esteemed by all, and even by the common people to whom they gave nothing for the fine state they kept."§

However highly the people of the Low Countries admired their grand English friends, Edward found much more backwardness among them than he had expected. The lords said at first that they were ready to second him, but that it was reasonable that the Duke of Brabant, the most considerable among them, should be the first to declare himself. The duke asked for time to consider, and at last consented. Then they told the King of England that one thing only was wanting to enable them to make up their minds: that was that the emperor should defy the King of France; for after all, said they, we are subjects of the empire. Now the emperor had many just grounds for war, since Cambrésis, an imperial territory, had been invaded by Philip of Valois.‖

The emperor, Louis of Bavaria, had other and more personal

* Ord., ii. 61, ann. 1330, p. 95, ann. 1333.
† Ibid., 120—130, ann. 1338.
‡ Aigues Mortes, Carcassonne, Beaucaire, Mâcon. Ibid., 305.
§ Froiss., i. 212. ‖ Ibid., 198—203.

grounds of quarrel. Persecuted by the French popes, he talked of nothing less than marching with an army, and having himself absolved at Avignon. Edward went and met him in the diet of Coblentz. In that great assembly, in which were seen three archbishops, four dukes, thirty-seven counts, and a host of barons, the English monarch learned to his cost what was the overweening haughtiness, and the sluggishness of the Germans. The emperor was willing to vouchsafe him the favour of kissing his feet. The King of England stood forth before that supreme judge as the accuser of Philip of Valois. The emperor, with one hand on the globe, and the other on the sceptre, whilst a knight held a drawn sword over his head, defied the King of France, declared him fallen from the protection of the empire, and graciously conferred on Edward the diploma of imperial vicar on the left bank of the Rhine. This was all the English monarch could obtain from him from first to last. The emperor, on reflection, conceived some scruples, and instead of engaging in the dangerous war against France, took the road to Italy. But Philip of Valois had him stopped at the passage of the Alps by a son of the King of Bohemia.*

The King of England, returning with his diploma, asked the Duke of Brabant where he could exhibit it to the lords of the Low Countries, and the duke proposed the little town of Herck, on the frontiers of Brabant, for the place of meeting. "When all were come together, know that the town was exceedingly full of lords, knights, esquires, and all manner of persons; and the market-house of the town, where bread and meat, things of small account, were sold, was curtained with handsome cloths like the king's chamber; and the King of England was seated, with his crown of gold, very rich and noble, on his head, five feet higher than any of the others, on a butcher's block, whereon the man cut and sold his meat. Never was such a market-house in such honour."†

Whilst all the lords were doing homage at the butcher's block to the new imperial vicar, the Duke of Brabant sent word to the King of France, that he was not to believe a word of what was told him to the duke's prejudice. Upon Edward's defying Philip in his own name and in that of the lords, the duke said that he would rather offer his own defial separately; and when Edward begged him to march with him against Cambrai, he assured the king that, as soon as he knew his majesty was before the town, he would join him with 1200 good lances.

During the winter, French money wrought upon the lords of the Low Countries and of Germany. Their inertness increased still more; and it was not until September (1339) that Edward could get them in motion. Cambrai was found to be in a better state of defence than had been expected. The season was far advanced, and Edward raised the siege and entered France; but, on the frontiers, the Count of Hainaut told him he could not accompany him beyond

* Schmidt, Hist. des Allem., iv., b. vii., c. 7. † Froiss., i. 214.

them; that, as holding fiefs of the Empire and of France, he would willingly serve him on the soil of the empire; but on French ground, he was bound to obey the king, his suzerain, whom, moreover, he was going forthwith to join, and to fight with, against the English.*

While visited by all these annoyances, Edward was advancing slowly towards the Oise, laying waste the whole country, and with difficulty retaining his discontented and famishing allies. He had much need of a signal victory, to recompense him for so much cost and vexation, and, for a moment, his wish for a great battle seemed likely to be satisfied. The king of France appeared in person near Capelle with a great army, numbering, says Froissart, "eleven score and seven banners, 560 pennons, four kings (France, Bohemia, Navarre, Scotland) six dukes, thirty-six counts, more than 4000 knights, and of the commons of France more than 60,000." The King of France himself offered battle, and Edward had but to choose for the 2nd of October a fair field, where there was neither wood, nor marsh, nor river, which might afford advantage to either party.

On the day appointed, when Edward, mounted on a little palfrey, was inspecting his lines and encouraging his followers, the French bethought them, says the chronicle of St. Denis, that it was Friday, and then that there was a difficult spot of ground between the two armies.† According to Froissart, "The French were of contrary opinions among themselves, and each spoke out his thoughts. Some said it would be a great shame, and very blamable, if the king did not give battle when he saw his enemies so near him, and drawn up in his own kingdom in battle array, in order to fight with him according to his promise: others said it would exhibit a singular instance of madness to fight, as they were not certain that some treachery was not intended; besides, if fortune should be unfavourable, the king would run a great risk of losing his kingdom, and if he should conquer his enemies, he would not be the nearer to gain possession of England, or of the land of the allies. Thus the day passed until full noon in dispute and debate. About noon a hare was started on the plain, and ran among the French army, who began to make a great shouting and noise, which caused those in the rear to imagine the contest was begun in the front, and many put on their helmets, and made ready their swords. Several new knights were made, especially by the Earl of Hainaut who knighted fourteen, and they were ever after called *knights of the hare*. . . . In the midst of the debate of the council of the King of France, letters were brought to the king from Robert, King of Sicily, addressed to him and his council. This King Robert, was, as they said, a very great astrologer, and full of deep science; he had often cast the nativities of the kings of France and England, and had found, by his astrology and the influence of the stars, that, if

* Froiss., i. 240. † Chron. de St. Denis, ch. xvii., ap. Froiss., i. 263.

the King of France fought with the King of England in person, he would surely be defeated; in consequence of which, he, as a new king, and much fearing the danger and peril of his cousin the King of France, had sent long before letters, most earnestly to request King Philip and his council, never to give battle to the English when King Edward should be there in person"*

This unfortunate expedition exhausted Edward's finances. His friends, greatly cast down, advised him to apply to the rich communes of Flanders, which by themselves alone could help him more than the whole empire. The Flemings deliberated at great length, and finally declared that their consciences would not allow them to declare war on their suzerain, the King of France; a scruple which was the more natural inasmuch as they had pledged themselves to pay the pope 2,000,000 of florins *if they attacked the King of France.* Artevelde found a remedy for this. In order to reassure them both as to the sin and the money, he adopted the scheme of making the King of England *King of France.*† Edward, who had assumed the title of imperial vicar, in order to conciliate the lords of the Low Countries, suffered himself to be made King of France in order to ease the consciences of the communes of Flanders. Philip of Valois had their priests put under interdict by the pope, but Edward sent them English priests to confess and absolve them.‡

The war was becoming direct. On the one side and the other great fleets were equipped for the attack and the defence of the coasts. That of the French, reinforced by Genoese galleys, counted, it is said, more than a 140 large vessels carrying 40,000 men; the whole commanded by a knight and the treasurer Bahuchet, "who knew nothing but how to keep accounts." That strange admiral, who had a horror of the sea, kept his whole fleet squeezed up in the port of Sluys, in spite of all the efforts of Barbavara to make him understand the necessity of having sea-room to manœuvre in. The English found the vessels stock still, and grappled them. It was a regular land fight. In six hours the English archers secured the victory to Edward, and the appearance of the Flemings, who came and occupied the shore, took away all hope from the vanquished. Barbavara alone escaped, having early in the fight secured a wide berth. Thirty thousand men were killed, and the unlucky Bahuchet was hanged at the mast of his own vessel.§ The Englishman, who called himself King of France, already treated the enemy as rebels. France could still raise another 30,000 men, but the moral result of this defeat was not less fatal than that of la Hogue or Trafalgar. The French lost courage by sea. The passage of the straits lay free to the English for several centuries.

At last every thing seemed to favour Edward. In his absence

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* Froissart, i. 42. Johnes' Translation.
† Ibid., i. 265—7.
‡ Meyer, xii. 141.
§ Froiss., i. ch. 120—122.

Artevelde had led 60,000 Flemings to the aid of his ally, the Count of Hainault.* This large army inspired him with the hope of at last doing something. He marched his vast host of English, Flemish, and Brabanters against the strong town of Tournai, the cradle of the monarchy, and many a time its rampart. Charles VII. acknowledged the well-proved fidelity of that town by giving it for arms those of France itself.

Philip of Valois hastened to the rescue; the town stood out, and the siege was tedious. Meanwhile, the Flemings, at a loss for occupation, went and pillaged Arques, close by St. Omer.† But behold, all at once, the garrison of the latter town burst upon them with loud shouts, lances in rest, and banners displayed. It was in vain the Flemings dropped their booty and fled; they were pursued a space of two leagues, lost 1800 men, and reached the army in a state of panic. "A strange adventure now befel. . . . For about midnight, as these Flemings were asleep in their tents, so sudden an alarm and fright came upon them, that they all got up, and could not make sufficient haste to decamp. They directly pulled down their tents and pavilions, flung them into the baggage waggons, and took to their heels; without waiting for any one, or keeping any order or regular road. When the two commanders heard of this, they got up in the greatest haste, and ordered large fires and torches to be lighted. They mounted their horses, and, galloping after the Flemings, said to them: 'Sirs, tell us what has ailed you, that you fly thus, when no one pursues you? you ought to think yourselves very secure, and yet you are still going on. Return back for God's sake; you are exceedingly to blame, to run away without being pursued.' But, notwithstanding all their entreaties, they would not stop, and each took the nearest way he could find to his own home. These lords, perceiving they could not prevail with them, ordered their baggage to be packed up in the waggons, and came to the siege of Tournai, where they related to the chiefs what had happened to the Flemings, which surprised all: some said they must have been bewitched."‡

The efforts of the Englishman were all fruitless. All that great array of the Low Countries with which he thought to overwhelm France, dwindled to nothing in his hands. The Flemings were not naturally martial, except in momentary outbursts of rage; all they

* After quitting Edward, whom he served *in the empire*, to defend Philip *in the kingdom*, this young lord, incensed by the ravages which the King of France had allowed to be committed, renounced his allegiance and again joined the King of England. Froiss., ch. 101.

† They were led by Robert of Artois. "One Wednesday morning he sent for all the captains of his army, and said to them: 'Sirs, I have heard news that I should go towards the town of Saint Omer, and that it will be immediately surrendered to me'. Immediately they ran and armed themselves, and said to one another: 'Come along, comrade, we shall presently taste the good wines of St. Omer again.'" Chron. published by Sauvage, 156.

‡ Johnes' Froiss., i. 62.

wanted was, not to pay. The lords of the Low Countries, besides not paying, wanted to be paid; they were so by both sides, and stopped at home.

Fortunately for Edward, at the moment the fire of Flanders was dying out, Bretagne blazed up.* It was a far more inflammable country than the other. It could hardly be said with truth, that the Bretons were ever at peace in the middle ages. When they were not fighting at home, they were fighting for hire elsewhere. Under Philip the Fair and down to the battle of Cassel, they readily followed the standard of our kings into Flanders, to pillage and devour those rich regions. But when France was crippled by Edward, and the Bretons had only the prospect of a poor and unprofitable war set before them, they staid at home and fought among themselves.

This war of Bretagne is the counterpart of those of Scotland. As Philip the Fair had encouraged Wallace and Robert Bruce against Edward I., so Edward III. supported Montfort against Philip of Valois. The analogy in this case was not merely historical. There is, as we know, a relationship of race and language, and a geographic resemblance between the two countries. In Scotland, as in Bretagne, the most retired region is occupied by the Celtic stock, and the outskirts by a mixed population on which the defence of the country devolves. To the dreary Scottish border correspond our *landes* of Maine and Anjou, and our forests of Ille et Vilaine. But the Border is still more desert. You may travel through it for hours, at the rapid pace of an English stage-coach, without seeing either tree or house, or more than a few scattered nooks of land in which the small sheep of Northumberland patiently seek their subsistence. It seems as though the whole soil had been withered up under the hoofs of Hotspur's steed. In traversing this land of ballads, we look round in quest of the objects that have prompted them or the men that have sung them. It needs but little to give birth to a local poetry. The oleanders of the Eurotas are not requisite; sufficient is a little of the heath of Bretagne or of the national thistle of Scotland from which Burns says:

> He "turn'd the weeding clips aside,
> And spared the symbol dear."†

England found in that sparse and martial population an invincible

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* Count Montfort having come to pay him homage: "The King of England, considering that his war against France would be strengthened by this means—that he could not have a better entry into that kingdom than through Brittany—that the Germans and Brabanters had done nothing for him, but cost him large sums—and, that the lords of the empire had led him up and down, taking his money without making any returns for it, was very happy to comply with the earl's request, and received his homage for the duchy by the hand of the earl, who was called and addressed by the title of duke." Froissart, ann. 1341. The letters by which Louis of Bavaria revokes the title of vicar of the empire bear date June 25, 1341.

† See Walter Scott's Introduction to the Minstrelsy of the Scottish border.

outlaw, an everlasting Robin Hood. The men of the Border lived nobly on the wealth of their neighbours. When all the booty made in the last foray was eaten up, the lady of the house served up a pair of spurs in a dish for her husband's dinner, and off he went merrily at the hint.* It was a strange system of warfare, the difficulty for both parties being how to fall in with each other. In his great expedition into Scotland, Edward II. advanced several days in rain and fog, without seeing any other army than stags and does.† He was obliged to promise a large sum to whoever would tell him where was the enemy.‡ The Scotch, assembling and dispersing as rapidly as phantoms, entered England whenever they pleased; they had little cavalry, and no baggage; every man carried his little bag of grain and a tile to bake it on.

They did not confine themselves to war against England, but were fond of seeking their fortunes abroad. Every one knows the history of that Douglas, who being enjoined by his dying king to carry his heart to Jerusalem, proceeded thither by way of Spain, and in a battle with the Moors flung the heart before him into the midst of the paynim host. But their natural crusade was in France, that is to say, where they could do most mischief to the English. A Douglas became Count of Touraine. There are Douglases, it is said, still to be found in La Bresse.§

Our Bretagne had its border like Scotland, and doubtless also its ballads.‖ Perhaps the life of the mercenary soldier, which was long that of the Bretons in the middle ages, stifled the poetic genius of the land.

But in Bretagne mere history is poetry. There is no memory of a strife so varied and so obstinate as hers. This race of rams has been evermore butting without finding any thing harder than itself. It has confronted alternately France and the enemies of France. Under Nomenoe and Montfort it repulsed our kings; it repulsed the Northmen under Allan Barbetote, and the English under Duguesclin.

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* See Walter Scott's Introduction to the Minstrelsy of the Scottish border.

† "In the course of the day there were very frequent cries of alarm, as if the foremost ranks were engaged with the enemy, which those behind believing to be true, they hurried forward as fast as possible, over rocks and mountains, sword in hand, with their helmets and shields prepared for fighting, without waiting for father, brother, or friend. When they had hastened about half a league towards the place from which the noise came, they found themselves disappointed, as the cries proceeded from some herds of deer or other wild beasts, which abounded in these heaths and desert places, and which fled before the banners, pursued by the shouts of the army, which made them imagine it was something else." Johnes' Froiss., i. 18.

‡ "And he had it proclaimed that whoever would take the pains to bring the king certain intelligence where he might find the Scotch, the first who should bring such news should have a hundred pounds' worth of land in fee, and the king would make him a knight." Froissart, i. 40. We find in Rymer: Pro Thoma de Rokesby, qui regem duxerat ante visum inimicorum Scotorum, ii. 717.

§ Biog. univ. de Michaud, art. Douglas.

‖ No ancient ones are extant. See among other works that fine one by Emile Souvestre, Les Derniers Bretons.

It was on the Breton border, in the landes of Anjou, that Robert le Fort fell in battle against the Northmen, and won the throne for the Capets. There, too, the future kings of England assumed the name of Plante-Genêts. These heaths, like Macbeth's, hailed the two monarchies.

The long narratives of the Breton wars which so finely "illuminate" (*renluminent*) Froissart's chronicle, those adventures of all sorts crossed by romantic incidents, remind us of certain rugged landscapes of Bretagne, abruptly diversified, poor, stony, with a few melancholy flowers scattered among the rocks. But there is many a part in this history the savage horror of which is not represented by the elegant and chivalric chronicler. The history of Bretagne is rightly understood only on the theatre of the events themselves, at the rocks of Auray, on the beach of Quiberon, or of St. Michel en Grève, where the fratricidal duke met the black monk.

The fine Amazonian adventures on which Froissart dwells complacently, the *apertises* of Jehanne de Montfort, "who had the courage of a man and the heart of a lion," the brave harangues of Jeanne de Clisson and Jeanne de Blois do not reveal the whole character of the war of Bretagne. In it figured also Clisson *the butcher*, and the devout, and conscientiously cruel, Charles de Blois.

Duke John III. died without children, leaving a niece and a brother. The niece, daughter of an elder brother, had married Charles of Blois, prince of the blood, and had the king in her favour, and also, in a considerable degree, the noblesse of French Bretagne.* The younger brother, Montfort, had the pure (*bretonnants*) Bretons on his side, and called in the aid of the English.† The King of England, who supported the hereditary rights of women in France, backed those of males in Bretagne. The King of France was equally inconsistent contrariwise.

We have already remarked on the singular destiny of these Montforts. A Montfort advised Louis le Gros to arm the communes of France. A Montfort led the crusade against the Albigeois, and annihilated the liberties of the towns in the South. A Montfort introduced the deputies of the commons into the English parliament. And now comes another in the fourteenth century whose name rallies the Bretons in their war against France.

Charles of Blois, Montfort's adversary, was no less than a saint, the second produced by the house of France. He confessed morning and evening, heard four or five masses daily, and never travelled without an almoner who carried in a pot, bread, wine, water, and fire, to say mass on the way.‡ If he saw a priest as he rode, he threw

* According to Froissart, Charles of Blois always had five-sevenths of them on his side.

† "The constable rode first through Breton Bretagne, though he was aware it was always more inclined to Duke Jehan de Montfort than Gaulish Bretagne." Froiss., i. 314. "The Countess of Montfort held many fortresses in Breton Bretagne.—Count Montfort was interred at Quimpercorentin." Sauvage, 175.

‡ Procès verbal et Informations sur la vie et les miracles de Charles Duc de

himself from his horse in the mud. He frequently made a pilgrimage bare-footed through the snow to St. Yves, the great Breton saint. He put pebbles in his shoes, forbade his attendants to free his hair-cloth from vermin,* and girt himself with three knotted cords that piereed his flesh, "in a manner piteous to behold," as a witness says. When he prayed to God, he used to beat his breast frantieally, till his face grew lived *and green.*†

One day, he stopped close by the enemy in a most dangerous position to hear mass. At the siege of Quimper, his soldiers were on the point of being overtaken by the tide: "If it is the will of God," he said, "the tide will do us no hurt." The town was aetually taken, and a multitude of the inhabitants slaughtered. Charles de Blois hastened first to the eathedral to thank God; he stopped the massaere afterwards.

This terrible saint had no pity either on himself or others. He thought it his duty to punish his adversaries as rebels. When he began the war by besieging Montfort, in Nantes (1342), he flung the heads of thirty knights into the town. Montfort surrendered, was sent to the king, and immured in the castle of the Louvre,‡ contrary to the terms of the capitulation. "The Countess of Montfort, who possessed the courage of a man and the heart of a lion, was in the city of Rennes when she heard of the seizure of her lord; and, notwithstanding the great grief she had at heart, she did all she could to comfort and reanimate her friends and soldiers; showing them a young child, called John, after his father; she said, 'Oh! gentlemen, do not be east down by what we have suffered through the loss of my lord: he was but one man. Look at my little child here; if it please God, he shall be his restorer, and shall do you much serviee. I have plenty of wealth, whieh I shall distribute among you, and will seek out for sueh a leader as may give you a proper confidence.'"§ Being besieged in Hennebon, by Charles of Blois, she made a sortie, and burned the tents of the French; then, not being able to return to the town, she reached the castle of Auray; but soon colleeting 500 men-at-arms, she again passed through the French eamp, and re-entered Hennebon, "with great triumph, and sounds of trumpets and other warlike instruments."

Bretagne, de la maison de France, etc. MS. Bibl. du Roi, 2 vols. folio, No. 5381. D. Morice, Preuves, ii. 1, contains an abstract of it from another MS.

* 24th witness, Yves le Clerc, i. 147. Non mutabat cilicem suum, dum fuisset tanto plenum pediculis quod mirum erat, et quando cubicularius volebat amovere pediculos a dicto cilice, ipse dominus Carolus dicebat: "Dimittatis, nolo quod aliquem pediculum amoveatis," et dicebat quod sibi malum non faciebant, et quod quando ipsum pungebant, recordabatur de Deo.

† In tantum quod adstantibus videbatur quod a sensu alienatus erat, et color vultus ipsius mutabatur de naturali colore in viridem. 17th witness, Pagan de Quelen, i. 87.

‡ The Chronicle in verse by Guillaume de St. André, counsellor, ambassador, and secretary to Duke John IV., apostolic and imperial notary, leaves no doubt as to the duplicity practised towards him. Roujoux, iii. 178.

§ Froiss., ii. 38.

She arrived none too soon; the lords were parleying before her face, when she saw the long-expected succours arrive from England. "Whoso then saw the countess come down from the castle in great gladness, and kiss Sir Walter Mauny and his companions, one after the other, two or three times, may well say she was a noble and valiant dame."*

The King of England came in person, towards the end of this year, to the aid of Bretagne. The King of France approached it with an army, and there seemed a probability that the little war of Bretagne would become a great one. But nothing important occurred. The penury of the two kings forced them to make a truce, in which their allies were included; the Bretons alone remained free to fight.

Montfort's captivity had strengthened his party. Philip of Valois contrived to reanimate it still more, by putting to death fifteen Breton knights whom he thought favourable to the English. One of them, Clisson, who had been prisoner in England, had been too well treated there. It is said that the Earl of Salisbury, to be avenged on Edward, who had debauched his fair countess, made the King of France acquainted with the secret treaty between his master and Clisson.† The Bretons, who had been invited to a tourney, were seized and put to death without form of trial. The brother of one of them, who was a priest, was not executed with the rest, but exposed in a pillory, where the people stoned him.

Shortly after this, the king put to death, without trial, three lords of Normandy. He tried, also, to lay hands on the Count of Harcourt, but he escaped, and was not less serviceable to the English than Robert of Artois.

Up to this time, the lords felt little scruple at treating with the foreigner. The feudal baron still considered himself a sort of sovereign, who had a right to negotiate separately. The relationship between the two nobilities, the French and the English, the community of language (the English nobles still spoke French), every thing, in short, favoured this amicable tendency. The death of Clisson placed a barrier between the two kingdoms.

In one and the same year, the English lost Montfort and Artevelde. The latter had become quite English. Feeling that Flanders was slipping from his grasp, he wished to give it to the Prince of Wales. Edward was already at Sluys, and was presenting his son to the burgomasters of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, when Artevelde was killed.

With all his popularity, that king of Flanders was, in reality, only the leader of the great towns, the champion of their monopoly. They prohibited the woollen manufactures in the small towns. In one of these a revolt took place on this subject. Artevelde put it

* Froiss., ii., 73—87.

† Chron. de Flandre, 173, 174, ap. Froiss., ii. 681.

down, and killed one man with his own hand. Even within the walls of Ghent, the two draper corporations made war on each other. The fullers demanded an increase of wages from the clothiers, and on the refusal of the latter a furious fight ensued. There was no possibility of separating these bull-dogs; and it was in vain the priests brought out the body of our Lord to the scene of combat. The manufacturers, supported by Artevelde, utterly discomfited the workmen (1345).*

Artevelde, who put no trust in either party, wished to escape from his dangerous position, resign what he could not keep, or still reign under a master who would have need of him, and would support him. To call back the French was a thing not to be thought of. He, therefore, invited the English, and hastened to Bruges and Ypres to negotiate and harangue. During this time, Ghent became lost to him.

When he returned to that town, the people were already insurgent. It was said among the crowd that he was sending over the money of Flanders into England. No one saluted him. He escaped to his house, and tried in vain to soothe the people, by addressing them from a window. The doors were burst open, and Artevelde was killed, exactly as was the tribune Rienzi, in Rome, two years afterwards.†

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* Malus dies lunæ (Den quaden maendach).... Pugnabant textores contra fullones *ac parvum quæstum.* Dux textorum Gerardus erat, quibus et Artevelda accessit. Meyer, 146. Lesquels ayant occis plus de quinze cents foullons, chasserent les autres dudict mestier hors de la ville et reduisirent ledict mestier de foullons à néant, comme il est encoires pour le jourdhuy. Oudeg., f. 271.

† "When on his return he came to Ghent about mid-day, the townsmen, who were informed of the hour he was expected, had assembled in the streets that he was to pass through; as soon as they saw him they began to murmur, and put their heads close together, saying, 'Here comes one who is too much the master, and wants to order in Flanders according to his will and pleasure, which must not be longer borne.' . . As he was riding up the street he perceived that there was something in agitation against him; for those who were wont to salute him very respectfully, now turned their backs and went into their houses. He began, therefore, to suspect all was not as usual; and as soon as he had dismounted, and entered his hotel, he ordered the doors and windows to be shut and fastened. Scarcely had his servants done this when the street which he inhabited was filled from one end to the other with all sorts of people, but especially by the lowest of the mechanics. His mansion was surrounded on every side, attacked and broken into by force. Those within did all they could to defend it, and killed and wounded many: but at last they could not hold out against such vigorous attacks, for three parts of the town were there. When Jacob von Artevelde saw what efforts were making, and how hardly he was pushed, he came to a window, and, with his head uncovered, began to use humble and fair language, saying, 'My good people, what aileth you? Why are you so enraged against me? by what means can I have incurred your displeasure? Tell me, and I will conform myself entirely to your wills.' Those who had heard him made answer as with one voice, 'We want to have an account of the great treasure you have made away with, without any title of reason.' Artevelde replied in a soft tone, 'Gentlemen, be assured that I have never taken any thing from the treasures of Flanders; and if you will return quietly to your homes, and come here to-morrow morning, I will be provided to give so good an account of

Edward was disappointed of Flanders, as well as of Bretagne. His assaults on the two wings were unsuccessful, and he now made one on the centre. This enterprise, led by a Norman, Godefroi d'Harcourt, was far more fatal to France.

Philip of Valois had concentrated all his strength in one great army, in order to wrest their southern conquests from the English. That army, amounting, it was said, to 100,000 men, did recover Angoulême, and then went and consumed its strength before the little fortress of Aiguillon. The English garrison defended themselves the more resolutely, because the king's son, who commanded the French, had given no quarter elsewhere.

If we are to believe Froissart's improbable narrative, the King of England, after setting out to succour Guienne, had been driven back by contrary winds, and had then hearkened to the advice of Godefroi d'Harcourt, who urged him to attack Normandy, which was without defence.*

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them, that you must reasonably be satisfied.' But they cried out 'No, no, we must have it directly, you shall not thus escape from us; for we know that you have emptied the treasury, and sent it into England, without our knowledge; you, therefore, shall suffer death.' When he heard this, he clasped his hands together, began to weep bitterly, and said, 'Gentlemen, such as I am, you yourselves have made me: you formerly swore you would protect me against all the world; and now, without any reason, you want to murder me. You are certainly masters to do it, if you please; for I am but one man against you all. Think better of it, for the love of God: recollect former times, and consider how many favours and kindnesses I have conferred upon you. You wish to give me a sorry recompense for all the generous deeds you have experienced at my hands. You are not ignorant, that, when commerce was dead in this country, it was I who restored it. I afterwards governed you in so peaceable a manner that under my administration you had all things according to your wishes: corn, oats, riches, and all sorts of merchandise which have made you so wealthy.' They began to bawl out, 'Come down, and do not preach to us from such a height; for we will have an account and statement of the great treasures of Flanders, which you have governed too long without rendering an account; and it is not just for an officer to receive the rents of a lord, or of a country, without accounting for them.' When Jacob von Artevelde saw that he could not appease or calm them, he shut the window and intended getting out of his house the back way, to take shelter in a church adjoining; but his mansion was already broken into on that side, and upwards of 400 men were then calling out for him. At last he was seized by them, and slain without mercy: his death-stroke was given him by a saddler, called Thomas Denis. In this manner did Jacob Artevelde end his days, who, in his time, had been complete master of Flanders. Poor men first raised him, and wicked men slew him."—Johnes' Frois., i. 15.

* "When they embarked, the weather was as favourable as the king could wish to carry him to Gascony; but on the third day, the wind was so contrary, that they were driven upon the coast of Cornwall, where they cast anchor, and remained for six days and six nights. During this time the king altered his mind with respect to going towards Gascony, through the advice and representations of Sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who convinced him that it would be more for his interest to land in Normandy, by such words as these: 'Sir, that province is one of the most fertile in the world; and I will answer on my head, that you may land in any part of it you shall please without hindrance, for no one will think of opposing you. . . . You will find in Normandy rich towns

The advice was but too good. The whole country was disarmed. This was the work of the kings themselves, who had prohibited private wars. The population had become quite pacific, and wholly occupied with agriculture or handicraft. Peace had borne its fruits.* The prosperous and flourishing condition in which the English found the country, should induce us to make large deductions from all that has been said by historians against the royal administration in the fourteenth century.

Our hearts bleed when we see, in Froissart, the savage apparition of war in a peaceful land, already rich and manufacturing, the progress of which was about to be arrested for many centuries. The pillaging Welsh and Irish of Edward's mercenary army, fell upon a defenceless population; they found the sheep in the fields, the barns full, the towns open.† The plunder they took from Caen was enough to load several vessels.‡ They found St. Lo§ and Louviers full of cloth.‖

Still more to animate his followers, Edward discovered at Caen, just in the nick of time, a document wherein the Normans offered Philip of Valois to reconquer England at their own cost, on condition that

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and handsome castles, without any means of defence, and your people will gain wealth enough to suffice them for twenty years to come.'" Johnes' Frois., i. 15.

* "It is not to be wondered at if the people of the country were alarmed and frightened; for they had never seen any men at arms, and knew nothing of war and battles: they, therefore, fled before the English as soon as ever they heard they were coming, leaving their houses and barns quite full, for they had neither means nor art to save them." Id., i.. 121.

† "He set out from La Hogue under the guidance of Sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was well acquainted with every part of Normandy. Sir Godfrey, as marshal, advanced before the king, with the van-guard of 500 armed men and 2000 archers, and rode on for six or seven leagues' distance from the main army, burning and destroying the country. They found it rich and plentiful, abounding in all things; the barns full of every sort of corn, and the houses with riches; the inhabitants at their ease, having cars, carts, horses, swine, sheep, and every thing in abundance which the country afforded." Id., i. 120.

‡ "Both the armies of sea and land went forward until they came to a strong town called Barfleur, which they soon gained; the inhabitants having surrendered immediately, for fear of losing their lives, but that did not prevent the town being pillaged and robbed of gold, silver, and every thing precious that could be found therein. There was so much wealth that the boys of the army set no value on gowns trimmed with fur. The English continued masters of the town for three days: in this time they amassed great wealth, which they sent in barges down the river of Estreham to St. Sauveur, two leagues off, where their fleet was. The Earl of Huntingdon made preparations, therefore, with the two hundred men at arms, and his four hundred archers, to carry over to England their riches and their prisoners.".... "When the King of England had finished his business in Caen, and had sent his fleet to England, loaded with cloths, gold and silver plate, and a quantity of other riches, and upwards of sixty knights, with three hundred able citizens, prisoners, he dislodged." Id., i. 120—3.

§ "There were in the town of Saint Lo 8000 or 9000 burghers and artisans.. ..it is incredible what a vast quantity of cloth they found there." Ibid.

‖ "Louviers was then one of the towns of Normandy in which the greatest quantity of cloth was made, and it was large, rich, and commercial, but not walled. It was pillaged, and the English got a great booty." Ibid.

it should be portioned out among them, as it had been among the companions of William the conqueror.* This act, written in the pitiable French then spoken at the court of England,† is probably spurious. It was by Edward's orders translated into English, and read in all the parish churches of England. Before he left the island, the king had commanded the Dominicans, the favourite preachers of the people, to preach up the war, and set forth its causes. Soon afterwards (1361), Edward suppressed the use of the French language, in public acts. There was but one tongue, one English people. The descendants of the Norman conquerors and of the Saxons, were reconciled to each other by their common hatred of the new Normans.

The English, finding the bridges broken down at Rouen, marched up the left bank of the river, burning in their way Vernon, Verneuil, and Pont de l'Arche. Edward halted at Poissi, to construct a new bridge, and celebrate the feast of the Assumption, whilst his men went and burned St. Germain, Bourg la Reine, St. Cloud, and even Boulogne, so near Paris.

All the succour the King of France afforded Normandy, was to send the constable and the Count de Tancarville to Caen, where they were taken prisoners. His army was 150 leagues off in the South, and he thought his shortest course would be to call in his allies from Germany and the Low Countries. He had recently caused young Charles IV., son of John of Bohemia, to be elected emperor; but the Germans drove out the new emperor, who came and put himself in the king's pay. His arrival, and that of the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Lorraine, and other German lords, made the English begin to be uneasy.

They had done enough in the way of bravado. They found themselves entangled in the heart of a great kingdom, amidst burned towns, ravaged provinces, and populations driven to despair. The King of France's forces were augmenting every day. He was impatient to punish the English, who had been so insolent as to approach his very capital. The burghers of Paris, hitherto so easy and tractable, were beginning to speak out. The king having desired to demolish the houses adjoining the town walls, there was almost an insurrection.

* The document went to show that they had promised to furnish 4000 men at arms, and 20,000 foot, including 5000 cross-bowmen, *all men of the province* except 1000 men at arms, whom the Duke of Normandy might select elsewhere, but who were to be paid by the Normans. They undertook to maintain these troops for ten or even twelve weeks. If England was conquered, as was expected, the crown should belong to the Duke of Normandy. The lands and rights of the English secular nobles and commoners were to belong to the churches, barons, nobles, and good towns of Normandy. The property belonging to the pope, the Church of Rome, and the Church of England, should not be affected by the conquest. William of Avesbury cites this document at full length from the copy found, he says, in Caen in 1346.—Such warlike language, such certainty of conquest, agree ill with the pacific condition in which Edward found the country.

† Rymer, iii., pars 1, p. 76, ed. 1346.

Edward designed to retreat by way of Picardy, join the Flemings who had been besieging Bethune, and traverse Ponthieu, his mother's heritage. But he had to cross the Somme. Philip had all the bridges guarded, and followed close on the heels of the enemy; so close, that at Airaines he found Edward's dinner on the table, and ate it.

Edward sent out in quest of a ford, but his men could not find one. He was very uneasy, until a lad from Blanche Tache undertook to show him a ford which bears that name. Philip had posted some men there; but the English, aware that they were lost if they did not pass the river, made a great effort, and succeeded. Philip arrived soon after, but pursuit was no longer possible, for the tide was rising; the sea protected the English.

Edward's situation was not cheering. His army was famished, drenched, and jaded. The men who had captured and spoiled so much booty, looked then like beggars. This rapid, ignominious retreat, was on the point of becoming as mischievous as a lost battle. Edward hazarded a battle.

Being, moreover, arrived in Ponthieu, he felt so much the stronger; that county, at least, was clearly his own. "Let us post ourselves here," he said, "for I will not go further until I shall have seen our enemies. I have good reason to wait for them on this spot, as I am now upon the lawful inheritance of my lady-mother, which was given her as her marriage portion, and I am resolved to defend it against my adversary Philip of Valois."*

Having said this, he entered his oratory, devoutly said his prayers, lay down to sleep, and next morning heard mass. He divided his army into three bodies, and made his men-at-arms dismount. The English made a hasty meal, and then sat down with their weapons before them, to wait for the enemy.

Meanwhile, the immense mob of the French army was advancing with great din.† The King of France was advised to let his troops have some rest, and he consented to it; but the great lords, urged on by the feudal point of honour, continued to advance, each emulously striving to be foremost.

As for the king himself, when he came up and saw the English, "his blood was stirred, for he hated them. . . . . And he said to his marshals: 'Order our Genoese to the front, and begin the battle in the name of God, and of Monseigneur St. Denis.'"

It was not without great expense that the king had so long maintained mercenary troops; but the Genoese archers were thought with

* Froiss., ii., 345.

† "There is no man, unless he had been present, that can imagine or describe truly the confusion of that day, especially the bad management and disorder of the French, whose troops were out of number. What I know, and shall relate in this book, I have learnt chiefly from the English, who had well observed the confusion they seemed in, and from those attached to Sir John of Hainault, who was always near the person of the King of France." Id., iii. 357.

good reason to be indispensable against the English bowmen. Barbavara's prompt retreat at the battle of Sluys had naturally increased the distrust entertained against these foreigners. The Italian mercenaries were accustomed to take very tender care of themselves in battle. The Genoese on this occasion declared at the very moment the fight was beginning, that their bowstrings were wet and unserviceable.* They might have kept them dry in their head-pieces as the English did.

The Count of Alençon cried out: "It is worth while forsooth to be encumbered with this rabble that fails in the hour of need." The Genoese could do but little; the English were riddling them with arrows and iron balls shot by bombards. "One would have thought he heard God's thunder," says a contemporary.† This was the first time artillery was employed in a pitched battle.‡

The King of France, mad with anger, cried out to his men-at-arms: "Down with this rabble, and kill them all, for they stop the way against us to no purpose." But in riding down the Genoese the men-at-arms broke their ranks. The English shot with deadly effect upon the confused mass, certain of never missing one. The horses were frightened and ran away; the disorder increased every moment.

The King of Bohemia, old and blind as he was, yet sat his horse among his knights. When they told him what was going on he guessed well that the battle was lost. This brave prince, who had passed his life in domestic intimacy with the house of France, and who had some property in the kingdom, set an example becoming both the vassal and the knight. He said to his people: "I pray you, and most specially desire you, that you lead me forward so far that I may strike one sword-stroke." They obeyed him, tied their horses to his, and the whole party charged blindly into the thick of the fight. They were all found dead next day, master and men still bound together.§

The great lords of France behaved no less nobly. The Count d'Alençon, brother to the king, and the counts of Blois, Harcourt, Aumale, Auxerre, Sanserre, and St. Pol, all magnificently armed and blazoned, charged at full gallop through the enemy's lines. They dashed through the ranks of the archers, and still rode on, as though disdaining those foot soldiers, and making for the little troop of English men-at-arms, among which was Edward's son aged

* Qui quidem balistarii trahere cœperunt, sed cogentes cordas ad invicem, arcus ascendere nullatenus poterant, quæ restrictæ fuerant pro pluvia. Cont. G. de Nangis, 108.

† Villani, xii. 65.

‡ It had already been used in the attack and defence of fortresses. It was employed in 1340 at the siege of Quesnoy. In 1338, Barthélemy de Drach, war treasurer, charges in his accounts a sum given to Henry de Famechon to procure powder and other things necessary for the cannons that were before Puy Guillaume. Note de M. Buchon. Froiss., i. 310.

§ Froissart, i. 288. Here we have an old barbarian custom. See Tacitus, Germania, and the accounts of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.

thirteen, whom his father had set at the head of one division. The second division advanced to his support, and the Earl of Warwick, apprehensive for the young prince's safety, sent to request the king would order up the third division to his aid. Edward replied that he would have the boy win his spurs, and that the day should be his own.

The King of England, who overlooked the whole field from a windmill, saw plainly that the French were about to be cut to pieces.* Some of them had been discomfited in the first disorder among the Genoese; others having made their way into the thick of the English army were surrounded. The weighty armour which was then beginning to be worn, did not allow the cavalier, once fallen, to rise again. The Welsh and Cornish men came up with their knives and killed them without mercy, though they were ever so great lords. Philip of Valois was witness to this butchery. His horse had been killed, and he had no more than sixty men remaining about him, but he could not tear himself from the field. The English, amazed at their victory, did not advance a step, otherwise they might have captured him. At last John of Hainaut seized the king's horse by the bridle, and forced him away.

The English, on examining the field of battle and counting the dead, found eleven princes, eighty knights bannerets, twelve hundred knights, and thirty thousand soldiers. While they were engaged in reckoning them there arrived the Commons of Rouen and Beauvais, and the troops of the Archbishop of Rouen and of the Grand Prior of France. The poor fellows, who knew nothing of the battle, came only to swell the number of the slain.†

This huge disaster only led the way to a greater one. The English got a firm footing in France. The maritime towns of England, exasperated by our Calais rovers, gave Edward a fleet on purpose. Dover, Bristol, Winchelsea, Shoreham, Sandwich, Weymouth, and Plymouth, each furnished from twenty to thirty vessels, and Yarmouth alone forty-three.‡ The English merchants, whom this war was ruining, made a last and a prodigious effort to get possession of the Straits. Edward laid siege to Calais, and set himself down

* "The king then came down from his post, who all that day had not put on his helmet." Frois., i. 288.

† "There were slain in this flight in the open fields, under hedges and bushes, upwards of 7000; and, had it been clear weather, not one soul would have escaped."—"In the course of the morning, the English found many Frenchmen who had lost their road on the Saturday, and had lain in the open fields, not knowing what was become of the king or their own leaders. The English put to the sword all they met; and it has been assured to me for fact, that of foot soldiers sent from the cities, towns, and municipalities, there were slain, this Sunday morning, four times as many as in the battle of Saturday." 129..... "Lord Reginald Cobham, and Lord Stafford, made a very circumstantial report of all they had observed, and said they had found eighty banners, the bodies of eleven princes, 1200 knights, and above 30,000 common men." 130.

‡ Some inland towns also contributed, but in a very different proportion. The great town of York gave a vessel and nine men. Anderson, i. 322.

before it in fixed quarters for life or death. After the sacrifices he had made for this expedition he could not show his face to the commons until he should have accomplished his enterprise. Round the town he built a second town with streets, and wooden houses solidly and snugly constructed, to serve for residence through summer and winter.*

The Englishman, established in good quarters, and with abundant supplies, let those within and without the town do what they had a mind. He did not even grant them battle, but preferred starving them out. Five hundred persons, men, women, and children, expelled from the town by the governor, died of cold and hunger between the town and the camp. Such, at least, is the statement of the English historian.†

Edward had taken root before Calais, nor was the pope's mediation capable of forcing him from thence. News was brought him that the Scotch were about to invade England. He never stirred. His perseverance was rewarded, for he soon learned that his troops, encouraged by his queen, had taken the King of Scotland prisoner. The next year Charles of Blois was likewise taken in besieging La Roche de Rien. Edward had but to fold his arms and leave fortune to work for him.

It was matter of most urgent necessity for the King of France to succour Calais;‡ but so great was his penury, so inert and embarrassed was that feudal monarchy, that it was not until the siege had lasted ten months that he was able to put himself in motion, when the English were fortified and intrenched behind palisades and deep ditches. Having scraped together some money by a debasement of the coinage,§ the gabelle, the ecclesiastical tithes, and the confiscation of the property of the Lombards, he at last began his march with a huge army like that which had been beaten at Crécy. He had no way of reaching Calais except through marshes or over sand-hills. To take the former course would have been certain destruction, for all the passes were intersected and guarded.

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* "On the king's arrival before Calais he laid siege to it, and built between it and the river and bridge houses of wood; they were laid out in streets, and thatched with straw or broom, and in this town of the king's there was every thing necessary for an army, besides a market-place, where there were markets every Wednesday and Saturday for butcher's meat, and all other sorts of merchandise: cloth, bread, and every thing else which came from England and Flanders, might be had there, as well as all comforts, for money." Froissart.

† Knyghton, De Event. Angl. iv. Froissart says, on the contrary, that he not only let them pass through his army, but also gave them an abundant repast.

‡ The English having chased two vessels that endeavoured to put out from the harbour, intercepted a letter from the governor to Philip of Valois which said: "We have, therefore, agreed among ourselves that if we do not speedily receive succour, we will all sally out from the town and fight for life and death, for we would rather die honourably in the field than eat each other. Froiss., ii. 444, note. The Continuator of Nangis says that the king never ceased to send them provisions by sea and land, but that these did not reach their destination. P. 109.

§ Ord., ii. 254, 256, 263.

The men of Tournay, however, gallantly carried a castle by assault, without machines and by strength of hand alone.*

The downs on the coast of Boulogne were under the fire of the English fleet. Those about Gravelines were kept by the Flemings whom the king could not suborn. He offered them heaps of gold, and the surrender of Lille, Bethune, and Douai; he would enrich their burgomasters, and make knights and lords of their young men.† Nothing could tempt them; they were too much afraid of the return of their count, who, after a false reconciliation, had again escaped out of their hands.‡ Philip could do nothing. He negotiated, he challenged; Edward remained unmoved.§

Horrible was the despair in the famished town when they saw all those banners of France, all that great army marching away and leaving them to their fate. Nothing remained for the people of Calais but to give themselves up to the enemy if he would condescend to accept their surrender. But the English hated them mortally as seamen and corsairs.‖ In order to conceive the mass of rancour nourished by the daily hostilities of such a neighbourhood, and the full venom of the oblique glance with which the two coasts regard each other, read the history of Louis XIV's wars, the deeds and exploits of Jean Barth, the lamentable demolition of the port of Dunkerque, and the closing of the basins of Antwerp.

It was probable enough that the King of England, who had passed such a tedious time before Calais, who had sat down a whole

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* Froiss., ii. 449.

† He further offered them to have the interdict taken off from Flanders, to keep the price of corn very low there for six years, to have them supplied with French wools which they might manufacture, with the privilege of selling the clothes made of those wools in France, to any amount they pleased, and to the exclusion of all others, &c. Rob. d'Avesbury, 153.

‡ The Flemings kept him in courteous confinement, to force him to marry the King of England's daughter. He grew tired of this confinement, promised every thing, and was let out, but under good guard. "It happened one day, in the same week that he was to espouse the English princess, he went out a hawking: the falconer flew his hawk at a heron, and the earl did the same with his: the two hawks pursued their game, and the earl galloped off, as if following them, crying, 'Hoye, hoye.' When he was at some distance from his keepers, and in the open fields, he stuck spurs into his horse, and made such speed that he was soon out of sight: he did not stop until he was got into Poictiers where he was safe."

§ Froissart says, that the king, coming to succour Calais, sent a challenge to Edward, which the latter refused. Edward, on the contrary, announces in a letter to the Archbishop of York that he had accepted the challenge, and that the fight did not take place, because Philip marched off precipitately before the day, after having set fire to his camp. Ibid. 452.

‖ Villani, who must have had full information of the affairs of France, through the Florentine and Lombard merchants, says expressly that Edward had resolved to hang those of Calais *as pirates, because they had done the English much mischief at sea.* Villani, 12, 95. M. Dacier, has compared the various statements of the historians. (Frois., iii. 466.) See a dissertation by M. Bolard, awarded a prize by the Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. No critic, as far as I am aware, has felt the full force of the passage in Villani.

year there, and spent in one campaign the enormous sum for those days of nearly 400,000*l.* sterling, would give himself the satisfaction of putting the inhabitants to the sword, whereby he would certainly have gratified the English merchants. But Edward's knights told him flatly, that if he treated the besieged in that manner his own men would never again venture to shut themselves up in fortresses for fear of reprisal. He gave way, and condescended to admit the town to mercy, provided some of the principal burghers came, according to custom, bareheaded and barefoot, with ropes round their necks, and presented the keys to him.

There was danger for those who should first appear in the king's presence. But these people of the coasts, who every day brave the wrath of the ocean, are not afraid of a man's. There were instantly found in that little town, depopulated as it was by famine, six volunteers to save the rest. As many, and more, are to be found every day, in stormy weather, to save a vessel in danger. This grand deed, I am sure, was performed quite simply, and not piteously, with tears and long speeches, as the chaplain, Froissart, imagines.*

Nevertheless, the queen and the knights had to intercede with Edward, to prevent his hanging those gallant fellows. It was, no doubt, explained to him, that the men had fought for their town and their trade, rather than for the king and the kingdom. He repeopled the town with English, but admitted among them several Calaisians, who turned English; among others, Eustache de St. Pierre, the foremost of those who had brought him the keys.†

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* This is perhaps the reason why contemporary historians do not name Eustace de St. Pierre and his companions when they mention this circumstance: Burgenses procedebant cum simili forma, habentes funes singuli in manibus suis, in signum quod rex eos laqueo suspenderet vel salvaret ad voluntatem suam. Knyghton. The narrative of Thomas de la Moor agrees with this historian. Villani says they left the town stripped to their shirts, and Robert of Avesbury says that Edward contented himself with retaining the most considerable of them as prisoners. All these data put together make up the elements of Froissart's dramatic narrative.

† Froissart says: "And then the English made all manner of persons, great and small, quit Calais." All Frenchmen were not expelled, says M. de Bréquigny (Mem. de l'Acad., t. 37); on the contrary, I have seen many French names among those of the persons to whom Edward granted houses in his new conquest. Eustache de St. Pierre was of this number. By letters bearing date October 8, 1347, two months after the surrender of Calais, Edward grants Eustache a considerable pension, purposing to provide still more amply for his fortune. The reasons for this favour were the services he was to render, whether in maintaining order in Calais or in watching over the safety of the place. Other letters of the same date grant him the greater part of the houses and sites he had possessed in the town, with some additional ones. See Frois., ii. 473. Philip did what he could to recompense the inhabitants of Calais. He bestowed all the vacant offices (September 8, a month after the surrender) on such of them as would accept them. In this ordonnance mention is made of another, whereby he had granted the expelled Calaisians all the property and inheritances that should fall in to him in any manner whatever. On the 10th of September he conceded to them anew a great number of privileges, franchises, &c., confirmed under the following reigns. Note de M. Buchon, ibid., 475.

These keys were those of France. Calais, become English, was for two centuries a gate opened to the foreigner. England was in a manner joined on to the continent. The Straits had ceased to be.

Let us reconsider these sad events, and search out their real meaning. We shall find in it some comfort.

The battle of Crécy was not merely a battle; the taking of Calais was not a mere capture of a town: these two events involve a great social revolution. The whole chivalry of the most chivalrous nation was exterminated by a small band of foot soldiers. The victories of the Swiss over the Austrian chivalry at Morgarten and Laupen were analogous facts; but they were not of the same importance, nor did they produce so startling an effect throughout Christendom. A new system of tactics came forth from a new state of society; it was not a work of genius or reflection. Edward III. was neither a Gustavus Adolphus nor a Frederick. He employed foot soldiers for want of horse. In his first expeditions his armies consisted of men-at-arms, nobles, and servants of nobles. But the nobles had grown tired of these long campaigns. There was no keeping men long together under the banner of a feudal army. The English, with all their propensity to emigrate, nevertheless love home. After a few months' campaigning the baron longed to see his baronial hall again, his woods, and his hounds, and to follow the fox.* The mercenary soldier, so long as he was not rich, so long as he had neither shoes nor stockings, like those Irish and Welsh whom Edward had in pay, thought less of returning. His home was the enemy's country; and he persisted with all his heart in a good war, that fed and clothed him, not to reckon the profits he picked up. This accounts for the fact, that the English army came gradually to consist almost entirely of mercenaries serving on foot.

The battle of Crécy revealed a fact of which no one dreamed till then; namely, the military inefficiency of that feudal world, which had thought itself the only military world. The private wars of the barons, and of canton against canton, in the primitive isolation of the middle ages, had not disclosed this truth; for then gentlemen were defeated only by gentlemen. Two centuries of defeats, during the crusades, had not damaged their reputation. All Christendom was interested in disguising the successes of the misbelievers. Besides, these wars were waged so far away, that there was always some means of excusing every disaster: the heroism of a Godefroy and a Richard redeemed all the rest. In the thirteenth century, when the feudal banners were habituated to follow the king's, when out of so many seignorial courts was formed a single one, brilliant beyond all the fictions of the romances, the nobles, diminished in power, increased in pride; humbled in their own person, they felt themselves exalted in their king. They valued themselves more or less in pro-

* The English fox hunter is not a character of modern growth. See in Book x, ch. 2, the entry of Henry V. into Paris.

portion as they shared in the galas of royalty. The most applauded in the tourneys was thought by himself and by others the most valiant in battle. The trumpet's stirring sound, the king's approving looks, the glances of fair dames, all this intoxicated more than a real victory. And such was that intoxication, that they abandoned their brethren the templars to Philip the Fair, without a word: those knights were generally the younger scions of the noblesse. They made small account of the knightly monks, just as they did of other monks and priests. They always aided the kings against the popes. The nobles had a good share in the tithes extorted from the clergy under semblance of the crusade, or other pretext.* The time was coming, nevertheless, when the noble, after having aided the king to devour the priest's substance, might find it was his own turn to be the victim.

In excuse for the disaster of Courtrai, the nobles pleaded their own harebrained heroism, and the Flemish ditch. Two easy massacres at Mons en Puelle and Cassel retrieved their reputation. For several years they railed at the king, who forbade them to vanquish. An opportunity was afforded them at Créey; the whole chivalry of the kingdom was there assembled; every banner flaunted in the wind, with all those haughty blazons, lions, eagles, castles, besants of the crusades, and all the arrogant symbolism of heraldry. Opposed to this gallant array, excepting 3000 men-at-arms, all the rest were the barefooted English commons, the rude mountaineers of Wales, and the swineherds of Ireland,† blind and savage races, that knew neither French, nor English, nor chivalry. They aimed none the worse for this at noble banners; they killed but so much the more: there was no common tongue in which to parley. The Welshman or Irishman did not understand the noble baron prostrate beneath him, who offered to make him rich, and he made answer only with the knife.

In spite of the romantic bravery of John of Bohemia and many others, the brilliant banners were sullied that day. To have been dragged through the dust, not by the noble gauntlet of the lord, but by the horny hands of clowns, this was a disgrace to them not easily to be washed out. From that day forth there was many an unbeliever in the religion of nobility. Armorial symbolism lost all its effect. Men began to doubt that those lions could bite, or those silken dragons vomit forth fire and flames. The cow of Switzerland and of Wales seemed good armorial bearings too.

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* Illis autem diebus (1346) levabat dominus rex decimas ecclesiarum de voluntate domini papæ.....et sic infinitæ pecuniæ per diversas cautelas levabantur, sed revera quanto plures nummi in Francia per tales extorquebantur, tanto magis dominus Rex depauperabatur; pecuniæ militibus multis et nobilibus, ut patriam et regnum juvarent et defensarent, contribuebantur, sed omnia ad usus inutiles ludorum, ad taxillos et indecentes jocos contumaciter exponebantur. Cont. G. de Nangis, 108.

† Of the 32,000 men comprising Edward's army, Froissart says expressly, that but 14,000 were English (4000 men-at-arms, 10,000 archers). The other 18,000 were Welsh and Irish (12,000 Welsh, 6000 Irish).

To make the people aware of all this, there needed much time and many a defeat. Crécy was not enough, nor even Poitiers. That outcry against the nobles, which was raised so boldly after Agincourt, was mute as yet under Philip of Valois. There was neither complaint nor revolt; but sufferance, languor and torpor under affliction; little hope on earth, scarcely any elsewhere. Faith was shaken, and feudalism, that other faith, still more so. The middle ages had their life in two ideas—the emperor and the pope. Now was the Empire fallen into the hands of a servant to the King of France, and the pope, degraded from Rome to Avignon, was become the king's lacquey; that king was beaten, and the noblesse humiliated.

No one said these things, nor even had any clear consciousness of them. The human mind was not so much incensed and roused, as depressed, prostrated, and stifled. Men looked for the end of the world;. some anticipated it for the year 1365. What remained, indeed, but to die?

Periods of great moral depression are those also of great mortality. This is natural, and it is to the honour of man that it is so. He suffers his life to depart from him, so soon as it has ceased to appear to him great and divine. *Vitamque perosi projecere animas.* Depopulation was rapid in the latter years of the reign of Philip of Valois, to an extent which the existing distress and physical suffering were not adequate to explain; these had not reached the height they afterwards attained; yet, to cite but one example, the population of one town, Narbonne, was diminished, in the course of four or five years, by 500 families.*

Upon this too slow depopulation supervened extermination, in the form of the *black death* or *black pestilence*, which all at once filled Christendom with corpses. It began in Provençe on All Saints' day, 1347, lasted there sixteen months, and carried off two-thirds of the inhabitants. The case was the same at Languedoc. Of the twelve consuls of Montpellier ten died. Thirty thousand persons perished in Narbonne. In many places not a tenth of the inhabitants was left.† The heedless Froissart says but a word of this awful calamity, and that only incidentally: "For at this time there ran through the world generally a malady called epidemy, whereof fully a third part of the world died."

The disease began in the north not before 1348, and first in Paris and St. Denis. It raged so frightfully in Paris, that the deaths there were 800 a day; others say 500.‡ "There was a frightful

* Narbonne petitions to be relieved from war contributions: "The inundation of the Aude has done us great mischief, and the number of hearths has been diminished by five hundred, within four or five years; many inhabitants have been reduced to beggary." D. Vaissette, Hist. du Langued., iv. 231.

† Ibid., 267.

‡ Contin. G. de Nangis, 110, and the contemporary translator of the little Chron. of St. Denis, MS. Coaslin, N. 110, Bibl. Reg. Ad sepeliendos mortuos

mortality of men and women," says the Continuator of Nangis, "and of young still more than of old men, so that they could scarcely be buried; they were seldom more than two or three days ill, and died as by sudden death, in full health. The man who was well today, was carried the next day to the grave: a swelling formed suddenly in the groin or in the armpit; this was an infallible prognostic of death..... The disease and death were communicated by imagination and by contagion. Those who visited a sick person rarely escaped death. Accordingly, in many towns, large and small, the priests withdrew, leaving to some more courageous monks the task of ministering to the sick.....The holy sisters of the Hôtel Dieu, casting aside the fear of death and human considerations, in their gentleness and humility, touched and handled the patients. Exterminated many times by death, and their numbers as often renewed, they repose, let us piously believe, in the peace of Christ."*

"As there was then neither famine nor want of victuals, but on the contrary great abundance, it was said that this pestilence was occasioned by an infection of the air and the waters. The Jews were again accused; there was a cruel persecution against them, particularly in Germany. Thousands of Jews were massacred and burned without distinction."†

The pestilence found Germany in one of its darkest fits of mysticism. The majority of that poor people had long been deprived of the sacraments of the Church. Our popes of Avignon, to please the King of France, had in cold blood plunged Germany into despair. All the countries that acknowledged Louis of Bavaria were laid under interdict. Many towns, Strasburg in particular, remained faithful to their emperor even after his death, and endured the continued effects of the papal sentence; they had neither mass nor extreme unction. The pestilence carried off 16,000 men in Strasburg who believed themselves damned.‡ The Dominicans, who had persisted for some time in performing divine service, departed like the others. Three men only, three mystics, paid no heed to the interdict, and persisted in ministering to the dying: these were the Dominican Tauler, the Augustine Thomas of Strasburg, and the Carthusian Ludolph. It was then the grand epoch of the mystics. Ludolph wrote his "Life of Christ," Tauler his "Imitation of the Poor Life of Jesus," and Suso his book on "The Nine Rocks." The great Tauler himself went to the forest of Soigne, near Louvain, to consult old Ruysbroek the *ecstatic doctor*.

But ecstasy in the people became fury. Forsaken by the Church and contemning the priests,§ they dispensed with the sacraments,

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vix sufficere poterant. Patrem filius, et filius patrem in grabato relinquebat. Contin. Can. de St. Victore., Bibl. Reg., N., 818, small 4to.

* Contin. G. de Nangis, 110.

† See among other works, the remarkable thesis of M. Schmidt of Strasburg, on the mystics of the fourteenth century. ‡ Ibid.

§ Johannes Vitoduranus, 49, ap. Gieseler, ii. 2, p. 65.

substituting for them bloody mortifications and frantic processions. Whole populations set out and wandered they knew not whither, as if driven by the tempest of God's wrath. They carried red crosses, and flogged their half naked bodies in the open thoroughfares with whips pointed with steel, singing hymns never heard before.* They remained in each town only a day and a night, and flagellated themselves twice a day; this being done for thirty-three days and a half, they thought themselves pure as the day they were baptised.†

The flagellants first proceeded from Germany to the Low Countries; then the frenzy reached France through Flanders and Picardy. It did not extend beyond Reims. The pope condemned it, and gave orders that the flagellants should be hunted down. Notwithstanding this, they numbered nearly 800,000 at Christmas, 1349;‡ and these were now not all of the popular class, but partly gentlemen and lords. Some noble ladies were beginning to adopt the same practices.§

There were no flagellants in Italy. This sombre enthusiasm of Germany and of northern France, this war declared against the flesh, contrasts strongly with the picture Boccaccio has left us of the manners and habits of Italy at the same period.

The prologue to the Decameron is the chief historical evidence we have respecting the great plague of 1348. Boccaccio asserts that in Florence alone there were 100,000 deaths. The contagion was frightfully rapid. "I saw with my own eyes," he says, "two pigs in the street, rooting with their snouts in the rags of a dead man; a short hour afterwards they turned round and round, and fell; they were dead themselves. . . . It was not friends who carried the corpse on their shoulders to the church named by the dying man; but poor and vile companions carried it in haste to the nearest church. . . . Many died in the street, others alone in their houses; but you could *smell* the houses of the dead. . . . Often the husband and the wife, the father and the son, were laid on the same bier. . . . Great trenches were dug in which the dead were piled up by hundreds, like goods in a vessel's hold. Every one carried strong-smelling herbs in his hand. The air was one stench of the dead or the sick, or of ill-savoured drugs. . . . O what fine houses remained empty! what fortunes without heirs! what fair dames and comely youths dined in the morning with their friends, and at nightfall went to sup with their forefathers!" ‖

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* Noviter adinventas. Cont. G. de Nangis, iii.—M. Mazure, librarian of Poitiers, has published a very remarkable hymn, which the brethren of the Cross were accustomed to sing in their ceremonies:

"Or avant, entre nous tous frères
Battons nos charognes bien fort
En remembrant la grant misère
De Dieu et sa piteuse mort;
Qui fut pris en la gent amère
Et vendus et traïs à tort
Et battu sa char vierge et dère:
Au nom de ce battons plus fort," &c.

† MS. des Chroniques de St. Denis, cited by M. Mazure in his dissertation.

‡ Ibid.

§ Contin. G. de Nangis, ii. 111.

‖ Che poi la sera vegnente appresso nel altro mondo cenarono colli loro passati. Decam., gior. prim.

There is something in Boccaccio's narrative more appalling than death, that is the icy selfishness confessed in it. "Many persons," he says, "shut themselves up, and lived with extreme temperance on the most exquisite viands and the best wines, without wishing to hear any thing of the sick, amusing themselves with music or other things, but always without luxurious excess. Others, on the contrary, averred that the best preservative of health was to drink, to go about singing, and to make light of every thing. They practised what they preached, going about day and night from house to house, and this they could do with the more ease since every one, hopeless of life, took no more heed of what he possessed than of himself; the houses were become common to all. The authority of human and divine laws had melted away for want of any one to enforce them. . . Many with cruel, *and perhaps more prudent** forethought, said there was no remedy but in flight, and, caring only for themselves, forsook their town, their houses, and their kindred, and went away into the country, as if the wrath of God could not outstrip them. . . . The country people, expecting death, and indifferent to the future, taxed their ingenuity to consume all they possessed. Oxen, asses, goats, and even dogs, left to themselves, went about the fields where the fruits of the earth remained ungathered, and like reasonable creatures when they had had their fill returned in the evening without a herd to the house.† In the town, relations no longer visited each other. Terror had seized such hold on men's hearts that the sister abandoned the brother, the wife her husband, and, what is almost incredible, fathers and mothers, refused to attend the sick bed of their children. The countless sick had no other resource than the pity of their friends (and very few there were of such friends) or the avarice of servants; and these latter were rude and ignorant persons, unused to such offices, and hardly good for any thing but to see when the patient was dead. From this universal dereliction resulted a thing unheard of before; namely, that a sick woman, however beautiful and noble she was, did not shrink from being attended by a man, and even by a young man, and letting him see, if the circumstances required it, all she would have shown to a woman; this, perhaps, was an occasion of impaired honour in those that recovered."‡

For sly simplicity, as well as for indifference, Boccaccio is own brother to Froissart. But here the story-teller is more instructive than the historian. The "Decameron" in its very form, in the transition from the tragic to the comic, but too faithfully represents the selfish indulgences that follow great calamities.§ The prologue introduces

* Matteo Villani censures those that withdrew. Ap. Muratori, xiv. 14.

† La notte alle lor case senza alcuno corregimento di pastore, si tornavono satolli. Boccaccio, ibid.

‡ Bocc., ib. Fu forse de minore onestà. . . . cagione.

§ Thucydides has pointed out the same effect in his description of the plague of Athens. He indicates also a remarkable progress of scepticism when

us through the dismal vestibule of the plague of Florence to the fair gardens of Pampinea, and to the life of laughter, *far niente*, and deliberate forgetfulness led by the tale-tellers by the side of their beautiful mistresses, under the wholesome observance of a sober and discreet regimen. Machiavelli is less guarded in his book on the plague of 1527. Nowhere does the author of the "Prince" appear to me more coldly cruel. He describes love passages in a mourning church. The paramours meet again with surprise like poor ghosts from the other world, congratulate each other on being alive, and take their pleasure together. Death serves them as bawd.

According to the Continuator of Nangis: "Those that survived, men and women, married in multitudes. The women conceived beyond measure. There was not one barren. Nothing was to be seen this way or that but pregnant women. They produced some two, some three at a birth."*

A savage rejoicing in life, an orgy of heirs, followed the pestilence,† just as happens after every great and desolating calamity; such, for instance, as the plague of Marseilles and the revolutionary Reign of Terror. The king, now a widower, was about to marry his son to his cousin Blanche, but when he saw the girl he thought her too handsome for his son, and kept her for himself.‡ His own age was fifty-eight, hers eighteen. The son married a woman aged twenty-four, the heiress of Bourgogne and Auvergne, who bestowed on him, with the guardianship of her infant son, the administration of the two Bourgognes. The kingdom was suffering, but it was gaining in extent and fulness. The king had just bought Montpellier and Dauphiné.§ His grandson married the daughter of the Duke of Bourbon, and the Count of Flanders married the Duke of Brabant's daughter. Nothing was heard of but weddings and festivities.

These festivities derived a whimsical flauntiness from the new fashions that had been for some years introduced into France and England. The courtiers, probably in order to distinguish themselves more from the *chevaliers ès lois*, the knights of the long robe, had adopted close-fitting garments, often of two different colours down either side of the body. Their hair gathered into a tail, their tufted beards, and their monstrous peaked shoes turning up in a curve from the toe, gave them a whimsical appearance in which there was something of the devil or the scorpion. The women loaded their heads with enormous mitres, with ribands floating from them

he speaks of the false interpretation given to the words of the oracle (λιμὸς hunger for λοιμὸς pestilence).

* Sed quod supra modum admirationem facit est quod dicti pueri nati post tempus illud mortalitatis supradictæ, et deinceps dum ad ætatem dentium devenerunt, non nisi viginti dentes vel viginti duos in ore communiter habuerunt, cum ante dicta tempora homines de communi cursu triginta duos dentes et supra simul in mandibulis habuissent. Contin. G. de Nangis, 110.

† Matteo Villani, ap. Muratori, xiv. 15. ‡ Ibid., 35.

§ Hist. du Languedoc, xxx. 39. Hist. du Dauphiné, Preuves, c. 136, p. 346.

like the streamers from a mast head. They scorned to ride palfreys; nothing would suit them but fiery destriers; and they wore two daggers in their girdles.*

The Church preached in vain against these proud and impudent fashions. The rigid chronicler speaks of them in severe terms: "They had taken to wearing their beards long and their gowns short, so short as to show their buttocks. This caused no small derision among the people; they became, as the event often proved, so much the better fitted to run from the enemy."†

These changes foretokened others. The world was about to see a change of actors as well as dresses. These follies in the midst of afflictions, these hasty marriages following close upon the heels of a pestilence, were also to have their dead. Old Philip of Valois soon left his young queen a widow, and bequeathed the crown to his son (1350).

CHAPTER II.

John—The Battle of Poitiers: 1350—1356.

THE plague of 1348 carried off, among other celebrated personages, the historian, John Villani, and the beautiful Laure de Sades, who, living or dead, was the theme of Petrarch's strains.

Laure, or Laura, daughter of Messire Audibert, syndic of the borough of Noves, near Avignon, had married Hugues de Sade, of an old municipal family of that town, and lived honourably at Avignon with her husband, by whom she had twelve children. This pure and faithful union, this beautiful image of domestic happiness, in the midst of a town so ill-famed for its morals, was, doubtless, what touched the heart of Petrarca. It was on Good Friday, the 6th of April, 1327, that Laura appeared for the first time to the young Florentine exile, in a church, accompanied, it is probable, by her husband and her children. Thenceforth that young wife's noble image was never removed from his mind.

Let not the little we say of a Frenchwoman, who inspired the greatest poet of the age with so enduring a passion, be objected to as a digression. The history of manners and morals is, above all things, the history of woman. We have spoken of Heloïse and Beatrice. Laura is not, like Heloïse, the woman who loves and yields; nor is she Dante's Beatrice, in whom the ideal predominates, and who comes at last to be confounded with eternal beauty. She does not die young; she undergoes not the glorifying transfiguration of death. She accomplishes her whole destiny on

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* Chaucer, 198. Gaguin, ap. Spond., 488. Lingard, ann. 1340.

† Ad fugiendum coram inimicis magis apti. Contin. G. de Nangis, 105.

earth as wife, and mother, and grows old, always adored.* A passion so faithful and disinterested, in that epoch of gross sensuality, well deserved to remain among the most touching memories of the fourteenth century. It delights us to see, in those times of death, a living soul, a true and pure love, that sufficed for an inspiration of thirty years. We grow young again, in contemplating this beautiful and immortal youth of soul.

He saw her, for the last time, in September, 1347. It was in the midst of a female circle. She was serious and pensive, without pearls or garlands. The dread of the contagion was already universal. The poet, deeply affected, withdrew, to avoid shedding tears. . . . . The news of her death reached him in Verona, and there he wrote the pathetic note which is still to be seen in his Virgil. He remarks in it, that she died the same month, day, and hour he had seen her in, thirty years before, for the first time.†

The poet had seen all his hopes, all the dreams of his life, perish in the space of a few years.‡ In his youth, he had hoped that

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* Non tam corpus amasse quam animam.....Quo illa magis in ætate progressa est....eo firmior in opinione permansi; et si enim visibiliter in vere flos tractu temporis languesceret, animi decus augebatur.....De Cont. Mundi, 356, ed. Basileæ, 1581. It seems he afterwards recognised the vanity of his passion: Quoties tu ipse.....in hac civitate (quæ malorum tuorum omnium non dicam causa, sed officina est), postquam tibi convaluisse videbaris... ..per vicos notos incedens ac sola locorum facie admonitus veterum vanitatum, ad nullius occursum stupuisti, suspirasti, substitisti, denique vix lacrymas tenuisti, et mox semisaucius fugiens dixisti tecum: Agnosco in his locis adhuc latere nescio quas antiqui hostis insidias; reliquiæ mortis hic habitant. Ibid. See also among other works relating to Petrarca, the Mémoires of the Abbé de Sades, the recent work entitled Viaggj di Petrarcha, the excellent article in the Biogr. Universelle, by M. Foisset, &c.

† "Laura, illustrious by her own virtues and long celebrated by my verses, appeared for the first time to my eyes, in the prime of my adolescence, in the year 1327, on the 6th of April, at the first hour of the day (six in the morning), in the church of St. Claire d'Avignon; and in the same town, in the same month of April, on the same sixth of the month, in the year 1348, this light was taken from the world when I was in Verona, alas! ignorant of my sad lot. The unhappy news was conveyed to me in a letter from my friend Louis, which reached me in Parma, the same year the 19th of May, in the morning. That body so chaste and beautiful was deposited in the church of the Minor Friars, on the evening of the day she died. Her soul, I doubt not, is returned to heaven whence it came. In order to preserve the painful memory of this loss, I feel a certain pleasure mingled with bitterness in writing this; and I write it preferably in this book, which is often under my eyes, in order that there may no longer be any thing which may please me in this life, and that my strongest tie being broken, I may be warned by the frequent sight of these words, and by the just appreciation of a fugitive life, that it is time to quit Babylon; which, with the help of divine grace, will become easy to me through manly and courageous contemplation of the superfluous cares, vain hopes, and unexpected events that have agitated me during the time I have spent on earth." See Biogr. Univ., xxxi. 437.

‡ "What shall we do now, my brother? We have tried every thing and nowhere is there rest. When will it come? Where is it to be found? Time is slipping through our fingers as it were, our old hopes lie buried in the grave of our friends. The year 1348 has made us lonely and impoverished, not as to those riches which the seas of India or Carpathia can renew... There is but one

Christendom would be self-reconciled, and would find internal peace in a grand war against the infidels; and he wrote the fine canzone: "*O aspettata in ciel beata e bella.*" But who was the pope that preached the crusade? John XXII., the son of a shoemaker, of Cahors, an *avocat* before he was pope, himself a *Cahorsin*, and an usurer, who heaped up millions, and burned those who talked of pure love and poverty.

Italy, on which Petrarch next placed his hopes, no less disappointed them. The sovereigns flattered him, and called themselves his friends, but no one hearkened to his advice. What friends, for the credulous poet, were the ferocious and crafty Visconti of Milan! Naples seems to have been better. The learned King Robert wished to crown Petrarch with his own hand, in the Capitol; but when he repaired to Naples, Robert was no more; Queen Jane had succeeded him.* The poet had no sooner arrived, than he beheld with horror the combats of the gladiators renewed in that court by sanguinary nobles.† He foresaw the catastrophe of Jane's young husband, who was strangled some time afterwards by his wife's lovers; and he wrote from Naples: "*Heu fuge crudeles terras, fuge littus avarum!*

Meanwhile, the restoration of Roman liberty by the tribune Rienzi was talked of. Petrarch made no doubt of the speedy reunion of Italy, and of the world, under *the good state.* He sang beforehand the virtues of the liberator, and the glory of the new Rome. At the same time, Rienzi was threatening the Colonna, Petrarch's friends, with death. The poet for a long while refused to believe it, and wrote the tribune a pathetic and anxious letter, in which he entreated him to refute these mischievous rumours.‡

The fall of the tribune destroying his hopes that Italy might raise herself up again, he transferred his facile enthusiasm to the Emperor Charles IV., who was then entering Italy. Petrarch met him, and

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consolation, we shall follow those who are gone before us.....Despair renders me calmer. What can he fear who has so often wrestled against death?

Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.

Thou shalt see me from this day act and speak with more soul; and if any worthy subject offers itself to my pen, my pen shall be more vigorous." Petrar., Epist. Fam. Præf., 570.

* Ita me Reginæ junioris noviqne regis adolescentia, ita me Reginæ alterius ætas et propositum; ita me tandem territant aulicorum ingenia; equos duos multorum custodiæ luporum creditos video, regnum que sine rege. Ibid., 369. Neapolim veni, reginas adii et reginarum consilio interfui. Proh pudor! quale monstrum. Auferat ab italico cælo Deus genus hoc pestis. Ibid., 640.

† Nocturnum iter hic non secus ac inter densissimas silvas, anceps ac periculis plenum, obsidentibus vias nobilibus adolescentulis armatis.....Quid miri est.....cum luce media, inspectantibus regibus ac populo, infamis ille gladiatorius ludus in urbe itala celebretur, plusquam barbarica feritate. Ibid., 645.

‡ Cave, obsecro, speciosissimæ famæ tuæ frontem, propriis manibus deformare. Nulli fas hominum est nisi tibi uni rerum tuarum fundamenta convellere, tu potes evertere qui fundasti.....Mundus ergo te videbit de bonorum duce satellitem reproborum.....Examina tecum nec te fallas, qui sis, qui fueris, unde, quo veneris.....quam personam indueris, quod nomen assumpseris, quam spem tui feceris, quid professus fueris, videbis te non dominum respublicæ sed ministrum. Ibid., 677.

presenting him with the gold medals of Trajan and Augustus, bade him bear in mind those great emperors. This new Trajan, or Augustus, had crossed the Alps with 200 or 300 cavaliers, and was on his way to sell the rights of the Empire in Italy, before sacrificing them in Italy by his Golden Bull. The pacific and economical emperor, with his ill-mounted cavalcade, was compared, by the Italians, to an itinerant merchant going to a fair.*

The unhappy Petrarch, so often disappointed,† took refuge more and more in remote antiquity. Old as he now was, he set about learning the language of Homer, and spelling through the Iliad. How great were his transports the first time he touched that precious manuscript, which he could not read!‡

Thus he wandered about in his old days, having, like Dante, survived all he loved. He was not Dante, but rather his shade, paler and gentler, still led by Virgil, and making an Elysium for himself out of ancient poetry. Towards the close of his life, anxious about the precious manuscripts he carried with him in all his wanderings, he bequeathed them to the republic of Venice, and deposited his Homer and his Virgil in the library of St. Mark, behind the famous horses of Corinth, where they were found 300 years afterwards, half obliterated with dust. Venice, that inviolable asylum in the midst of the sea, was then the only safe place to which the pious hand of the dying poet could commit the wandering gods of antiquity.

As for himself, when this duty was fulfilled, he went for a while to warm his age in the sunshine of Arqua; and there he died in his library with his head on a book.§

Those vain regrets, that obstinate fidelity to the past, which during the poet's whole life drove him in pursuit of shadows, and made him place a credulous hope in the tribune, and in the emperor, was not Petrarch's own error, but that of his whole century. France herself, which seemed to have so rudely broken with the middle ages by the immolation of the templars and of Boniface, returned to them in spite of herself after this effort, with a doting and foolish love. The defeat of the feudal armies, the great lesson of Crécy, which should have taught her that a new world was begun, served but to make her regret chivalry. The English archers taught her nothing. She did not understand the modern genius that mowed her down at Crécy by Edward's artillery.

King John, the son of Philip of Valois, was the king of the high-

* He got some money out of them, and returned faster than he had come. The towns closed their gates, and it was with difficulty he obtained leave to stop one night in Cremona.

† What was most humiliating of all was, that the malicious emperor had given the poetic crown to another than Petrarch.

‡ See Gibbon, xii. 466.

§ Boccaccio had sent him the Decameron some days before. The old man learned by heart The Patient Griselda, that beautiful story, which of itself alone purifies the rest of the book.

born gentlemen. Still more chivalric and more unlucky than his father, he took for his model the blind John of Bohemia, who fought bound at Créey. Not less blind than his model king, John dismounted at the battle of Poitiers, to stand the charge of horsemen. But he had not the good fortune to be killed like John of Bohemia.

To please the nobles, John ordered on his accession that the payment of all debts should be postponed.* He created for them a new order, that of the Star, which secured a retiring pension to its members. It was the "Invalides" of chivalry as it were. A sumptuous house was to have been built for them in the plain of St. Denis; the edifice was begun, but was not completed. The members of the order took a vow not to retreat four *arpents* if they were neither killed nor taken prisoners.† The latter was actually their fate.

This prince, so chivalric, begins brutally by killing, on a suspicion, the constable D'Eu, his father's chief counsellor. He lavishes every thing on Charles of Spain, his favourite, a man of the South, adroit and greedy, for whom he entertained *un amour désordonné*.‡ The favourite becomes constable, and furthermore has a county bestowed on him that belonged to Charles, the young King of Navarre, whom John had already stripped of Champagne.§ Charles being descended from a daughter of Louis Hutin, believed himself, like Edward III., defrauded of the crown of France. He assassinated the favourite, and strove to kill John. The latter imprisoned him, and made him beg pardon on his knees.‖ This disgraced man was to be the fiend of France. He was surnamed *the Bad*. John killed the constable, and d'Harcourt, and others besides; but still withal he was John *the Good*.

The *good* here means the confident, the rash, the prodigal. No prince, indeed, had as yet so nobly squandered the people's money. Like the man in Rabelais, he went on eating his grapes in the sour berry, his corn in the green blade. He made money of every thing, spoiling the present and pledging the future. One would have supposed he foresaw he had not long to remain in France.

His grand resource was debasing the coinage.¶ Philip the Fair, his sons, and Philip of Valois, had largely employed that form of bankruptcy. John eclipsed them all, and indeed surpassed every possible royal or national bankruptcy past or to come. It seems like a dream when we read the abrupt and contradictory ordonnances this prince issued in so few years. It was law run mad. On his

* Ord., ii. 391 (30th March, 1351) and 447 (September).

† Frois., iii. 53—58.

‡ So it was publicly reported, says Villani, iii. 95.

§ Charles had also reason to complain of the insolence of the constable, who had called him *billonneur monnoie* (false coiner).

‖ Froissart, Append., iii. 335, and Secousse, Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, i. 35.

¶ On many of these coins the King of England was represented under the form of a lion or a dragon trampled under foot by the King of France. Leblanc, Traité des Monnaies, 243.

accession the silver mark was worth five livres five sous, and by the end of the year it was worth eleven livres. In February, 1352, it had fallen to four livres five sous; a year afterwards it had risen to twelve livres. In 1354, it was fixed at four livres four sous; it was worth eighteen livres in 1355. It was again reduced to five livres five sous; but the coinage was so depreciated that it rose, in 1359, to *a hundred and two livres.**

These royal acts of bankruptcies were at bottom perpetrated by the nobles against the bourgeois. The lords and noble knights beset the good king, and took from him all he took from others. Queen Blanche obtained for her single self the confiscations of the Lombards, and prosecuted their debtors all over the kingdom on her own account.†

The nobility beginning to live away from their castles, and residing at great cost near the king's person, were every day becoming more greedy. They would not serve gratis any longer, but insisted on being paid for fighting and defending their own estates from the ravages of the English. These proud barons descended with a good grace to the condition of mercenaries,‡ appeared in their places in the great musters and royal reviews, and held out their hands to the paymaster. In the time of Philip of Valois the knight had been content with ten sous a day; in John's reign he demanded twenty, and the banneret had forty. This enormous expense obliged King John to assemble the estates oftener than any of his predecessors. Thus the nobles contributed, indirectly and unknown to themselves, to give a novel importance to the estates, particularly to the *tiers état*, the estate that paid.

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* Leblanc, Traité des Monnaies, 201. John endeavoured at first to keep these shameful falsifications secret: he sent the following orders to the officers of the mint: "On the oath you have sworn to the king keep this thing secret as best you can... neither through you nor any of them let the changers or others know or perceive any thing; for if any thing is known through you, you shall be punished in such a manner as will be an example to all others." (24th March, 1350.) "If any one ask what is the alloy of the white pieces, pretend that it is six deniers." He enjoined them to produce very exact imitations of the old coins: "So that the merchants may not be able to perceive the debasement, on pain of being declared traitors." Philip of Valois had also used these precautions at one time, but at last he had grown bolder, and had proclaimed as a right what he at first concealed as a fraud. John could not be less bold than his father, and he declared it to be his royal right "to make what moneys he pleased for his whole realm, and to give them currency." Ord., iii. 555. And as if it was not the people who suffered by this fraud, he talked of it as a private revenue which he applied to defray the public expenditure, "which we could not well get clear of without the too great burdening of the people of the said realm, were it not for the demaine and revenue of the profit and emolument of the moneys." Pref. Ord., iii.

† The estates of 1355 insisted that these prosecutions should be suspended. Ord., iii. 30.

‡ In 1338, the nobles of Languedoc complained that the pay granted them during the war of Gascogne was not in proportion to what they had received in the other wars that had been made in that country. The war against the English was just about to be resumed; the king satisfied the petitioners. Hist. du Langued., iv. 226.

Already, in 1343, the war had forced Philip of Valois to ask of his estates a duty of four deniers per pound on merchandise, which was to be levied on each sale. This was not merely an impost but an intolerable vexation, a war against trade. The collector, encamped in the market, played the spy on merchants and customers, put his hand into every man's pocket, and demanded (as happened under Charles VI.) his part out of a sou's worth of herbs. This due was identical with the Spanish alcavala, then recently established on account of the Moorish wars, and which was the death of industry in Spain. Philip of Valois promised, by way of compensation, to coin good money *as in the time of St. Louis.**

New wants arose, and with them came new promises. In the crisis of 1346 the king promised the estates of the North, to restrict the right of seizure "to the necessities of his household, and of his dear spouse the queen, and his children." He suppressed some sergeants' places, abolished contradictory jurisdictions, and withdrew the letters of respite by which he allowed the lords to postpone the payment of their debts.† The estates of the South granted a tax of ten sous per hearth, on his promising them to suppress the gabelle and the duty on sales.‡

In 1351, John, applying to his estates for his *droit* of happy accession, listened indulgently to their appeals, however various and contradictory they were. He promised the Picard nobles that he would tolerate private wars,§ and the burghers of Normandy that he would prohibit them.‖ Both granted him six deniers per pound on sales. He insured the manufacturers of Troyes the exclusive right of making narrow cloths or *couvre chefs*,¶ and granted the masters of the trades of Paris a regulation for fixing the wages of workmen, which had risen beyond measure in consequence of depopulation and the plague.** The bourgeois of Paris, assembled personally, and not by deputy, in their assembly of the *parloir aux bourgeois* granted the tax on sales.†† The king summons them to the *parloir;* they will soon repair to it without him.

In 1346, the king promised some reforms; the estates believed him, and voted docilely. All was ended in one day. In 1351, the Picard nobles refused to let their vassals pay, if they were not themselves exempted, and if the vassals of the king and the princes did not pay.

In 1355, when the English were ravaging the South, more money was urgently requisite. The estates of the North, or of the Langue d'oil, convoked on the 30th of November, showed no tractable temper.

* Hist. du Languedoc, xxxi. 1.
† Ord., ii. 239, 241.
‡ Hist. du Lang., xxxi. 17.
§ Ord., ii. 395, 15, and 447—8.
‖ Ibid., 408, 27.
¶ Ibid., 344.
** Ord., ii. 350.
†† Ibid., 422, 432, 434. "Letters whereby the king forbids his servants to carry off the mattrasses and cushions from the houses in Paris, where he shall go to lodge." Another ordonnance, 435—7.

It was necessary to promise them the abolition of that direct robbery called *the right of seizure*, and of the indirect one which was practised through the coinage.* The king declared that the new impost should extend to all persons, and that it should be paid by himself, the queen, and the princes.

These fair words did not reassure the estates. They put no trust in the royal word, or in the royal tax-gatherers. They required that the money should be received by themselves, through collectors chosen by them; that accounts should be laid before them, and that they should meet again on the 1st of March, and again, after the lapse of a year, on St. Andrew's day.†

To vote and receive taxes is to reign. No one in those days was aware of the full import of this bold demand of the estates, probably not even Marcel, the famous provost of the merchants, whom we see at the head of the deputies of the towns.‡

The assembly purchased this royalty by the enormous concession of 6,000,000 of livres parisis for the pay of 30,000 men-at-arms. This money was to be raised by two imposts, on salt and on sales; bad imposts, no doubt, and bearing heavily on the poor; but what other could be devised in so pressing an emergency, when the whole South was at the enemy's mercy?

Normandy, Artois, and Picardy, sent no deputies to these estates. The Normans were encouraged by the King of Navarre, the Count d'Harcourt, and others, who declared that the gabelle should not be levied on their lands: "That there should not be found a man so bold on the part of the King of France, who should enforce it, nor sergeant who should levy a fine, but should pay for it with his body."§

The estates gave way. They suppressed the two imposts, and substituted for them a tax on income: five per cent. on the poorest classes, four per cent. on middling fortunes, and two per cent. on the rich. The more one had the less he paid.

The king, bitterly offended by the resistance of the King of Navarre and his friends, said, "that he should never have perfect joy so long as they were alive." He set out from Orleans with some cavaliers, rode for thirty hours, and surprised them in the castle of Rouen, where they were at table, having been invited by the dauphin. He had D'Harcourt and three others beheaded; the King of Navarre was thrown into prison, and threatened with death. A rumour was set afloat, that they had urged the dauphin to escape to the emperor, and make war on the king, his father.‖

The resistance to the taxes voted by the estates delivered the kingdom into the hands of the English. The Prince of Wales roamed about at his ease through our southern provinces. A small army,

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* Ord., iii. 26—29. † Ibid., 22, sqq. Froiss., iii. 340.

‡ The good towns protested by the mouth of Estienne Marcel, then provost of the merchants of Paris, that they were all ready to live and die with the king. Froiss., iii. 450. § Froiss., iii. 125.

‖ Frois., iii. addit p. 131 and c. 341, p. 45. Secousse, Preuves, ii. 47.

consisting this time, to a considerable extent, of men-at-arms and knights, was sufficient for him. The war was not the less chivalric for all that. They burned and destroyed, like brigands that pass through a country, with no intention of retracing their steps. First, they overran Languedoc, a virgin country that had not yet suffered.* The province was ravaged and ransacked, as Normandy had been in 1346. The invaders carried off 5000 cartloads to Bordeaux;† then, having secured their booty, they methodically resumed their destructive march through Rouergue, Auvergne, and Limousin, entering everywhere without striking a blow, burning and pillaging, loaded like porters, and gorged with the fruits and wines of France. Then they made a descent into Berri, and swept the banks of the Loire. Three knights, however, who had thrown themselves into Romorantin with a few men, sufficed to stop them. They were all amazed at this resistance. The Prince of Wales swore he would storm the place, and lost several days before it.‡

King John, who had begun the campaign by seizing those strongholds of the King of Navarre in Normandy, into which he might have introduced the English, at last advanced with a great army, as numerous as France ever lost. The whole country was covered with his runners; the English could no longer find means of subsistence. Neither of the two hostile forces knew its own position. John thought the English were before him, and was hastening to overtake them, whilst they were really behind him. The Prince of Wales, no better informed, thought the French were in his rear.§ This was the second, and not the last time the English entangled themselves blindly in the enemy's country. A miracle only could have saved them, and John's blundering rashness was no less.

The army of the Prince of Wales, partly English, partly Gascon, numbered 2000 men-at-arms, 4000 archers, and 2000 light troops, *brigands* hired in the South. John was at the head of the great feudal gathering of the ban and *arrière* ban, making fully 50,000 men. There were John's four sons, twenty-six dukes, or counts, and a hundred and forty knights bannerets, with their banners displayed; a magnificent spectacle, but the army was none the better for all that.

Two cardinal legates, one of whom was a Talleyrand, interfered to prevent the effusion of Christian blood.‖ The Prince of Wales offered to give up all he had taken, and to swear he would not serve

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* Froiss., iii. 104.

† Ni les Anglois ne faisoient compte de peines (velvets) fors de vaisselle d'argent ou de bons florins. Id., xix addit. Si fut tellement pararse (burned up) et détruite des Anglois que oncques n'y demeura de ville pour héberger un cheval, ni à peine savoient les héritiers, ni les manants de la ville rassener (point out) ni dire de voir (truly). "Ci sist mon héritage." Ainsi fut elle menée. Frois., iii. 120.

‡ He had to employ against these three knights a whole besieging apparatus, "canons, carreaux, bombardes, et feux grégeois." Frois., c. 346.

§ Frois., c. 358. ‖ Id., c. 357.

for seven years to come against France. John refused the offer, as was natural; it would have been shameful to let those plunderers escape. He insisted that, at least, the Prince of Wales should yield himself prisoner, with 100 knights.

The English had fortified themselves on the Coteau de Maupertuis, a steep hill near Poitiers, planted with vines, and flanked with hedges and thorny thickets. Their archers covered all the summit. There was no need of attacking them. No more was requisite than to keep them there; hunger and thirst would have quelled them in two days. But John thought it more chivalric to subdue his enemy by force of arms.

There was but one narrow path by which access could be obtained to the English position. The King of France sent horsemen forward to the charge. The result was nearly the same as at the battle of Morgarten. The archers shot down clouds of arrows, wounded and scared the horses, and threw them in confusion one on the other.* The English seized this moment to charge down from the hill,† and presently all that great army was in disorder. Three sons of the King of France retired from the field, by their father's command,‡ taking away with them an escort of 800 lances.

Meanwhile, the king stood fast. He had employed horsemen to charge up the hill; and with equal good sense, he ordered those about him to dismount, and fight on foot against the English, who were coming upon them on horseback.§ John's resistance was as injurious to his realm as the flight of his sons. His brethren of the

* "The engagement now began on both sides; and the battalion of the marshals was advancing before those who were intended to break the battalion of the archers, and had entered the lane where the hedges on both sides were lined by the archers, who, as soon as they saw them fairly entered, began shooting with their bows in such an excellent manner, from each side of the hedge, that the horses, smarting under the pain of the wounds made by their bearded arrows, would not advance, but turned about, and by their unruliness threw their masters, who could not manage them, nor could those that had fallen get up again for the confusion. To say the truth, the English archers were of infinite service to their army; for they shot so thickly and so well, the French did not know which way to turn themselves to avoid their arrows." Froissart.

† "Sir John Chandos said to the prince: 'Sir, sir, now push forward, for the day is ours: God will this day put it in your hand. Let us make for our adversary the King of France, for where he is will lie the main stress of the business; I well know that his valour will not let him fly; and he will remain with us if it so please God and St. George; but he must be well fought with; and you have before said, that you would show yourself this day a good knight.' The prince replied: 'John, get forward; you shall not see me turn my back this day, but I will always be among the foremost.' He then said to Sir Walter Morland, his banner bearer: 'Banner, advance, in the name of God and St. George!'" Ibid.

‡ Here I follow the Continuator of Nangis in preference to Froissart. See the important letter of the Count of Armagnac, published by M. Lacabane in his excellent article, Charles V. Dict. de la Conversation.

§ Froissart sees only the chivalric side of this matter: "And he made no show of retreating when he said to his men: 'On foot, on foot.' And he made all dismount, and placed himself at their head, on foot, with a battle-axe in his hand, and sent forward his banners in the name of God and St. Denis."

order of the star were, like himself, true to their vow, and did not retreat. "And they fought by troops and by companies, as they chanced to meet and fall in together." But the multitude fled to Poitiers, which closed its gates. "So there was on the road and before the gate, such a horrible spectacle of men slaughtered and trampled down as is wonderful to think of; and the French surrendered the moment they caught sight of an Englishman ever so far off."

Meanwhile, the field was still contested. "King John himself did wonders; he was armed with a battle-axe, with which he fought and defended himself.' By his side was his youngest son, who well deserved the surname of the Bold, who guided his blind valour, crying out to him every moment: 'Look to your right, father! to your left!' But the throng of assailants continually increased, all being eager to make so rich a capture. "The English and Gascons poured in so fast on the king's division, that they broke through the ranks by force; and the French were so intermixed with their enemies, that at times there were five men attacking one gentleman. * * * There was much pressing at this time, through eagerness of taking the king; and those that were nearest to him, and knew him, cried out: 'Surrender yourself, or you are a dead man.' In that part of the field was a young knight from St. Omer, who was engaged by a salary in the service of the King of England; his name was Denys de Morbeyne, who for five years had attached himself to the English, on occasion of his having been banished in his younger days from France, for a murder committed in an affray at St. Omer. It fortunately happened for this knight, that he was at the time near to the King of France, when he was so much pulled about; he, by dint of force—for he was very strong and robust—pushed through the crowd, and said to the king in good French: 'Sir, sir, surrender yourself.' The king, who found himself very disagreeably situated, turning to him, asked: 'To whom shall I surrender myself? to whom? Where is my cousin, the Prince of Wales? If I could see him, I would speak to him.' 'Sir,' replied Sir Denys, 'he is not here; but surrender yourself to me, and I will lead you to him.' 'Who are you?' said the king. 'Sir, I am Denys de Morbeyne, a knight from Artois; but I serve the King of England, because I cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I possessed there." The king then gave him his right hand glove, and said: 'I surrender myself to you.' There was much crowding and pushing about, for every one was eager to cry out: 'I have taken him.' Neither the king nor his youngest son, Philip, was able to get forward, and free themselves from the throng."

The Prince of Wales did honour to the unparalleled good fortune that had placed such a pledge in his hands. He took good care not to treat his captive otherwise than as a king; in his eyes that captive was the true King of France, and not *John of Valois*, as the English had been used to call him. It was of the last im-

portance to the prince that John should be king in reality, so that the kingdom might seem itself taken captive in the person of its sovereign, and should ruin itself to ransom him. He waited on John at table, after the battle; and when he made his entry into London, he set him on a tall white horse (an emblem of suzerainty), whilst he himself followed on a little black hackney.*

The English were not less courteous to the other prisoners. They had twice as many of them as there were men to guard them, and dismissed the greater part of them on parole, pledging them to come at Christmas, and pay the enormous ransoms they set upon them. The prisoners were too good knights to fail. In this war between gentlemen, the worst that could happen to the beaten party was to go and take their part in the festivities of the victors, to hunt and joust in England, and enjoy the insolent courtesy of the English;† a noble war, doubtless, which crushed none but the villein.

Great was the dismay in Paris, when the fugitives from Poitiers, with the dauphin at their head, brought news that there was no longer a king or barons in France, but all were killed or taken. The English, who had withdrawn for a moment to secure the captives, would, doubtless, speedily return. This time it might be expected that they would take, not Calais, but Paris and the realm.

CHAPTER III.

Sequel—States-General—Paris—Jacquerie—Pestilence—1356—1364.

1356.—There was not much to be expected of the dauphin or his brothers. The prince was weakly, pale, and mean in person; his age was but nineteen. He was notorious for nothing, but for having invited the King of Navarre to the fatal dinner at Rouen, and for having given the word *sauve qui peut* at the battle of Poitiers.

But the town had no need of the dauphin. It took measures for its own defence. Etienne Marcel, the provost of the merchants, provided for every thing. First, in order to prevent surprises by night, chains were forged, and stretched across the streets and roads. Then the walls were raised, and parapeted, and furnished with balists and

* "The King of France, as he rode through London, was mounted on a white steed, with very rich furniture, and the Prince of Wales on a little black hackney by his side. He rode through London thus accompanied to the palace of the Savoy, which was part of the inheritance of the Duke of Gloucester." Froissart.

† "Shortly afterwards, the King of France and his household were removed from the palace of the Savoy to Windsor Castle, when he was permitted to hunt and hawk, and take what other diversions he pleased in that neighbourhood, as well as the Lord Philip his son." Ibid.

other machines, and with such cannons as there were. But Paris was no longer contained within the old walls of Philip Augustus; it had spread out beyond them in every direction. Additional walls were raised, which covered the university, and ran on the other side, from the Ave Maria to the Porte St. Denis, and thence to the Louvre. The island itself was fortified; 750 sentry boxes were fixed on the ramparts. All these vast works were completed in three years.*

I cannot make the ensuing revolution intelligible, or the part which Paris played therein, without saying what is Paris.

Paris has a ship for its cognisance; originally, it was itself a ship, an island floating between the Seine and Marne, already united at this point, but not blended together.†

In the south is the town of learning; in the north the town of trade.‡ In the centre is the Cité, with the cathedral, the palace, and the seat of authority. This fair harmony of a city floating between two different towns, which gracefully encompass it, would alone be enough to make Paris unique, and the finest of all towns that ever were. Rome and London can show nothing like this; they lie but on one side of their respective rivers.§ The form of Paris is not only handsome, but truly organic. The primitive individuality is in the Cité, with which have become connected the two universalities of learning and commerce, the whole constituting the true capital of human sociability.

The governing power, the city, was the island. But on either bank an asylum opened to shelter independence. The University and the Temple had each its jurisdiction; the one for the students, the other for the artisans.‖

When Guillaume de Champeaux, beaten by Abailard in the schools of Notre Dame, retired to the abbey of St. Victor, the invincible disputationer pursued him thither, and sat himself down in St. Geneviève.¶ This war, this secession to another Aventine, laid the foundation of the schools of the Mountain. Abailard, whose word was sufficient to create a town in the midst of a wilderness,** was thus one of the founders of our Paris south of the Seine.

Westwards the town could not extend, being stopped by the

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* It was necessary for this purpose to pull down a quantity of large and handsome houses, both within and without the walls. When Charles V. was king he had the ditches enlarged and deepened, and backed by *arrière fossés*, and walls flanked with towers. Félibien, 635.

† At the isle of Louviers the two rivers are often distinguishable by the colour of their waters.

‡ In that direction, in the time of Charles the Bald, we find the fair of Landit, between St. Denis and La Chapelle. Félibien, 97.

§ They have only suburbs on the other side.

‖ Five centuries after the fall of the templars, the Temple bounds, greatly contracted indeed, still protected the small traders against the regulations of the corporations.

¶ Félibien, 144, sqq.

** See above, Book i.

fixed wall of St. Germain des Près. The old abbey, which had seen the town in its infancy, and had helped it to grow, was surrounded and besieged by it, but still resisted. That town, born of the Seine, stretched itself out at least on the other bank, where it set up its markets, its butcheries, and its cemetery of the Innocents. But once bounded on that side between the Louvre* and the Temple, it bellied out, not being able to elongate itself, and took that curve which lies between the Châtelet and the Porte St. Denis.

The ecclesiastical jurisdictions, Notre Dame and St. Germain, found stern adversaries in our kings. It is notorious that Queen Blanche herself forced open the canons' prisons, and took out their debtors.† The first provost royal (1032), one Stephen, also attempted to force open St. Germain; but it was for the purpose of seizing Childebert's rich cross,‡ to meet some emergency on the king's part. These provosts, it would seem, knew no devotion but to the king. Another Stephen (Boileau) obtained the consent of St. Louis to his hanging a robber on Good Friday. Charles V.'s provost was persecuted by the clergy as a friend to the Jews.

The University was often at war with Notre Dame and St. Germain des Prés, and was supported by the king, who likewise decided almost always in favour of the students against the citizens, and even against his own provost. The latter had generally to make the *amende honourable* for having executed justice.§ The king had need of the university; it was very convenient for him to have the support of that powerful body, and he never suspected that it might turn against him. Philip the Fair summoned the masters of the university to the Temple, to hear the accusation against the templars read to them. Philip the Long, in order to corroborate his contested claims to the crown, made them be present at the oath he obliged the nobles to take, and obtained *their approbation*. Here the daughter of the kings seemed to take upon herself to be the judge of kings. Philip of Valois made her the pope's judge. The pope who had so long sustained the university against the bishop of Paris, was threatened with condemnation by that body.‖ By and by we find the arrogance of the university carried to the highest pitch by the effects of the great schism; we shall see it making choice between rival popes, governing Paris, and laying down the law to the king.

The university of itself alone was a people. When the rector at the head of the faculties and *nations* led the university to the fair of Landit, between St. Denis and La Chapelle, when he went with the four parchmenters of the university to judge despotically the parchments of the outskirts, the citizens remarked with pride, that the rector was already at the plain of St. Denis, when the tail of the procession had not yet advanced beyond Les Mathurins St. Jacques.

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* Luparam prope Parisios. Philip Augustus completed the building about the year 1204.

† Félibien, 335. ‡ Ibid., 132. § See *supra* b. v., ch. v.

‖ Rayn., Annal. Eccles., ann. 1331, par. 43.

But northern Paris was still more populous, as we may judge from two grand reviews made in the fourteenth century. The university, consisting of priests, scholars, and strangers, did not figure in them. In the first review (1313), ordered by Philip the Fair in honour of his son-in-law, the King of England, it was estimated that there were 20,000 horse and 30,000 foot.* The English were astounded. In 1383 the Parisians marched out in the direction of Montmartre, and drew up in order of battle to receive Charles VI. on his return from Flanders. There were several corps; one of crossbow-men, one of *paveschiens* (bearing bucklers), and one armed with malls, which alone counted 20,000 men.†

This population was not only very numerous, but highly intelligent, and far superior to the rest of France in those times. Commerce, banking, and the Lombards, must have enriched it with ideas, to say nothing of contact with the great university. The parliament, to which appeals lay from all the tribunals of France, brought a vast number of suitors to Paris. The chamber of accounts, that great tribunal of finance, the *Empire of Galilee* as it was called,‡ could not fail to attract many persons in that fiscal age. The burghers filled the most important posts. Barbet, master of the mint under Philip the Fair, and Poilvilain, King John's treasurer, were burghers of Paris. The king made an ostentatious display of his confidence in the people of the good town. Notwithstanding the revolt on account of the coinage in 1306, he himself summoned them to his royal garden at the time of the templars' affair.§

The natural head of this great people was not the provost royal, a police magistrate, who was almost always unpopular; but the provost of the merchants, the natural president of the syndics of Paris. In the state of abandonment in which the kingdom was left after the battle of Poitiers, Paris assumed the lead, and in Paris the provost of the merchants.

The estates of the north of France, assembled on the 17th of October, a month after the battle, brought together 400 deputies of the good towns, and at their head Etienne Marcel, the provost of the merchants. The lords, most of them being prisoners, scarcely appeared except by proxy. The same was the case with the bishops. The whole influence belonged to the deputies of the towns, and especially to those of Paris. In that memorable result of these estates, the ordinance of 1357, we discern the revolutionary energy, and, at the same time, the administrative genius of the great commune. It is only thus we can account for the precision and the unity of views that characterise this act. France could have done nothing like it without Paris.

The estates, assembled first at the parliament and afterwards in the convent of the Cordeliers, named a committee of fifty persons to take cognizance of the affairs of the kingdom. They desire, "fur-

* Chron. de Saint Victor, p. 460. † Froissart, viii. 377.
‡ In allusion to the Rue de Galilée, near which the court sat.
§ See above.

thermore, to know more fully what was become of the great sum of money which had been levied from the realm in times past, by way of tithes, and maltôtes, and subsidies, and frauds in coinage, and all other extortions, wherewith their men had been ill-used and afflicted, whilst the soldiers had been ill-paid, and the kingdom ill-guarded and defended; but of this no one could give any account."

All that was known was, that there had been monstrous prodigality, malversation, and extortion. The king had given 50,000 crowns to one of his knights, in the very acme of the public distress.† Not one of the royal officers had clean hands. The commissioners made known to the dauphin, that they would call on him, in public sitting, to prosecute his officers, liberate the King of Navarre, and allow thirty-six deputies of the estates, twelve of each order, to aid him in governing the kingdom.‡

The dauphin, who was not king, could hardly thus put the royal authority into the hands of the estates. He adjourned the sitting under pretext of letters he had received from the king and the emperor. Then he requested the deputies to return home, and take the opinion of their constituents, whilst he also would consult his father.§

The estates of the South, assembled at Toulouse, so near the point of danger, were more docile, and voted both money and troops. The provincial estates, those of Auvergne for instance, likewise made grants, but always with a proviso that they should have the administration of what funds they accorded.‖ The dauphin was during this time at Metz, to receive his uncle, the Emperor Charles IV. Poor dauphin, poor emperor! who could neither of them do any thing for the other. The queen mother went off to Dijon, to marry her little Duke of Bourgogne, her son by a former marriage, to little Margaret of Flanders. This expensive journey had the remote advantage of connecting Flanders with France. What became of Paris, thus forsaken, without king, queen, or dauphin? It saw flocking in through all its gates the peasants and their families, with their little baggage; then came in long lugubrious files the monks and nuns of the environs. All these fugitives told horrible tales of what was passing in the country parts. The lords, who had been made prisoners at Poitiers, having been released on parole, were returning to their lands, hurriedly collecting their ransom money, and ruining the peasant. And over and above all came the disbanded soldiers, robbing, ravishing, and slaying. They tortured those who had nothing left, to force them

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* Froissart, iii. 372.

† Sismondi, x. 430.

‡ Secousse, Pref., 50.

§ In thus sending them back to their provinces he reckoned, no doubt, on the infinite dissensions that would naturally arise between interests so various, and on the jealousy of the nobles towards the towns, and of the towns towards Paris, the influence of which had determined the last revolution.

‖ Secousse, Pref., 57.

still to give.* Throughout the whole country one universal terror reigned, like that caused by the *chauffeurs*† of the Revolution.

The estates being again assembled, on the 5th of February, 1357, Marcel and Robert le Coq, Bishop of Laon, presented the list of grievances to them, and obtained an order that each deputy should communicate it to his province. This communication, extremely rapid for those times, and, above all, in such a season of the year, was effected in one month. On the 3rd of March the dauphin received the statement of grievances which was presented to him by Robert le Coq, an ex-avocat of Paris, who had been successively councillor of Philip of Valois and president of the parliament, and who, having become Duke-bishop of Laon, had acquired the independence of the great dignitaries of the Church. Le Coq, at once the king's man and the man of the communes, went from the one party to the other advising both. He was compared to the carpenter's *besaque* (bis-acuta), *which cuts with both ends.*‡ After he had spoken, it was declared by the Sire de Péquigny, on the part of the nobles, by an avocat of Bâville, on that of the communes, and by Marcel, for the burghers of Paris, that they vouched for him in all he had said.

This remonstrance of the estates was both an harangue and a sermon. They began by counselling the dauphin to fear God, to honour Him and His ministers, and to keep His commandments. He was to put away the bad from about him, and to *order nothing through the young, simple, and ignorant.* He could not doubt, they told him, but that the estates expressed the thoughts and feelings of the kingdom, since the deputies were nearly 800 in number, and had consulted their provinces. As for the tale that had been told him, that the deputies designed to have his councillors put to death, this they assured him was a falsehood and a calumny.§

They required that, in the intervals between the meetings of the estates, he should govern with the assistance of thirty-six persons chosen from that body, twelve from each order. Other chosen members were to be sent into the provinces with almost unlimited powers. They could punish without form of trial,‖ borrow and

* Duce Normandiæ, qui regnum jure hæreditario.....defendere et regere tenebatur, nulla remedia apponente, magna pars populi rusticani....ad civitatem Parisiensem....cum uxoribus et liberis.....accurrere.....Nec parcebatur in hoc religiosis quibuscumque. Propter quod monachi et moniales.....sorores de Poissiaco, de Longo campo, etc. Cont. G. de Nan., 116.—Another band robbed all the country between the Seine and the Loire, wherefore no one ventured to go from Paris to Vendome, Orleans, or Montargis; nor did any one venture to dwell there, but all the people of the plain fled to Paris or to Orleans. Froissart, iii. 284—6.

† That is *roasters*, banditti so called from their mode of torturing the victims.

‡ Secousse, i. 111.

§ MS. de la Bibl. Royale, fonds Dupuy, No. 646, and Brienne, No. 276.

‖ Sans figure de jugement. Communion des trois élus des états pour les diocèses de Clermont et de Saint Flour. March 3, 1356 (1357), Ordonn., iv. 181.

constrain, institute, salary, and chastise the royal agents, assemble provincial estates, &c.

The estates granted funds for paying 30,000 men; but they made the dauphin promise that this aid *should not be levied by his men, but by good men, sage, loyal, and solvent, appointed by the three estates.** A new coinage was to be issued, but *in conformity with the instructions and the patterns which are in the hands of the provost of the merchants of Paris.* No change in the coinage was to be made without the consent of the estates.

No truce, no convocation of the *arrière-ban* without their sanction.

Every man in France shall be obliged to arm.

The nobles shall not quit the realm under any pretext. They shall suspend all private wars: "If any one shall do otherwise, let the justiciary of the place, or if need be, *those good folks of the country take such warriors* . . . . . and constrain them without delay, by detention of their bodies and goods, to make peace and cease warring." Here were the nobles put under the inspection and control of the communes.

The right of press ceases. People may resist the purveyors, *and assemble against them by cry or by sound of bell.*†

No more gifts to be granted out of the domain. All gifts are revoked from the time of Philip the Fair downwards. The dauphin promises to put an end to all superfluous and *voluptuous* expenditure about him. He will make all his officers swear that they will ask nothing of him except in presence of the grand council.

Every man shall be content with one office. The number of justiciary functionaries shall be reduced. Provostships and viscountships shall no longer be farmed out. Provosts, &c., shall not be appointed to their own native places.

No more trials by commission. Criminals shall not be at liberty to compound, "but full justice shall be done upon them."

Though Le Coq, one of the chief authors of the ordonnance, was an avocat and a president of the parliament, it treated magistrates severely. They are forbidden by it to trade.‡ All coalitions between

* "Who shall swear on God's holy gospels that they will not give or distribute the said money to our lord the king, or to us, or any other than the gens-d'armes. . . . And if any of our officers should want to take it we desire that the said receivers should have power to resist them, and if they are not strong enough they shall call for the aid of their neighbours of the good towns (Art. 2)." —The aid is granted only for one year. The estates, whether convoked or not, shall assemble on Quasimodo's day. The Duke of Bourgogne, the Count of Flanders, and the other nobles or deputies of towns who have not come to the estates, are required to attend at the feast of Quasimodo, failing which it is intimated that they shall be bound by the acts of those who do attend. (Art. 5) Ordonn., iii. 126, 7.

† Only in the journeys of the king, the queen, and the dauphin, their maîtres d'hotel, shall have power, without the towns, to cause to be taken, by the officers of justice of the place, tables, cushions, straw, and carriages, paying always for the same, and retaining them only for one day. Ibid.

‡ Defense aux conseillers et officiers de faire marchandise. "Les Denrées

their respective jurisdictions, and all encroachments of the one on the other are prohibited. They are upbraided for their sloth, and their salaries are reduced in certain cases. The reforms are just, but the language is rude, and the tone acrimonious and hostile. It is evident that the parliament refused to support the estates and the commune.

The presidents or other members of parliament shall receive but forty sous a day. "Many have been accustomed to receive excessive salaries, and to go about with four or five horses, though, if they went at their own expense, they would be very well satisfied with two or three."

The grand council, the parliament, and the chamber of accounts are accused of negligence. *Decrees which ought to have been given twenty years ago, are still to be given.** The councillors come late, their dinners are long, their doings after dinner *little profitable:* the people of the chamber of accounts "shall swear on God's holy gospels that they will well and loyally deliver honest folk, and in due order, *without making them loiter.*" The grand council, the parliament, and the chamber of accounts are to assemble *at sunrise.*† The members of the grand council who shall not attend *betimes in the morning*, shall lose their day's pay. These members, notwithstanding their high station, are treated, as we see, without ceremony by the burgher legislators.

This grand ordonnance of 1357 which the dauphin was compelled to sign, was far more than a reform. It changed the government at once. It put the administration into the hands of the estates, and substituted a republic for monarchy. It committed the government to the people when as yet there was not a people. To constitute a new government in the midst of such a war was a singularly perilous operation, like that of an army which should reverse its order of battle in presence of the enemy. The odds were that France would perish in this act of shifting the sails.

The ordonnance destroyed abuses: but the royal power subsisted on little else than abuses. To kill them was to kill authority, to dissolve the state and disarm France.

Did France in reality exist as a political person? Could it be supposed to possess a common volition? What may be affirmed with certainty is that authority still appeared to it as wholly identified with royalty. Its wishes did not extend beyond partial re-

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sont aucunes foiz par leurs mauvaistiez grandement enchéries; et qui pis est, pour leur gautesse, il est peu de personnes qui osent mettre aux denrées que eulz on leurs facteurs pour eulz bent avoir ou acheter." (Art. 31) Ordonn., iii. 126, 7. * Art. 31. Ord. iii.

† This is not in the ordonnance but in the remonstrance already cited, wherein it is also said, that "Those who desired to govern being but two or three, business suffered long delays; those who were suitors before the court, knights, esquires, and burghers, were so damaged by these delays that they sold their horses, and went away without reply, ill content," &c. MS. Bibl. Royale, fonds Dupuy, No. 646 et Brienne, No. 276.

forms. The ordonnance approved of by the estates was, in all probability the work of a commune, of a great and intelligent commune, which spoke in the name of the kingdom, but which was destined to be abandoned by the kingdom in act and deed.

The dauphin's noble councillors, in their high-born hatred of the burghers, and their provincial jealousy of Paris, urged their master to resistance. He had signed the ordonnance presented to the estates in March, and on the 6th of April he prohibited the payment of the aid the estates had voted. He revoked this prohibition on the 8th, upon the representations of the provost of the merchants.* Thus the young prince fluctuated between two contrary forces, yielding to the one to-day, to-morrow to the other, and perhaps to both in good faith. There was large excuse for doubt in that obscure crisis. Every one doubted, no one paid. The dauphin remained disarmed, so too did the estates. There was no longer any public executive, neither king, nor dauphin, nor estates.

The realm, powerless, moribund as it were, and losing self-consciousness, lay like a corpse. Gangrene had seized it; worms swarmed in it; I mean the English and Navarrese robbers. All this rottenness isolated the members of the wretched body, and detached them one from the other. The word kingdom was still in men's mouths; but there were no longer estates really general, there was nothing general, there were no communications, no roads by which to arrive and assemble. The roads were cut-throat defiles, the country a battle-field; war was everywhere simultaneously, and there was no distinguishing between friend and foe.

In this dissolution of the kingdom the commune remained alive. But how could it live alone and without the aid of the country lying around it? Paris, not knowing on whom to lay the blame of its distress, accused the estates. The dauphin, grown bolder, declared his determination to govern, and to dispense thenceforth with a tutor. The commissioners of the estates separated; but he was only the more embarrassed in consequence. He tried to make a little money by selling places;† but no money came. He quitted Paris; all the country parts were in flame. There was not one small town where he was not liable to be seized and carried off by robbers. He returned to Paris for shelter, and again put himself into the hands of the estates, which he convoked for the 7th of November.‡

On the night of the 8th, the Sire de Pecquigny, a Picard and friend of Marcel, carried off Charles the Bad by a *coup de main* from the fortress in which he was immured. Marcel, who saw the dauphin always surrounded by a menacing crowd of nobles, needed a sword against those men of the sword, a prince of the blood to confront with the dauphin. The burghers, even in their boldest efforts for freedom, were fond of following a prince. It seemed fine and

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* Chron. de St. Denis, f. 232, verso, col. 2, and f. 233.

† Ord., iii. 180.

‡ Secousse, Pref. des Ord., iii. 70.

chivalric, too, that when chivalry conducted itself so ill, the burghers should take upon themselves to repair that great injustice, and to right the wrong done by kings. The multitude, always readily susceptible of generous emotions, hailed the prisoner with tears of joy. The return of that wicked but so unfortunate man, seemed to them that of justice herself. Escorted by the communes of Amiens, and received at St. Denis by a multitude of burghers that had gone out to meet him,* he came to Paris, but stopped at first outside the walls at St. Germain des Prés. The next day but one he *preached* to the people of Paris. There was against the walls of the abbey a pulpit or rostrum where the judges sat who presided over the judiciary combats that took place in the Pré aux Clercs, the limit of the two jurisdictions. From that place the King of Navarre spoke. The dauphin, of whom he had asked permission to enter, and who had not dared to refuse him, had come to hear, hoping perhaps that he would say so much the less in consequence. But the harangue was only so much the bolder. He began in Latin and continued in the vulgar tongue,† speaking remarkably well. He was little, say the contemporary historians, lively, and of a subtle wit.

The text of the discourse, taken, according to the usage of the times, from Holy Writ, afforded opportunities for pathetic declamation: *Justus dominus et dilexit justitias; videt æquitatem vultus ejus.* The King of Navarre, addressing the dauphin himself with insidious gentleness, took him to witness of the injuries that had been done him. It was very ill done to suspect him; was he not a Frenchman by father and mother? Was he not nearer to the crown than the King of England, who claimed it? He would live and die defending the realm of France..... The discourse was so long that *they had supped in Paris when it ended.*‡ But though the burgher likes not to have his hours deranged,§ he listened not the less favourably to the harangue. Money was liberally bestowed on the orator.‖

From Paris he went to Rouen, where he set forth his misfortunes with the same ready flow of words.¶ He had the bodies of his friends, who had been put to death at the terrible dinner in Rouen,** taken down from the gibbets, and followed them to the cathedral,

* "And even the Duke of Normandy fêted him greatly; but he was obliged to do so, being urged thereto by the provost of the merchants and his partisans." Frois., iii. 290.

† Frois., iii. 291.—In latino valde pulchro. Contin. G. de Nangis, 116.

‡ Chron. de St. Denis, fol. 238, verso, col. 2.

§ As Cardinal Retz said (*se desheurer*).

‖ Gaudens ad partes Rhotomagenses accessit, donis tamen ei pecuniis multis a civibus Parisiensibus receptis. Contin. G. de Nang., 117.

¶ Miserias suas exposuit.....eleganter. Ibid.

** The body of the Count d'Harcourt had been taken down a long time before. The three other bodies were buried by three lay brothers of the Madelaine of Rouen. Each of those bodies was afterwards put into a coffer, and there was a fourth empty coffer representing the Count d'Harcourt, which was placed in a *char à dames.* Secousse, 165.

while the bells tolled and candles gleamed. It was Innocents' day (28th of December), and he spoke from the text: "Innocent and righteous persons adhered to me, because I was for thee, O Lord!"*

The dauphin also *preached* at Paris.† He harangued in the markets, and Marcel at St. Jacques. But the former had no crowded audience. The people did not like the young prince's mean appearance. Wise and rational as he might be, he was a cold declaimer compared with the King of Navarre.

The infatuation of Paris for that popular prince was extraordinary. What did he require? That the realm should be still further weakened, that to his hands should be committed whole provinces, the most vital of the monarchy, all Champagne and part of Normandy, the English frontier, Limousin, and a multitude of garrison places and fortresses. To have put our best provinces into hands so suspected would have been to lose with one stroke of the pen as much as had been lost by the battle of Poitiers.

The burghers of Paris fancied that if the King of Navarre was satisfied, he would forthwith deliver them from the brigands who were famishing the town, and who called themselves Navarrese. In reality, they belonged neither to the King of Navarre nor to any one else. Even had he wished to call off all these plunderers he could not have done it.

Meanwhile the dauphin was beset by the burghers, the provost, and the university, all urging him to do justice to that poor King of Navarre. A Jacobin, speaking in the name of the university, declared to him that it was settled, that the King of Navarre having once made all his demands, the dauphin should give him back his fortresses; and that as to the rest, the town and the university would consider. A monk of St. Denis followed the Jacobin: "You have not said all, master!" he exclaimed, "say also, that if monseigneur le duc or the King of Navarre does not hold to what has been decided, we will declare against him."‡

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* Campanis pulsatis.....sermone per ipsum regem prius facto, ubi assumpsit thema istud: Innocentes et recti adhæserunt mihi (Ps. xxiv. 21). Secousse, 165.

† He wished, he said, to live and die with them: the fighting men he was collecting were for the defence of the kingdom against the enemies who were ravaging it with impunity, through the fault of those who had seized the government; he would ere then have driven out those enemies if he had had the administration of the finances, but he had not touched a denier of all the money levied by the estates.—Marcel, informed of the effect this speech had produced, assembled the people at St. Jacques de l'Hôpital. The duke attended, but could not obtain a hearing. Consac, a partisan of the provost's, spoke against *the officers;* there were so many bad weeds, he said, that the good herbs could not fructify. The avocat, Jean de Saint Oude, one of the generals of the aids, declared that part of the money had been misemployed, and that many knights whom he named had received, by order of the Duke of Normandy, 40,000 or 50,000 moutons d'or, "As the rolls specified." Secousse, Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, 170.

‡ Chron. de St. Denis, ii. 243.

There was no saying No. The dauphin gave a gracious promise, and then he made the commandants and captains reply, that having received their posts from the king they could not give them up on the order of the dauphin.

The latter, in the midst of a hostile town, had no other means of procuring a little money than by anew tampering with the coinage (January 22, 23; February 7, 1358).* The estates assembled on the 11th of February, made him assume the title of regent of the kingdom,† for the purpose, no doubt, of giving authority to all they should do in his name. Perhaps, too, the commission of thirty-six, chosen under Marcel's influence, but the majority of which were nobles and ecclesiastics, wished to strengthen the dauphin's hands against the burghers of Paris.

A tragic event had exasperated the ill feelings of the latter to the utmost. One Perrin Macé, a changer, having sold two horses to the dauphin, and not having been paid, stopped Jean Baillet, treasurer of finance, in the Rue Neuve Saint Méry. The treasurer refused to pay, no doubt under pretext of the right of press. A dispute arose; Perrin killed Baillet, and took sanctuary in Saint Jacques la Boucherie. The dauphin's people, Robert de Clermont, Marshal of France, Jean de Châlons, and Guillaume Staise, Provost of Paris, went thither, forced the asylum, carried Perrin away to the Châtelet, cut off his hand, and hanged him. The bishop complained loudly of this violation of the ecclesiastical immunities, obtained the body of Perrin, and buried it honourably in St. Méry. Marcel attended at the service, whilst the dauphin followed Baillet's funeral.‡

A collision was imminent. Marcel, to encourage the burghers by letting them see their own numbers, made them wear hoods of blue and red, the colours of the town.§ He wrote to the good towns, praying them to adopt this fashion of hoods; Amiens and Laon complied, but few of the other towns did so.

Meanwhile, the desolation of the country parts was occasioning an influx of a whole people of peasants into Paris. Provisions were becoming scarce and dear. The burghers, who had many little properties in the Isle of France, and derived of them a thousand comforts, eggs, butter, cheese, fowl, &c., no longer received any thing. They thought this very hard.‖ On the 22nd of February,

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* Ord., iii. 193, sqq. † Ibid., 212. ‡ Matt. Villani, viii. 29.

§ Dans la première semaine de janvier ceulx de Paris ordonnèrent que ils auroient tous chapperons my-partis de drap rouge et pers. MS. Outre ces chaperons les partisans du prevôt porterent encore des fermeilles d'argent mi-partiz d'esmail vermeil et asuré, audessous avoit escript *à bonne fin*, en signe d'alience de vivre et morir avec ledit prévôt contre toutes personnes. Lettres d'abolition du 10 Août, 1358. Secousse, Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, 163.

‖ Admirantibus de hoc et dolentibus præposito mercatorum quod per regentem et nobiles qui circa eum erant non remediabatur ipsum plures adierunt exorantes.....Qui optime eis facere promittebat sed.... Quinimo magis gaudere de malis insurgentibus in populis et afflictionibus, et tunc et postea nobiles videbantur. Cont. Nang., 116.

the dauphin issued a fresh ordonnance for another alteration of the coinage.

Next day, the provost of the merchants assembled all the trades in arms at St. Eloi. At nine o'clock this armed multitude recognised in the street one of the dauphin's councillors, Master Regnault Dacy, who was returning from the palace to his own abode near St. Landry. They pursued him; he ran into a pastrycook's, and was there struck dead before he had time to utter one cry. Meanwhile, the provost, at the head of a crowd of red and blue bonnets, entered the dauphin's hotel, went up to his chamber, and told him sharply that he ought to bring the affairs of the kingdom into order; that, inasmuch as that kingdom was eventually to be his, it was his duty to preserve it from the hands that were ruining the whole country. The dauphin, who had by him his ordinary advisers, the marshals of Champagne and Normandy, answered more boldly than was his wont. "I would do this gladly if I had wherewithal; but it is for him who has the droits and profits to have also the keeping of the kingdom."* Some more sharp words passed, and the provost's wrath exploded. "Monseigneur," said he to the dauphin, "be not at all surprised at what you are about to see: thus it must be." Then turning to the red caps, he said, "Do that for which you are come."† That instant they flung themselves on the Marshal of Champagne, and killed him beside the dauphin's bed. The Marshal of Normandy retreated into a closet, but they pursued and killed him also. The dauphin thought his last hour was come; the blood of the victims had spirted upon his gown.‡ All his officers had fled. "Save my life!" he said to Marcel, who bade him fear nothing, and changed caps with him, thus covering him with the colours of the town.§ All that day Marcel boldly wore the dauphin's cap. The people awaited him at the Grève. He harangued them from a window; told them that the men who had been killed were traitors, and asked them to support him. Several cried out that they fully approved of all he had done, and were his for life or death.

Marcel then returned to the palace with an armed multitude whom he left in the court-yard. He found the dauphin in deep dismay and sorrow. "Do not grieve, monseigneur," said the provost; "what has been done has been done to avoid greater peril, *and by the will of the people.*"‖ And he begged him to give it his full approbation.

The dauphin could not but approve; he had no alternative. He had also to show a fair face to the King of Navarre, who returned to Paris four days afterwards. Marcel and Le Coq patched up a

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* Froiss., iii. 288.

† Tunc dirigens verba illis sic capuciatis dixit: Eia breviter facite hoc propter quod huc venistis. Cont. G. de Nan., 117.

‡ Froissart, iii. 288.

§ They gave him one of those caps to wear, and he consented to pardon the death of his three knights. Ibid.

‖ Chron. de St. Denis, 244.

forced reconciliation between them, and made them dine together every day.

The return of the King of Navarre four days after the murder of the dauphin's councillors, but too clearly explained the meaning of that tragedy. He was free to return. Marcel had cleared the place for him by the death of his enemies. He had given him a terrible pledge that bound him to him for ever. It was evident that all was ended between Marcel and the dauphin. The crime had probably been forced on the provost by Charles the Bad, who was no novice in assassination. Marcel having thus given himself away, it was thenceforth for the King of Navarre to see what he would do with him, and whether more was to be got by aiding or by selling him.*

Marcel thought he had won the King of Navarre, and he lost the estates: that is to say, legality, violated by a crime, abandoned him for ever. All the remaining deputies of the noblesse quitted Paris without waiting for the adjournment. Many even of the commissioners of the estates appointed to govern in the interval between the sessions, would not act, and left Marcel, who, no wise cast down, supplied their places with burghers of Paris.† Paris took upon itself to govern France, but France would not have it so.

Picardy, which had taken such active part in delivering the King of Navarre, was the first to refuse sending money to Paris.‡ The estates of Champagne assembled, and Marcel was not strong enough to hinder the dauphin from going to them. From that moment his destruction was certain, soon or late. The royal power needed but one grasp to recover all. The dauphin went to the estates of Champagne, accompanied by Marcel's people, and at first he durst not say any thing against what had happened in Paris. But the nobles of Champagne failed not to speak out. The Count of Braine asked him had the marshals of Champagne and Normandy deserved death? The dauphin replied that they had always served him well and loyally. The same scene was repeated in Compiègne, at the estates of Vermandois.§ The dauphin, fully restored to confidence, took upon him to transfer to Compiègne the estates of the *langue d'oil*, which had been convoked to Paris for the 1st of

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* Quod utinam nunquam ad effectum finaliter devenisset. Et fuit istud prout iste præpositus *cum suis me et multis audientibus* confessus est. Cont. G. de Nang., 116.

† "I must here inform you that the nobles and prelates of the realm and church began to be weary of the government and regulations of the three estates: they, therefore, permitted the provost of the merchants of Paris to summon some of the citizens, because they were going greater lengths than they approved of." 178.

‡ Secousse, Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, i. 140.

§ Ut illos principales occidi faceret, vel si non posset.....expugnaret viriliter civitatem et tam diu dictam urbem Parisiensem.....*per impedimentum suorum victualium* molestaret. Cont. G. de Nan., 117.

May.* The attendance was thin; still it was a representation, such as it was, of the kingdom in opposition to Paris.

The estates bore testimony to the fitness of the reforms enacted by the grand ordonnance, by adopting the greater part of them. The aid they voted was to be received by the deputies of the estates. This affectation of popularity alarmed Marcel, and he induced the university to implore the dauphin's clemency towards the town. But peace was no longer possible. The prince insisted that ten or twelve of the most culpable should be delivered up to him, but at last reduced his demand to five or six, giving an assurance that he would not put them to death.†

Marcel did not trust the promise. He quickly finished the walls of Paris, not sparing even the houses of the monks that interfered with their completion.‡ He seized the castle of the Louvre, and sent into Avignon to hire *brigands*.§

The noblesse and the commune were scanning each others' strength and preparing for conflict, when a third party started up of which no one had thought before. The sufferings of the peasant had exceeded all bounds; all had showered blows on him as on a beast fallen under its burden; the beast sprang up in fury and bit.

As we have already said, in this chivalric war, waged with the arms of courtesy‖ between the nobles of France and England, there was in reality but one enemy, one victim on whom devolved all the ills of war; and that was the peasant. Before the war he had been exhausted to supply the magnificence of the lords, to pay for those fine arms, those enamelled scutcheons, those rich banners, that had let themselves be taken at Crécy and Poitiers. And, after the war, who paid the ransom? It was again the peasant.

The prisoners released on parole returned to their lands to scrape together in haste the monstrous sums they had promised without higgling on the field of battle. The peasant's property took no long time to schedule: meagre cattle, wretched cattle-gear, a plough, cart, and a few odds and ends of old iron. Furniture he had none, nor any reserve, except a little seed sown. This being seized and sold, what remained to which the lord could have recourse? His body; the poor devil's skin. Something, perhaps, might still

* Secousse, Pref. Ord., iii. 79.

† Non intendens eorum mortem. Cont. G. de Nan., 117.

‡ Ibid. In the prosecution of these works the foundations of towers were discovered, which were considered Saracen constructions. According to old Chronicles there had formerly been on that spot a camp called Altum Folium (rue *Haute Feuille*, rue Pierre Sarrasin). Ibid.

§ Jean Donati set out on the 8th of May, 1358, for Avignon, and carried 2000 gold florins (*au mouton*) to Pierre Maloisel on the part of Marcel, who had commissioned him to raise *brigands*, and to purchase arms. Marcel had also in Paris, says Froissart, a great number of Navarrese and English men-at-arms and soldiers, archers, and other companions. Secousse, 223.

‖ "Knights and squires they ransomed courteously for payments in money or horses; or in the case of a poor gentleman, who had not wherewithal to pay, they accepted his service for a quarter of a year, or two or three." Frois., iii. 333.

be got out of him: the fellow belike had some hiding-place where he kept his hoard: so they scorched his feet; neither fire nor iron were spared.

There are now hardly any castles left; the edicts of Richelieu, and the revolutionary demolishers, have done their work too well. Nevertheless, even now, when we take our way under the walls of Taillebourg or Tancarville; when in the heart of the Ardennes in the gorge of Montcornet, we gaze on the oblique window above our heads, that looks squintingly down as we pass, our hearts shrink, and a feeling comes across us of the sufferings of those who, during so many centuries, have pined at the foot of these towers. It is not even necessary for this that we should have read old histories. Our fathers' souls still thrill within us for forgotten woes, as the mutilated man suffers in the hand he has no longer.

Ruined by his lord, still the peasant was not left at rest. It was the atrocious character of the wars of the English, that while they put the kingdom in the bulk to ransom, they pillaged it in detail. Bands, nominally English or Navarrese, were formed all over the kingdom. Griffith, the Welchman, desolated the whole region between the Seine and the Loire; Knolles, the Englishman, did the same by Normandy. The former alone sacked Montarges, Etampes, Arpajon, Montlhery, and more than fifteen towns or large boroughs.* In other parts were the Englishman Audley, and the Germans Albrecht and Frank Hennekin.† One of these leaders, Arnald de Cervole, who was styled archpriest, because, though a layman, he really possessed an archpriestship, left the already plundered provinces, traversed all France as far as Provençe, and sacked Salon and St. Maximin in order to dismay Avignon. The trembling pope invited the brigand, received him as a child of France,‡ made him dine with him, and gave him 40,000 crowns and absolution besides. After leaving Avignon, Cervole nevertheless pillaged the town of Aix, whence he went into Burgundy to pursue the same career.

These leaders of bands were not, as one might suppose, men of no account, low fellows, but nobles, often lords. The King of Navarre's brother robbed like the rest of them. In the safe conducts they sold to the merchants who supplied the towns, they especially excepted things proper to the nobles, such as military trappings, "beaver hats, ostrich plumes, and sword blades."§

The knights of the fourteenth century had a different mission from those of the romances; namely, to crush the weak. The Sire d'Aubrecourt robbed and killed right and left, *to merit well of his dame*, Isabella of Juliers, niece to the Queen of England: "For he was young, and in love sorely." He was bent on becoming, at least, Count of Champagne.‖ The dissolution of the monarchy in-

* Froissart, iii. 381. † Ibid., 380.

‡ Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, called him his gossip (*compère*). Froissart styles him Monseigneur, iv. 495. § Froiss., iii. 396. ‖ Id., iii. 411.

spired these robbers with wild hopes. The grand object of every one of them was to get, by force or fraud, into some ill-guarded castle. The captains of the strongholds thought themselves freed from their oaths. No more king, no more allegiance. They sold and exchanged their posts and garrisons.*

This life of turmoil and adventures was delightful to the nobles, after so many years of obedience to the kings. They were like boys let loose from school, and sparing nothing in their glee. Froissart, their historian, is never weary of relating fine stories of these plunderers, in whose fortunes he takes a lively interest.† It never once occurs to him to question their honour and honesty; scarcely does he hint a doubt of their salvation.‡

Such was the dismay prevailing in Paris, that the citizens offered a candle at Notre Dame, equal in length, it was said, to the circumference of the town.§ They durst not ring the church bells, except at curfew, lest the inhabitants watching on the walls should not hear the approach of the enemy. How intense was the terror in the country parts! The peasants slept no longer. Those of the banks of the Loire passed the night in the islands, or in boats moored in the midst of the river. The inhabitants of Picardy made excavations in the earth, and hid in them. Thirty of these caves were reckoned in the last century along the Somme, from Peronne to the mouth.‖ Standing in them, one might have some conception of the horror of the times in which they had been formed. They were long vaulted passages, seven or eight feet wide, flanked by

* Froiss., iii. 418.

† "Poor rogues took advantage of such times, and robbed both towns and castles.... Their method was, to mark out particular towns or castles, a day or two's journey from them. They then collected twenty or thirty robbers, and travelling through by-roads in the night-time, entered the town or castle they had fixed on about day-break, and set one of the houses on fire. When the inhabitants perceived it they thought it had been a body of forces sent to destroy them, and took to their heels as fast as they could....many towns and castles were taken, and afterwards ransomed. Among other robbers in Languedoc one had marked out the strong castle of Combourne in Limosin, which is situated in a very strong country. He set off in the night-time with thirty companions, took and destroyed it. He seized also the Lord of Combourne, whom he imprisoned in his own castle, and put all his household to death. He kept him in prison until he ransomed himself for 24,000 crowns paid down. The robber kept possession of the castle and its dependencies, which he furnished with provisions, and thence made war upon all the country round about. The King of France shortly afterwards was desirous of having him near his person: he purchased the castle of him for 20,000 crowns, appointed him his usher-at-arms, and heaped on him many other honours. The name of this robber was Bacon." Frois., ii. 480.

‡ "Croquard's horse fell and broke his master's neck. I know not what became of his property or who had his soul, but I know that this was the end of Croquard." Id., iii. 483.

§ Chron. de St. Denis, v. 237.

‖ These caves appear to have been made at the period of the invasion by the Northmen. They were probably enlarged from age to age. A portion of the territory of Santerre which contained three of these subterranean retreats, was called Territorium sanctæ liberationis. Mem. de l'Abbé Lebeuf, Mem. de l'Acad. des inscr., xxviii. 179.

twenty or thirty chambers, with a well in the centre, to supply both air and water, with large chambers for cattle round it. The solidity and the finish observable in these constructions, sufficiently show that they were among the ordinary dwellings of the unhappy people of those times. Families crowded into them at the approach of the enemy; and there the women and children rotted for weeks and months, whilst the men went timidly to the belfry, from time to time, to see if the soldiers were leaving the country.

But the soldiers did not always leave it fast enough to allow the poor peasants time to sow or reap. In vain they took refuge under ground; famine followed them. Brie and Beauvoisis, especially, were reduced to utter destitution.* Every thing was spoiled and destroyed, and nothing remained except in the castles. The peasants, driven mad with hunger and wretchedness, stormed the castles and slaughtered the nobles.

Never would the nobles believe such audacity possible. How often had they laughed, when the attempt was made to arm those simple and docile beings, and to make them fighting men. They called the peasant, "Jacques Bonhomme," in derision, as we call our conscripts "Jean-Jean."† Who would have feared to maltreat a fellow who carried arms so awkwardly? There was a proverbial saying among the nobles: "*Oignez vilain, il vous poindra; poignez vilain, il vous oindra*—Anoint a villain, and he will stick you; stick a villain, and he will anoint you."

The Jacques paid their lords an arrear of many centuries. Despair and hell were in their frantic vengeance. God seemed to have completely forsaken the world. They not only butchered the lords, but tried to exterminate their families, killing their young heirs, killing, too, the honour of their blood, by violating their dames.‡ And then the savages tricked themselves out grotesquely in rich clothes, dressing themselves and their women in the blood-stained spoils of their victims.

And yet they were not such utter savages but that they marched

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* "Whence there ensued such a dearth in France, that a little barrel of herrings cost thirty crowns, and all other things in proportion, and the humbler classes died of starvation in a piteous manner; and these hard times lasted more than four years." Frois., iii. 340. The clergy themselves suffered greatly: Multi abbates et monachi depauperati et etiam abbatissæ varia et aliena loca per Parisias et alibi, divitiis diminutis, quærere cogebantur. Tunc enim qui olim magna equorum scutiferorum caterva visi fuerant incedere, nunc peditando unico famulo et monacho cum victu sobrio poterant contentari. Cont. G. de Nangis, ii. 122. Penury and the insults of the soldiery often drove clergymen to acts of extraordinary courage. On one occasion we see the Canon de Robesart unhorse three Navarrese with his first *coup de lance*, after which he did wonders with his axe. The Bishop of Noyon also waged vehement war on the brigands. Frois., ii. 353. Secousse, i. 340.

† Cont. Nang. The other etymologies are absurd. See Baluze, Pap. Aven., i. 333, &c.

‡ Quærentes Nobiles et eorum maneria cum uxoribus et liberis exstirpare..... Dominas nobiles suas vili libidine opprimebant. Cont. Nang., 119.

with a sort of order, by banners, and under a captain, a cunning peasant named Guillaume Callet.* "And in these assemblies the most part were tillage folk; and there were also some rich men, burghers and others."† "When they were asked," says Froissart, "why they did these things, they said they did not know; they did as they saw others do, and thought they should in such manner destroy all the nobles and gentlemen in the world."‡

The nobles, accordingly, all declared against them, without distinction of party. Charles the Bad cajoled them, invited their principal leaders to a conference,§ and fell upon them during the negotiation. He crowned the King of the Jacques with a red-hot iron trivet.‖ After this he surprised them near Montdidier, and made a great slaughter of them. The nobles took heart again, armed, and began to slay and burn all before them, indiscriminately, in the country parts.¶

The war of the Jacques operated as a serviceable diversion for the Parisians. Marcel had an interest in supporting them. Yet an alliance with these wild beasts was a hideous one; the communes hesitated about it. Senlis and Meaux opened their gates to them. Amiens sent them some men, but soon recalled them.** Marcel, who had availed himself of the rising to destroy several fortresses round Paris, ventured to send them some aid towards enabling them to take the Marché de Meaux. First the provost of the mint joined them with 500 men, and these were followed by 300 more, led by a grocer of Paris.

The duchesses of Orleans and Normandy, and a multitude of noble dames, demoiselles, and children, had retreated into the Marché de Meaux, which was encompassed by the Marne. Thence they could see and hear the Jacques, who filled the town, and they were terrified almost to death, expecting every moment that their asylum would be forced, and themselves massacred. Fortunately, they received unexpected succour. The Count de Foix and the Captal de Buch (the latter in the service of the English) were returning from the Prussian crusade with some cavaliers, and hearing

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* Caillet, as he is called in the Chroniques de France; Karle in the Continuator of Nangis; Jacques Bonhomme by Froissart and the anonymous author of the First Life of Innocent VI. "And they elected the worst of the bad; and that king was called Jacques Bonhomme." Froiss., iii. 249.

† Chron. de St. Denis, ii. 249. ‡ Froiss., iii. 297.

§ Blanditiis advocavit. Con. G. de Nang., 119.

‖ Vita prima Inn. VI., ap. Baluz. Pap. Aven., i. 334.

¶ Chateaubriand Etudes Hist., edit. 1831, iv. 170. "We have still the Latin lamentations that were sung on the woes of those times, and this stanza:

"Jacques Bonhomme,
Cessez, cessez, gens-d'armes et piétons,
De piller et manger le Bonhomme,
Qui de long temps Jacques Bonhomme
Se nomme."

Is this stanza very old? For the Latin lamentations see Mem., Collection Petitot, v. 181.

** Chronique publiée par Sauvage, 196.

at Chalons, of the perilous position of the ladies, they pricked on rapidly to Meaux. Having arrived in the Marché, "They posted themselves in front of this peasantry, who were badly armed. When these bandits perceived such a troop of gentlemen, so well equipped, sally forth to guard the market-place, the foremost of them began to fall back. The gentlemen then followed them, using their lances and swords. When they felt the weight of their blows, they, through fear, turned about so fast, they fell one over the other. All manner of armed persons then rushed out of the barriers, drove them before them, striking them down like beasts, and clearing the town of them; for they kept neither regularity nor order. Slaying so many that they were tired, they flung them in great heaps into the river. In short they killed upwards of 7000. Not one would have escaped, if they had chosen to pursue them farther. On the return of the men-at-arms, they set fire to the town of Meaux, burnt it, and all the peasants they could find were shut up in it, because they had been of the party of the Jacques." (June 9, 1358.)*

The nobles fell upon the peasants wherever they found them, without stopping to inquire what part they had taken in the Jacquerie: "And they did so much mischief to the country," says a contemporary, "that there was no need for the English to come to the destruction of the realm. They could never have done what nobles of France did."†

They wanted to treat Senlis as they had done Meaux. They had the gates opened for them, saying they were come by order of the regent, and then they began to shout out: "The town is taken! the town is won!" But they found all the burghers in arms, and even other nobles defending the town. Carts were let slip against them down the steep declivity of the main street; boiling water was showered upon them from the windows. "Some fled to Meaux, to relate their discomfiture and get laughed at; the others who remained on the ground will never more molest the good people of Senlis."‡

It is a prodigy, that with all this devastation of the rural districts, Paris did not perish of hunger. The fact does great honour to the ability of the provost of the merchants. He could not long supply the rapid consumption of that great city, without having the country parts for him; thence his apparently inconstant behaviour. He leagued with the Jacques, and then with the King of Navarre, their destroyer. The cavalry of that prince was indispensable to him, for keeping some roads open, while the dauphin kept command of the river. He caused Charles the Bad to receive the title of Captain of Paris (June 15). But the prince himself was not free; he was abandoned by many of his gentlemen, who would not serve the rabble against people of condition. Meanwhile, the burghers them-

* Frois., iii. 299—302. † Cont. Nang., 119.

‡ Qui vero mortui, remanserunt genti Silvanectensi amplius non nocebunt. Ibid.

selves were turning against him; they were vexed with him for having destroyed the Jacques, and they had shrewd suspicions that their captain did not set much store by them.

Meanwhile, provisions were becoming scarce. The dauphin was at Charenton, with 3000 lances, intercepting all the barges on the Seine and Marne. The burghers called on the King of Navarre to defend them, to make a sortie, to do something, at all events. He did march out of the town, but it was to negotiate. The two princes had a long and secret interview, and parted good friends. The King of Navarre having ventured to return to Paris, his most determined partisans, including even Marcel, deprived him of his title of captain. He withdrew with loud complaints; quarrels broke out between the parties of the Navarrese and the bourgeois, and some men were killed.

Marcel's position was becoming bad. The dauphin kept possession of Upper Seine, Charenton, and St. Maur; the King of Navarre held Lower Seine and St. Denis, and beat up all the country. All arrival of supplies was impossible; Paris was gasping. The King of Navarre, who saw that clearly, put himself up to auction to the two parties. The dauphiness, and many people of the *right sort*—that is to say, lords and bishops—plied busily between the negotiators. They offered the King of Navarre 400,000 florins, provided he would give up Paris and Marcel.* The treaty was actually signed, and a mass was celebrated, at which the two princes were to partake of the same consecrated host. But the King of Navarre said he could not communicate, not being fasting.†

The dauphin promised, but Marcel gave him money. Every week he sent Charles the Bad two loads of money to pay his troops. He had no hope but in him; he went to see him at St. Denis, and conjured him to recollect that it was the people of Paris who had liberated him from prison; and that it was they, too, who had killed his enemies. The King of Navarre gave him fair words, and urged him "to provide plenty of gold and silver, and send it boldly to St. Denis; he (the king) would give them a good account of it."‡

This King of the Bandits could not, and doubtless would not, hinder them from pillaging. The burghers saw their money going away to the plunderers, and still no provisions came in. The provost was continually on the road to St. Denis, continually conferring and parleying. All this gave them matter for reflection. What did Marcel do with all the money he raised? Did he not retain a good part of it? There had been already a good deal of cavilling at the salaries, to which the commissioners of the estates had liberally helped themselves.§

The Navarrese, English, and other mercenaries, had most of them followed the King of Navarre to St. Denis. Others had

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* Froissart, iii. 306. † Secousse, i. 276. ‡ Froissart, iii. 309.
§ Ordonn., iii. 522. See also Villani.

remained in Paris to spend their money. The burghers looked on them with evil eye: conflicts took place, and more than sixty of them were killed. Marcel, who dreaded nothing so much as to become embroiled with the King of Navarre, saved the rest by committing them to prison, and sent them away that same night to St. Denis.* The burghers did not forgive him for this.

Meanwhile, the Navarrese were carrying their incursions up to the very gates; the citizens durst no longer pass beyond them. The Parisians chafed at this, and declared to the provost that they were resolved to chastise the brigands. Marcel was constrained to humour them, and let them sally out to meet the Navarrese. Having roamed about all day in the direction of St. Cloud, they were returning, very tired (it was the 22nd of July), trailing their swords after them, with their bassinets unclasped,† and lamenting much that they had not fallen in with the enemy, when, at the bottom of a road, they encountered 400 men, who started up and attacked them. They ran away as fast as they could, but before they reached the gates 700 of them fell; and more were killed the next day when they went out to look for the dead. This discomfiture put the climax to their resentment against Marcel: it was his fault, they said; he had returned to the town before them, and had not supported them; probably, he had given notice to the enemy.

The provost was undone. His only resource was to surrender himself to the King of Navarre, and Paris and the kingdom too, if he could. Charles the Bad was on the point of obtaining the object of his ambition.‡ The gravest historian of the time, an eye-witness to all this revolution, and otherwise favourable to Marcel, owns that he promised the King of Navarre to give him up the keys of Paris, that he might make himself master of the city, and kill all who were opposed to him. Their doors were marked to that end.§

On the night of the 31st of July, Etienne Marcel proposed to himself to betray the town he had put in a state of defence, the walls he himself had built. Up to this time he seems to have always consulted the syndics, and even as to the murder of the two marshals. But now he saw that the others thought only of saving themselves at the cost of his destruction. Jean Maillart, the syndic on whom he most relied, who had most compromised himself, who was his own gossip (*compère*), had forced a quarrel on him that very day. Maillart was in confederacy with the leaders of the dauphin's party, Pepin des Essarts and Jean de Charny, and all three repaired with their men to the bastille St. Denis, which Marcel was about to surrender.

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* Chroniques de France, 88.

† "Some carried helmets in their hands, others slung them round their necks; some dragged their swords after them on the ground, while others hung theirs on their shoulders." Frois., iii. 318.

‡ Ad hoc totis viribus anhelabat. Cont. Nang., 120.

§ Quorum ostia signata reperiret. Ibid.

"They all came properly armed, a little before midnight, to the gate of St. Anthony, where they found the provost of the merchants with the keys of the gate in his hand. Upon this, John Maillart said to him, calling him by his name; 'Stephen, what do you do here at this time of night?' The provost replied; 'John, why do you ask it? I am here to take care of, and to guard the city, of which I have the government.' 'By God,' answered John, 'things shall not go on so; you are not here at this hour for any good, which I will now show you,' addressing himself to those near him; 'for see how he has got the keys of the gate in his hand, to betray the city.' The provost said, 'John, you lie.' John replied, 'It is you, Stephen, who lie;' and rushing on him, cried to his people, 'Kill them, kill every man on his side; for they are all traitors.' There was a very great bustle, and the provost would gladly have escaped, but John struck him such a blow with his axe on the head, that he felled him to the ground, although he was his comrade, and never left him until he had killed him. Six others, who were present, were also killed: the remainder were carried to prison.*"

According to a more probable version, it was not Maillart but Jean de Charny who struck the first blow.†

The murderers now went through the town shouting and awakening the people. In the morning all assembled in the market, where Maillart harangued them. He told them how the town was to have been sacked and destroyed during the past night, if God had not awakened him and his friends, and revealed the treachery to them. The crowd learned with amazement the peril in which it had unwittingly been, and all with clasped hands gave thanks to God.

Such was the first impression. Let it not be thought, however, that the people were ungrateful to him who had done so much for them. Marcel's party, which numbered many men of knowledge and eloquence,‡ survived its leader. Some months afterwards there was a conspiracy to avenge Marcel.§ The dauphin caused all the provost's furniture which had not been given away or lost immediately after his death, to be restored to his widow.‖

The career of this man was brief and terrible; with good and evil sadly intermingled in it. In 1356, he saves Paris, and puts it in a state of defence. In concert with Robert le Coq, he dictates to the dauphin the famous ordonnance of 1357. This reform of the kingdom, through the influence of a commune, can only be effected by violent means, and Marcel is led on step by step to a multitude of irregular and pernicious acts. He liberates Charles the Bad from prison, in order to set him up in opposition to the

* Froissart, iii. 318. † Cont. Nang., 320.
‡ Multum solemnes, et eloquenter quam plurimum, et docti. Ib. 120.
§ Trésor des chartes, 109, 90, p. 382. Secousse, i. 403.
‖ Secousse, i. 314.

dauphin, but finds that he has given a leader to the bandits. He lays hands on the dauphin, and kills his councillors, the King of Navarre's enemies.

Forsaken by the estates, he destroys them by forming them as he pleases, creating deputies, and substituting burghers of Paris for the deputies of the nobles. Paris was not yet in a condition to lead France; Marcel had not the resources of the Reign of Terror; he could not besiege Lyons or guillotine the Gironde. The necessity of provisioning the town made him dependent on the country parts. He leagued with the Jacques, and when the Jacques broke down he made the King of Navarre his ally. To the man to whom he had given himself by a crime, he strove also to give the kingdom, and he perished in the endeavour as he deserved.

The classical doctrine of the *salus populi*, of the right to kill tyrants, had been invoked in the beginning of the century by the king against the pope;* a half century was but just elapsed when Marcel turned the doctrine against royalty itself and its servants. Vain and brutal empiricism, which knows no remedies but of the *heroic* sort, and thinks to cure every thing by bloodshed! Even were this means efficacious, woe to him who should employ it! The good of the majority, the *welfare of the people*, is not an excuse. The people, could you consult them, would say with the divine instinct that subsists in the multitude, "Perish the people rather than humanity and justice!" A bloody irrigation may be fertilising, if you will: but though the tree nurtured with blood should grow ever so strong and stately, though it spread forth its branches until they covered the world, never could they cover murder.

That bloody stain that sullies the memory of Etienne Marcel, cannot make us forget that our old charter is a part of his work. It was fit he should perish, as the friend of the Navarrese, whose success would have dismembered France; as the representative of Paris in contradistinction to the throne; as the last type of the narrow patriotism of the commune: as such he has perished; but in the ordonnance of 1357 he lives, and will live.

This ordonnance is the first political act of France, as Jacquerie was the first outbreak of the rural population. The reforms specified in the ordonnance were almost all accomplished by our kings. Jacquerie, commenced against the nobles, was continued against the English. Nationality and the military spirit grew up by degrees. The first symptom, perhaps, of this new spirit is found in the year 1359, in a narrative given by the Continuator of Nangis. That sober witness, who notes down day by day all he sees and hears, for once throws off his usual dryness, to relate at full length one of those encounters in which the people of the country parts, left to their own resources, began to make head against the English. He dwells on the story with complacency, "Because," he

* See above.

says, naïvely, "the thing occurred near my native place, and was stoutly carried through by the peasants, *by Jacques Bonhomme.*"*

There is a fortress of some strength in the little village near Compiègne, which depends on the monastery of St. Corneille. The inhabitants, seeing there was danger for them should the English seize it, occupied the fortress with the permission of the regent and the abbot,† and established themselves in it with arms and provisions. Others joined them from the neighbouring villages for the sake of security, and all made oath to their captain that they would defend the place to the death. That captain, whom they had elected with the consent of the regent, was one of their own class, a tall, handsome man, whose name was Guillaume aux Allouettes.‡ He had with him, for his service, another peasant of incredible bodily strength, and enormous bulk and stature, full of vigour and daring, but, with all his physical advantages, humble, and thinking little of himself. He was called Le Grand Ferré (Big Ironsides). § The captain kept him near himself, *under the rein as it were,* to be let go at the proper moment.|| There they were then, 200 of them, all husbandmen, or others who earned their bread humbly by the labour of their hands.¶ The English, who were encamped at Creil, made little account of them, and said by and by, "Let us drive out these peasants; the place is strong and worth taking." Their approach was not perceived; they found the gates open, and entered boldly. Those within, who were at the windows, were, at first, amazed at seeing these armed men. The captain was soon surrounded and mortally wounded. Thereupon, Le Grand Ferré and the others said, "Let us go down and sell our lives dearly; there is no quarter to be expected." They did so, and, sallying out at several gates, began to let fall their blows on the English, as they did on the corn on their threshing-floors.** Their arms rose and fell, and every stroke was mortal. Le Grand, seeing his master and captain†† killed, groaned deeply, then rushed between his own people and the English, both of whom he overtopped by the head and shoulders, and, laying about him with a heavy axe, he speedily cleared the ground; he never struck once but a casque was cleft or an arm smitten off. All the English fled; many of them leaped into the ditch and were drowned. Le Grand killed their standard-bearer, and told his comrade to carry away the English banner to the ditch. The other, pointing out to him that there was still a multitude of the enemy

* Per rusticos, seu Jacque Bon Homme, strenue expeditum. Contin. G. de Nangis, 123, col. 2.

† Petita licentia a domino Regente, et etiam ab abbate monasterii. Ibid.

‡ Unum magnum elegantem nomine Guillermum dictum Alaudis. Ibid.

§ Et juxta ejus corporis magnitudinem, habebat in se humilitatem et reputationis intrinsecæ parvitatem; nomine Magnus Ferratus. Ibid.

|| Secum habuit....quasi ad frenum suum. Ibid.

¶ Vitam suam humilem sustentantes. Ibid.

** Super Anglicos ita se habebant ac si blada in horreis more suo solito flagelassent. Ibid.

†† Magistrum et capitaneum. Ibid.

between him and the ditch, "Follow me, then," said Le Grand; and he strode forward, laying about him right and left with his axe, until the banner was flung into the ditch. . . . . He killed on that day more than forty men.* . . . . As for the captain, Guillaume aux Allouettes, he died of his wounds, and they buried him with many tears, for he was wise and good.† . . . . The English were once more beaten on another occasion by Le Grand; but the fight this time occurred outside the walls.‡ Many English nobles were taken who would have given good ransom, if they had been admitted to ransom *as is done by the nobles;* § but they were killed that they might do no more mischief. This time Le Grand, heated by his work, drank a great deal of cold water, and was seized with fever. He went back to his village and lay down in bed, still keeping near him his heavy axe,‖ which a man of ordinary strength could hardly lift. The English, having heard of his illness one day, sent twelve men to kill him. His wife saw them coming, and began to cry out, "O, my poor Le Grand, here come the English! What shall we do?" Le Grand, forgetting his sickness, jumped up, seized his axe, and went out into the little yard. "Ha, brigands!" he cried, "so you thought to catch me in bed; you have not caught me yet."¶ Then, placing his back against a wall, he killed five in a moment; the others ran away. Le Grand went back to bed; but he was heated, and again drank cold water; the fever returned with more violence, and, some days afterwards, having received the sacraments of the Church, he departed this life, and was interred in the cemetery of his village. He was wept by all his comrades, and by the whole country; for, while he lived, the English would never have come nigh it.**

It is hard to avoid being affected by this simple narrative. These peasants, who ask permission before they take measures for their own defence, that strong and humble man, that good giant who obeys readily, like the St. Christopher of the legend; all this presents a fine image of the people. That people is visibly still simple, crude, and unfashioned; impetuous, blind, half man, half bull. It knows neither how to guard its doors, nor how to guard itself from its own appetites. When the good labourer has beaten the enemy like corn in the barn, when he has chopped enough with the axe, and has grown heated in the work, he drinks cold water and lies down to die. Patience: under the rude schooling of war, under the rod of the English, the brute will become a man. Closely beset and baited but just now, it will escape, ceasing to be itself and becoming transfigured; Jacques will become Jeanne; Joan the Maid, the *Pucelle.*

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* Ultra quadraginta viros prostravit et occidit. Cont. Nang., 123, col. 2.

† Flentes multum, quia sapiens fuit et benignus.

‡ Exierunt ad prælium. Ibid. § Sicut nobiles viri faciunt. Ibid.

‖ Non tamen sine hachia ferrea. Ibid.

¶ Veniens in curtiuncula. . . . O latrones. . . . . adhuc me non habetis. Ibid.

** Migravit de sœculo. . . . Quamdiu vixisset, ad locum illum Anglici non venissent. Ibid.

The common phrase, *a good Frenchman*, dates from the period of the Jacques and of Marcel.* Ere long, the Maid of Orleans will say, "*My heart bleeds when I see the blood of a Frenchman.*"

Such a phrase would suffice to mark the beginning of France in history. Thenceforth, we have a country. They are Frenchmen, these peasants; blush not for them, they are already the French people; they are you, O France! Let history show them to you, handsome or ugly, under Marcel's cap or the jacket of the Jacques, still you must not mistake them. As for us, amidst all the combats of the nobles, amidst the fine feats with the lance with which the careless Froissart amuses himself, our gaze will follow that poor people. We will seek them out in the great mêlée, under the spurs of the gentlemen, under the bellies of the horses. Sullied and disfigured, we will bring them forward, such as they are, to the daylight of justice and history, that we may say to them, "You are my father and my mother: you have conceived me in tears: you have sweated bloody sweat to make me a France. Blessed may you be in your graves. God keep me from ever denying you!"

When the dauphin re-entered Paris, leaning on the murderer, there were shouts and acclamations, as always happens in similar circumstances. Those who in the morning had armed for Marcel, hid their red caps and shouted louder than the rest.†

With all this noise there were not many who had confidence in the dauphin. His tall, meagre person, and long pale face‡ had never pleased the people. No one expected either much good nor much harm from him: there were, however, some severities exercised in his name against the Marcel party. As for him, he neither loved nor hated any one. It was not easy to move him. At the very moment of his entry, a burgher stepped up boldly to him, and said aloud: "By God, sir, if I had been listened to, you should not have come in; but they will not do much for you here." The Count de Tancarville wanted to kill the villain; but the prince stopped him, and replied, "You will not be listened to, fair sir."

The state of Paris was no better. The dauphin could do nothing for it. The King of Navarre had possession of the Seine both above and below the town. No more wood came from Burgundy, nor any thing from Rouen. People could only warm themselves by cutting down trees.§ "The *setier* (twelve-bushel measure) of corn, that commonly sells for twelve sols," says the chronicler,

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* Volo esse *bonus Gallicus.* Cont. G. de Nangis, p. 123, anno 1359.

† Illa rubea capucia, quæ antea pompose gerebantur, abscondita. Id., 120.

‡ De corsage estoit hault et bien formé, droit et lé par les espaules, et haingre par les flans; groz bras et beaulx membres, visage un peu longuet, grant front et large; la chière et assez pale, ot croyque ce, et ce qu'il estoit moult maigre luy estoit venu par accident de maladie; chault, furieus en nul cas n'estoit trouvé. Christ. de Pisan, V., 1e partie, ch. 17.

§ Unde arbores per itinera et vineas incidebantur, et annulus lignorum qui ante pro duobus solidis dabatur, nunc pro unius floreni pretio venditur. Cont. Nang., 121

"now costs thirty livres and more."* The spring was beautiful and mild: a fresh vexation for all the poor country people who were shut up in Paris, and could not cultivate their fields or prune their vines.†

There was no possibility of passing the gates. The English and the Navarrese were overrunning the country; the former had established themselves at Creil, which made them masters of the Oise. They seized fortresses wherever they could, without any regard to truces. The Picards tried to resist them; but the people of Touraine, Anjou, and Poitou, bought safe-conducts from them, and paid them tribute.‡

The King of Navarre, seeing the English thus fixing themselves in the heart of the kingdom, came at last himself to be more alarmed at this than the dauphin. He made peace with the latter, without stipulating for any advantage, and promised to be *a good Frenchman.*§ The Navarrese continued, notwithstanding, to plunder and put to ransom the boats on the upper Seine. Still, the reconciliation between the King of Navarre and the dauphin gave the English some uneasiness. At the same time, some Normans, Picards, and Flemings, made a combined expedition to deliver King John,‖ as they said. They did no more than burn an English town. At all events, the English learned, at their own cost, what were the evils of war.

The conditions they wished at first to impose on France, were monstrous and impracticable. They demanded not only all that fronted their own shores, Calais, Montreuil, Boulogne, and Ponthieu, not only Aquitaine (Guienne, Bigorre, Agenois, Quercy, Perigord, Limousin, Poitou, Saintonge, Aunis), but also Touraine, Anjou, and Normandy. That is to say, they were not contented with occupying the Straits of Dover, and closing the Garonne, but they wanted also to close the Loire and the Seine, to shut up the smallest opening by which we had a glimpse of the sea, to put out the eyes of France.

King John signed every thing, and promised, moreover, 4,000,000 gold crowns for his ransom. The dauphin, who could not let himself be left thus bare, had the treaty rejected by an assembly of some deputies of provinces which he called estates general. They replied, that "King John should remain in England; and that when it should please God, they would provide a remedy."¶

The King of England took the field, his purpose now being to

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* Quarta autem boni vini..viginti quatuor solidi. Cont. Nang., 125 cf. 129.

† Vineæ quæ amœnissimum illum desideratum liquorem ministrant, quæ lætificare solet cor hominis....non cultivatæ. Ibid., 124.

‡ Nullus salvus, nisi ab eis salvum conductum litteratorie obtinebat. Ibid., 122. Se eis tributorios reddiderunt. 125.

§ Volo esse bonus Gallicus de cætero. Ibid., 123.

‖ Posuerunt se in mare ut ad Angliam invadendum transfretarent. Ibid., 125.

¶ Froissart, ch. 419, p. 404.

conquer France. He proceeded first to Reims, where he intended to be crowned.* The whole nobility of England was with him in this expedition. Another army, on which he had not counted, awaited him at Calais. A multitude of knights and lords of Germany and the Low Countries, hearing that there was a conquest in hand, and expecting a partition, like that of England by the companions of William the Conqueror, had made up their minds to have a share in it. They already anticipated "gaining so much, that they would never again be poor."† They waited for Edward until the 28th of October, and he had great difficulty in getting rid of them. He was obliged to assist them to return home, and to lend them money which was never to be returned.‡

Edward brought with him 6000 men-at-arms, cased in steel; his son, his three brothers, his princes, and his great lords. It was like an immigration of the English into France. To make war comfortably, they had with them 6000 waggons, ovens, mills, forges, and all sorts of moveable workshops. They had even carried their forethought so far as to provide themselves with packs of hounds, and with leather punts for fishing in Lent.§ There was nothing, in fact, to be expected from the country; it was a wilderness; no crops had been sowed for three years.‖ The towns, carefully closed, stood on their guard; they knew there was no mercy to be looked for at the hands of the English.

From the 28th of October to the 30th, they marched through rain and mud from Calais to Reims. They had counted on the wines; but it rained too much, the vintage was good for nothing.¶ They remained seven weeks chilling themselves before Reims, and ravaged the country all round it; but Reims never stirred. Thence they passed before Châlons, Bar le Duc, and Troyes; and then entered the duchy of Burgundy. The duke compounded with them for 200,000 gold crowns.** It was a good job for the English, who otherwise would have gained nothing by this expedition.

Edward then set himself down close to Paris, kept his Easter at Chanteloup, and approached as far as Bourg la Reine. "From Paris to Etampes," says the eye-witness, "there is not a single man left.†† All have taken refuge in the three faubourgs of St. Germain, St. Marcel, and Notre Dame des Champs. . . . . Montlhery and Longjumeau are in flames. . . . . The smoke of villages, rising to the sky, is discernible in every direction. On holy Easter-day I saw the priests of ten communes officiating at the church of the

* Venit ante Remis, ut se ibi, civitate expugnata, faceret coronari in regem Franciæ. Cont. Nangis, 125. † Froissart, 420.

‡ Nevertheless they could obtain nothing, except some small sums lent to them to carry them home again." Id., iv. 429.

§ Id., 441, 39. ‖ Id., 431, 10. ¶ Id., 431, 11.

** Seu narrabatur Parisiis ubi eram quando hos apices describebam. Cont. Nang., 125.

†† A flumine Secanæ usque ad Estampas non remansit vir nec mulier. Id., 126.

Carmelites. . . . . Next day, orders were given to burn the three faubourgs; and permission was given to every man to carry away what he could, wood, iron, tiles, and so forth. There was no lack of hands to do this quickly. Some wept, others laughed. . . . . Near Chanteloup 1200 persons, men, women, and children, were shut up in a church. The captain, fearing they would surrender, had the church set on fire. . . . . The whole building was consumed. Not 300 persons were saved. Those who leaped out of the windows fell among the English, who killed them, and made game of them for having burned themselves. I learned this lamentable event from a man who had escaped by our Lord's will, and who thanked God for it."*

The King of England durst not attack Paris.† He marched away towards the Loire, without having been able to come to an engagement, or to get possession of any fortress. He comforted his followers with the promise that he would lead them back to Paris at vintage time; but they were fatigued with this long winter campaign. On arriving near Chartres they encountered a terrible storm, that quite exhausted the remnant of their patience.‡ Edward, it is said, made a vow there to restore peace to the two nations. The pope besought him to do so. The nobles of France, no longer receiving any portion of their incomes, entreated the regent to negotiate on any terms. King John, no doubt, likewise urged his son. At the Conference of Bretigny, opened on the 1st of May (1360), the English at first demanded the whole kingdom, and then what the Plantagenets had possessed (Aquitaine, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine). They gave way, at last, as to the last four of these provinces; but they had Aquitaine in free suzereignty, and not as a fief, as before; and they acquired on the same footing the country round Calais, the counties of Ponthieu and Guines, and the viscounty of Montreuil. The king paid the enormous ransom of 3,000,000 gold crowns; 600,000 crowns within four months before quitting Calais, and 400,000 a year during the six succeeding years. England, after having killed and dismembered France, continued to sit upon the carcase, so that if any life and marrow remained, she might still suck it out.

This deplorable treaty excited a frantic joy in Paris. The English who brought it, that it might be sworn to by the Dauphin, were welcomed like angels from heaven. They were presented with the most precious things the town possessed, some thorns from the Saviour's crown, which were kept in the Sainte Chapelle. The sage chronicler of the times here yields to the general impulse: "At

* Cont. Nang., 126.

† Anglici. . . . accesserunt. . . . Nobiles qui in urbe tunc erant cum domino regente in bona copia, armis protecti se extra muros posuerunt, non multum elongantes a fortalitiis et forsatis. . . . Non fuit tunc præliatum. Ibid.

‡ Maxima pars bigarum et curruum in viis et itineribus imbre nimio madentibus remansit, equis deficientibus. Ibid.

the approach of the Ascension," he says, "at the season when the Saviour, having re-established peace between his Father and mankind, ascended in jubilation to heaven, he did not suffer the people of France to remain afflicted. The conferences began on the Sunday, when they chant in church *Cantate*. On the Sunday, when the chant is *Vocem jucunditatis*, the regent and the English went to Notre Dame to swear to the treaty. It was an unspeakable joy for the people. All the bells of that church, and of every other in Paris, pealed together in pious harmony; the clergy chanted, in all joy and devotion, *Te Deum laudamus*..... All rejoiced, except, perhaps, those who had made large gains in the wars; for instance, the armourers..... The false traitors and the brigands feared the gallows; but of them let us say no more."*

The joy was not of long duration. That peace which had been so longed for made all France weep. The provinces that were ceded would not become English. Whether the administration of the English was better or worse, their insupportable haughtiness and disdain made them everywhere detested. The counts of Perigord, Comminges, and Armagnac, and the Sire d'Albret, said, with truth, that the lord had no right to give away his vassals. Rochelle, so much the more French as Bordeaux was English, besought the king for God's sake not to abandon it. The inhabitants said they would rather be taxed every year to the amount of half their substance; and again: "We will submit to the English with our lips, but never from our hearts."†

Those who remained French were but the more wretched. France was become an English farm. Its children toiled only to pay the enormous sums by which the king had ransomed himself. We have still in the Trésor des Chartes the receipts given for these payments. The sight of these parchments is sickening: it will never be known what sweat, and groans, and tears, each of these scraps represent. The first (October 24th, 1360) is a receipt for the *cost of keeping* King John, at the rate of 10,000 reals a month.‡ Edward exacted payment for that noble hospitality which has been so much vaunted by historians; the gaoler would have his *pistole* before releasing his prisoner. Then comes a frightful quittance of 400,000 gold crowns (same date). Then a receipt for 200,000 gold crowns (December). Another for 100,000 (All Saints, 1361); another again of 200,000, and of 57,000 *moutons d'or* in addition to complete the 200,000 promised by Burgundy (February 21st). In 1362: 198,000, 30,000, 60,000, 200,000.§

* Cont. Nang., 126.

† Froissart, 441, 219. The people of Cahors expressed their regrets in language not less pathetic: Responderunt flendo et lamentando....quod ipsi non admittebant dominum regem Angliæ, imo dominus noster rex Franciæ ipsos derelinquebat tanquam orphanos. Note communicated by M. Leblanc from the Archives of Cahors and the MS. in the Bibl. Royale.

‡ Archives, Sect. Hist. J., 639.

§ Ibid., 641.

The payments continue till 1368. But we are far from having all the quittances. The ransoms of the noblesse probably amounted to as considerable a sum.

The first payment could not have been made if the king had not found a shameful resource. At the time he was giving away provinces, he gave away also one of his children. The Visconti, the rich tyrants of Milan, had a fancy to marry a daughter of France. They imagined that this would make them more respectable in Italy. That ferocious Galeas who went man-hunting in the streets, who had thrown priests alive into an oven, asked for his son, aged ten, a daughter of John's aged eleven. Instead of receiving a dower he gave one: 300,000 florins in free gift, and as much for a county in Champagne. "The King of France," says Matteo Villani, "sold his own flesh and blood."* Little Isabella was exchanged in Savoy for the florins. The child did not submit to be given to the Italians with better grace than Rochelle to the English.

This wretched Italian money served to get the king out of Calais. He left it poor and bare. He was obliged, on the 5th of December, 1360, to impose a fresh subsidy on his ruined people. The terms of the ordonnance are remarkable. The king, in a manner, asks pardon of his people for talking to them of money. He recapitulates all the misfortunes suffered since the time of Philip of Valois by *him and his people; he has exposed his own body and his children to the chance of battle; he negotiated at Bretigny not merely for his own liberation, but in order to avoid the destruction of his kingdom, and of his good people.* He pledges himself that he will render good and loyal justice, that he will suppress every new toll, and will coin good money in gold and silver, *and black money with which alms may be more easily made to poor people.* "We have ordained, and do ordain, that we will take of the said people of Langue d'Oil that which is necessary to us, *and will not be so burdensome to our people as would be the mutation of our money,* to wit: twelve deniers per pound on merchandise, to be paid by the seller, and an aid of a fifth on salt, and a thirteenth on wine and other beverages. With which aid, *for the great compassion we have on our people,* we will content ourselves, and it shall be levied only until the perfection and completion of the peace."†

However mild and paternal was the demand, the people was none the better able to pay it: all money had disappeared. It was necessary to have recourse to those usurers the Jews, and to give them now a fixed establishment. A sojourn of twenty years was insured to them. A prince of the blood was appointed guardian of their privileges, and took specially upon him *to have payment made them of their debts.* Their privileges were excessive; we shall speak of them elsewhere. In consideration of them they were to pay twenty florins on entering the kingdom, and seven annually. A certain Manasseh, who took the whole Jewry in farm, was to have for

* Matt. Villani, xiv. 617. Froissart, iv. 449, 79. † Ord., iii. 433.

his pains the enormous commission of two florins in twenty, and of ne in seven annually.*

The melancholy and blank years following, 1361, 1362, 1363, exhibit nothing without but the English quittances, nothing within but scarcity of provisions, the ravages of the brigands, the terror of a comet, and a great and horrible mortality. The malady this time affected men of vigorous years, and children, rather than women and old men. Its blows were directed against the strength and the hope of generations. Nothing was to be seen but weeping mothers, widows, and women clad in black.†

Bad food had much to do with the epidemic. Hardly any supplies were brought to the towns. There was no journeying from Paris to Orleans, or Chartres, the country being infested by Gascons and Bretons.‡

The nobles who returned from England, and who felt themselves despised, were not less cruel than these brigands. The town of Péronne, which had bravely protected itself, got into a quarrel with Jean d'Artois. A sort of crusade, as it were, of the nobles against the people ensued. Jean d'Artois, supported by the king's brother and the noblesse, took English into his pay, besieged Peronne, stormed and burned it.§ Chauny-sur-Oise, and other towns, were similarly treated. In Burgundy the nobles themselves acted as guides to the bands that plundered the country.‖ As the brigands of all nations called themselves English, the king forbade that they should be attacked, and begged Edward to write about them to his lieutenants.¶

These plunderers called themselves the *Tard-Venus*, the late comers; but, though they came after the war, they were bent on having their share of the booty. The chief company began its operations in Champagne and Lorraine, and then passed into Burgundy: their leader was a Gascon, who wished like the Archpriest to take them to see the pope in Avignon,** marching through Forez and the Lyonnais. Jacques de Bourbon, who was then in the South, was interested in the preservation of Forez, the country of his nephews and his sister.†† That prince, who was generally beloved,‡‡ soon

* Ord., iii. 467.

† Cont. G. de Nangis, 129.

‡ The brigands had surprised a fort near Corbeil. Several men-at-arms undertook to recover it, and did still more mischief to the country; the defenders were more noxious than the enemy; the dogs helped the wolves to devour the flock. The Continuator of Nangis relates the fable, p. 131.

§ Ibid., 128.

‖ "They had among them some knights and squires of that country, who advised and conducted them." Frois. iv., 123.

¶ "There were others who would not obey, saying that they made war in the name of the King of Navarre." Ibid.

** "They landed about the middle of Lent, resolved that they would advance with their forces towards Avignon, and pay a visit to the pope and the cardinals." Ibid.

†† "This was very unpleasant news to the Lord James, who had taken the management of the estates of the county of Forez for his nephews." Ibid. 129.

‡‡ Id., p. 126.

assembled a large body of the noblesse. He had with him the famous Archpriest, who had given up the command of the companies. Had he followed that man's advice he would have destroyed them. Having come in sight of the enemy at Brignais, near Lyons, he fell into a palpable trap, supposed the brigands weaker than they really were, attacked them on a mountain, and was killed with his son, his nephew, and a great number of his followers, (April 2nd, 1362).* His death, however, was glorious. The first distinction of the Capets was the death of Robert the Strong at Brisserte; that of the Bourbons, the death of Jacques at Brignais: both of them slain in defence of the kingdom against robbers.

The companies had now nothing to fear, and carried both banks of the Rhine without molestation. One of their leaders styled himself the Friend of God and foe of all the world.† The pope, trembling in Avignon, preached a crusade against them: but the croises rather joined the companies.‡ Fortunately for Avignon the Marquis of Montferrat, a member of the Tuscan league against the Visconti, took a portion of them into his pay, and marched them into Italy, whither they carried the plague with them. The pope, in order to hasten their departure, gave them 30,000 florins and absolution.§

The mortality which depopulated the kingdom, at least bestowed a fine inheritance upon it. The young Duke of Burgundy died, and so did his sister; the first house of Burgundy became extinct: the succession included the two Burgundies, Artois, and the counties of Auvergne and Boulogne. The next heir was the King of Navarre. He asked to be allowed to take possession of Burgundy, or at least of Champagne which he had so long claimed; but he got neither: it was impossible to let those provinces pass into the hands of a foreign king, of so hateful a prince. John declared them annexed to his domain,‖ and set out to take possession of them, "travelling by easy stages and at great expense, and sojourning in town after town, and city after city, in Burgundy."¶

On his way he learned the death of Jacques de Bourbon, but without increasing his speed. Towards the end of the year he

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* Froissart, 181—6. M. Allier's fine work is unfortunately not yet brought down to the death of Jacques de Bourbon. For the date see the discussion of M. Dacier. Froiss., iv. 135. † Ibid., 466, 139.

‡ "He retained all soldiers and others who were desirous of saving their souls, and of gaining the aforesaid pardons; but he would not give them any pay, which caused many of them to depart and go into Lombardy; others returned to their own country, and soon joined those wicked companies, which were daily increasing." Ibid.,142.

§ "Whereat King John and all the realm were greatly rejoiced.... But still a considerable number of them returned to Burgundy." Ibid., 145.

‖ The King of Navarre was a descendant, but in one degree lower, of an elder sister. John alleged that the written law says that except brothers' sons no party has right of inheritance, but it belongs to the nearest of blood and of the collaterals. Secousse, Preuves de l'Hist. de Ch. le M., ii. 201.

¶ Froiss., iv. 471, 148.

went down to Avignon, and spent six months there in fêtes and amusements. He expected to make a fresh conquest there in a perfectly pacific manner. Joan of Naples, Countess of Provençe, the same who had let her first husband be killed, was now the widow of a second. John aspired to be the third. He was himself a widower, and his age was but forty-three. Having been made a captive, but after a gallant resistance, this soldier king* interested Christendom, like Francis I. after the battle of Pavia. The pope did not care to make a king of France master of Naples and Provençe; so he provided that queen of six-and-thirty with a very young husband, not a son of France, but James of Aragon, son of the dethroned King of Majorca.

To console John, the pope encouraged him in a project that seemed absurdly rash at the first glance, but which would, in reality, have retrieved his fortunes. The King of Cyprus had come to Avignon to solicit aid and propose a crusade. John took the cross, and so did a multitude of the great lords with him.† The King of Cyprus went to Germany to propose the crusade, and John to England. One of his sons, who had been a hostage there, had just returned to France in contempt of the treaties. John's return to London wore the most honourable appearance; it seemed a reparation for his son's fault. Some, indeed, asserted that he had gone thither only from weariness of the wretched state of France, or to see some fair mistress.‡ Be that as it may, the kings of Scotland and Denmark were to have met him there. As King of France he was the natural president of every assembly of kings. Humbled by the new system of warfare which the English had put in practice, the King of France would have recovered, by the crusade under the old mediæval banner, the first rank in Christendom. He would have led away all the companies in his host, and relieved France from their presence.§ The English themselves and the Gascons, notwithstanding the disinclination of the King of England, who alleged his advanced age as a reason for not taking the cross,‖ said openly to the King of Cyprus, "That it was truly an expedition on which all people of worth and honour ought to agree, and that if the march was begun he should not make it alone."¶ John's

* See the Chronique en prose de Duguesclin, ed. de M. Fr. Michel, 103.

† "After the sermon, which was very humble and devout, the King of France, through his great devotion, put on the cross, and requested the pope, with great sweetness, to confirm it to him." Frois., iv. 157.

‡ Causa joci, says the unbending historian of the time. Cont. Nang., 132.

§ "To draw out of his kingdom all those men at arms, called free companies, who pillaged and robbed his subjects without any shadow of right, and to save their souls." Frois.

‖ "'Sir,' answered the King of England; 'I will never oppose such a work unless some things should happen to me or my kingdom which I do not at this moment foresee.' The King of Cyprus could never obtain any thing more from King Edward, in respect to the crusade; but, as long as he remained, he was politely and honourably feasted with a variety of grand suppers." Id., xv. 167.

¶ Ibid., 177.

death destroyed these hopes. After a winter spent in London in festivities and grand banquets,* he fell ill and died, regretted, it is said, by the English, whom he himself liked, and to whom he had become attached during his long captivity, being a man of simple character and free from rancour. Edward had him buried at St. Paul's, in London, with sumptuous obsequies, in which were burned, according to eye-witnesses, 4000 torches, each twelve feet high, and 4000 candles, weighing each ten pounds.†

France, all mutilated and ruined as she was, was still, by the confession of her enemies, the head of Christendom. It is the lot of that poor France, from time to time, to see envious Europe combined against her and conspiring her destruction. Each time they think they have killed her, and imagine there will be no more France; they cast lots for her spoils, and would fain scramble for her gory members. Still she persists in living; she revives and flourishes again. She survived in 1361, when ill-defended, and betrayed by her noblesse; in 1709, when sunk with her superannuated king into the decrepitude of age; in 1815, again, when the whole world attacked her. This pertinacious agreement of the world against France proves her superiority more signally than victories. Whenever all are ready to league against one, the probability is that that one is the foremost of all.

CHAPTER IV.

Charles V., 1364—1380—Expulsion of the English.

THE young king was born old. He had early seen and suffered much. In person he was feeble and sickly. Like kingdom, like king. It was said that Charles the Bad had poisoned him, and the effects remained visible in his pale face, and in a swollen hand that prevented his holding the lance. He was rarely in the saddle, but rather spent his time in Vincennes, in his hôtel de St. Paul, or his royal library in the Louvre. He read, listened to persons of ability, and coldly deliberated. He was called the *Sage,* that is to say, the lettered, the clerk; or, it may likewise mean, the knowing, the astute. Here we see the first modern king, a king seated, like the royal effigy on the seals. Before this time people fancied that a king ought to ride on horseback. Philip the Fair himself, with his chancellor, Pierre Flotte, went to Courtrai to be beaten. Charles V.

* Froissart, 175.

† Quatuor millia torticia....quodlibet torticum de duodecim pedibus in altitudine, &c. Cont. Nang., 133.

fought better from his chair. Conquering in his chamber, amidst his attorneys, his Jews, and his astrologers, he worsted the famous knights and the still more formidable companies. With the same pen he signed the treaties that ruined the English, and minuted the pamphlets that were to ruin the pope, and make himself master of the wealth of the Church.

This sick physician of the kingdom had to cure it of three maladies, the least of which seemed mortal: the English, the Navarrese, and the companies. He got rid of the first, as we have seen, by gorging them with gold, and patiently waiting until he was strong enough. The Navarrese were beaten, then paid and sent away, being allowed to nurse the hope of being granted Montpellier. The companies took their route towards Spain.

Charles V. at first made use of the help of his brothers, committing to their hands the provinces most remote from the centre; Languedoc to the Duke of Anjou, and Burgundy to Philip the Bold.* He himself attended only to the centre; but he needed an arm—a sword. There was then hardly any military spirit except among the Bretons and the Gascons. There was a regular celebration of the battle of the Thirty, in which the Bretons had defeated the English.† The king attached to him a brave Breton of Dinan, the Sire Duguesclin,‡ whom he had himself seen at the siege of Melun,§ and who had been fighting for France since 1357.

The life of this famous leader of companions, who delivered France from the companies and from the English, has been sung, that is to say, spoiled and obscured, in a sort of chivalric epopœa, which was composed, probably, to reanimate the military spirit of the noblesse.‖ Our histories of Duguesclin are little else than translations into prose of this epopœa. It is not easy to disentangle from this poetic mass the portions of real historical truth it may contain. We will readily yield credence to the poem and the romances, as to all that coincides with the well-known points of the Breton character. We may be-

* He confirmed the gift of Burgundy made by his father to Philip the Bold. Froissart, iv. 221.

† A monument has been erected on the heath of Mi-Voie, near Ploermel, to perpetuate the memory of this event. See the poem published by M. de Fréminville in 1819, and by M. Crapelet in 1827. See also M. de Roujoux, Hist. de Bretagne, iii. 381.

‡ Froiss., iv. 481. Duguesclin is named in the records Glecquin, Gléaquin Glayaquin, Glesquin, Cleyquin, Claikin, etc. This would indicate that he was of pure Breton stock. He himself believed he was descended from a Moorish king Hakim, who had retired to Bretagne, and being driven out of the country by Charlemagne, left after him in the castle of Glay his son whom Charles had baptised. After the war in Castile, the constable was for going over to Africa and conquering Bugia. See MS. Bibl. du Roi: Conquête de la Bret. Armorique faite par le preux Charlemagne sur ung payen nommé Aquin, qui l'avoist usurpé, etc. No. 35, 356 du P. Lelong.

§ Froiss., ibid., and Vie de Duguesclin, publiée par Mesnard, ch. 8, 67, and ch. 10, 83.

‖ M. Macé, professor of history, has given an interesting notice of this important MS. in the Annuaire de Dinan, 1835.

lieve them, too, as to the acknowledgments they make to their hero's disadvantage. They confess that he was ugly, "of middle stature, brown visage, flat nose, green eyes, broad shoulders, long arms, and small hands."* They say, that in his childhood he was a naughty boy, "rude, mischievous, and passionate;" that he used to collect boys, divide them into troops, and beat and wound the others. He was for some time incarcerated by his father. Nevertheless, a nun had early foretold that the boy would be a famous knight, and he was furthermore encouraged by the predictions of a certain demoiselle Tiphaine, whom the Bretons believed to be a witch, and whom he afterwards married. After all, this intractable brawler was, like many of his Breton countrymen, a good-natured and prodigal fellow, often rich, often beggared, giving away at times all he possessed to redeem his men; but, on the other hand, he was greedy and rapacious, rude in war, and unused to give quarter. Like the other captains of the time, he preferred stratagem to every other means of victory, and was never bound by his plighted word. Before the battle he was a tactician, full of resources and subtle in device; he knew how both to foresee and to provide; but, once engaged, the Breton blood and headstrong temper showed themselves in full force; he dashed forward in the mêlée, and often so far that he could not retrace his steps. Twice he was captured and paid ransom.

The new king's first care was to recover the mastery of the course of the Seine. Mantes and Meulan belonged to the King of Navarre; Boucicault and Duguesclin got possession of them by an act of signal perfidy.† The two towns paid the penalty of all the mischief the Navarrese had done to the Parisians. The burghers had the satisfaction of seeing twenty-eight of them hanged in Paris.‡

The Navarrese, reinforced by English and Gascons under the Captal de Buch, desired to avenge themselves, and do something to hinder the king from going to Reims. Duguesclin soon advanced with a considerable body of French, Bretons, and also Gascons.§ The captal retreated towards Evreux, and halted at Cocherel on an eminence; but Duguesclin had the address to deprive him of the advantage of the ground. He sounded a retreat and made a feint of running away. The captal could not hinder his Englishmen from descending to pursue; they were too proud to hearken to a

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* Mais l'enfant dont je dis et dont je vois parlant,
Je crois qu'il not si lait de Resnes a Disnant.
Camus estoit et noir, malotru et massant (?)
Li père et la mère si le hcoient tant....
MS. de la Bibl. Royale, No. 7224.

See also the prose chronicle reprinted by M. F. Michel.

† "And immediately they seized the gates and set up a shout of Saint Yves Guesclin, and began to kill those men and cut them to pieces." Froissart, iv. 182.

‡ Contin. Nang., 132.

§ Par le cap Saint Antoine Gascons contre Gascons s'éprouveront. Frois., iv. 195.

Gascon general, though a great lord and of the house of Foix. He was, therefore, constrained to obey his soldiers and accompany them into the plain. Thereupon Duguesclin wheeled round. The Gascons whom he had with him appointed thirty of their number to carry off the captal from the midst of his men.* The other Navarrese leaders were killed and the battle was won.†

Won on the 16th of May (1364), it was known at Reims on the 18th, the coronation day,—a fine omen for the new royalty. Charles V. gave Duguesclin such a reward as never king before him had bestowed: an establishment on the footing of a prince, the county of Longueville, the patrimony of the King of Navarre's brother.‡ At the same time he beheaded the Sire de Saquenville, one of the chief advisers of the Navarrese. He dealt no better with the French who were found in the ranks of the companies.§ Men began to bethink them that brigandage was a crime.

The war in Bretagne ended in the following year. Charles of Blois resigned himself to the partition of Bretagne, but his wife would not consent to it.‖ The King of France lent Charles, Duguesclin and 1000 lances. The Prince of Wales sent Montfort, the brave Chandos, 200 lances, and as many archers; and with these were joined several English knights.¶

Montfort and the English were posted on a height, like the Prince of Wales at Poitiers. Charles of Blois did not care for that. That devout prince, who believed in miracles, and who himself performed them, had refused at the siege of Quimper to retreat before a flood. "If it is God's will," he said, "the tide will do us no harm." He made no more account of the mountain at Auray than of the flood at Quimper.

Charles of Blois had the greater strength: many Bretons, even, of La Bretagne bretonnante joined him, out of hatred, doubtless, to the English.** Duguesclin disposed the army in an admirable

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* "I therefore think that if we order thirty of our boldest and most expert cavaliers, to do nothing but to follow and attack the captal, they will be able to push through the crowd, and advance so near the captal that they may seize him and carry him off between them." Frois., 201.

† "They were for a long time determined to cry 'Nôtre Dame d'Auxerre!' and to make the Earl of Auxerre their commander for that day. They again looked at each other, in order to see whom they should fix on for their chief. Sir Bertrand Du Guesclin was unanimously thought on, and considered as the best knight of the whole company, one who had been engaged in the greatest number of battles, and who was best informed in military affairs. It was, therefore, resolved they should cry 'Nôtre Dame Guesclin!'" Ibid., 202.

‡ The letters of gift are dated May 27, 1364. Duchatelet, Hist. de Duguesclin, p. 297. The king took back the county in 1365, on paying part of Duguesclin's ransom. Archives, J. 381.

§ "All the foreign soldiers were pardoned; but some French pillagers who had taken refuge there were put to death." Frois., iv. 230.

‖ Daru, Hist. de Bret., ii. iv. 122.

¶ Chandos.....requested several knights and esquires of the duchy of Aquitaine, but very few went with him except English. Frois., iv. 241.

** The Viscount de Rohan, the Sire de Leon, the Sire de Kargoule (Kergorlay), the Sire de Loheac....and many more whom I cannot name. Id., 242.

manner. "Each man-at-arms," says Froissart, "carried his lance straight before him, projecting five feet, and had a small, hard, and well-sharpened axe, with a small handle. And thus they advanced in most handsome array. They rode so close that you could not have thrown a tennis-ball among them, but it would have fallen on the points of the lances."* John Chandos gazed long on the French order of battle, "the which he praised mightily within himself." He could not conceal his sentiments, but said, "So help me God as it is true that there is here flower of chivalry, great sense, and good arrangement."†

Chandos had set apart a reserve to support each corps that wavered. It was not without difficulty he prevailed on one of his knights to remain in the rear and command that reserve: prayers, and almost tears,‡ were necessary to overcome the feudal prejudice that made the front rank be regarded as the only post of honour. Duguesclin could not have effected the same thing in the other army.

The two adverse claimants fought at the head of their respective forces. The Bretons were weary of this war, and wished to see it ended by the death of the one or the other.§ Chandos' reserve gave him the advantage over Duguesclin, who was unhorsed and taken prisoner. The whole brunt of the battle then fell on Charles of Blois; his banner was pulled down and himself slain. The greatest lords of Bretagne obstinately held out, and were likewise slain.‖

When the English came, with great exultation, and showed Montfort his enemy whom they had killed, the voice of French blood, or perhaps of kindred, awoke within him, and tears started from his eyes.¶ A haircloth was found under the dead man's cuirass. His piety and his good qualities recurred to memory. He had recommenced the war only in deference to his wife, whose patrimony Bretagne was. This saint** was also a man. He made verses and composed *lais* in the intervals between his battles. He had been a lover, too; a bastard of his was killed by his side, endeavouring to avenge him.††

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* Froiss., iv. 240. † Id. 505.

‡ "Sir John Chandos almost wept, and said very gently, Sir Hugh, either you must do this or I myself." Ibid., 251.

§ "That if they won the battle, and Charles of Blois were taken on the ground, he should not be made prisoner at any ransom, but should be killed. And so in the like case had the French and the Bretons determined respecting Jean de Montfort, for on that day they wished to have an end to war and fighting." Id., ch. 510.

‖ Ibid. ¶ Ibid.

** Et l'appelle-t-on Saint Charles. Ibid. Urban V., *a good Frenchman*, ordered an inquiry for the canonization of Charles of Blois, but he died before it was made, and his successor, Gregory II., under whom it took place, made no use of it in order not to offend the Duke of Bretagne. Dacier's note on Froissart.

†† "A bastard of his called the Lord de Blois, an exceedingly accomplishe man-at-arms." Id., ch. 510.

Montfort got possession of all the strongest places in the country in a few days. The children of Charles of Blois were prisoners in England. The King of France, who carried no passion into the trade of war, made terms with the victor, and induced the widow of Charles of Blois to content herself with the county of Penthièvre, the viscounty of Limoges, and an income of 10,000 livres.* The king did wisely. The essential thing was to hinder Bretagne from doing homage to the English sovereign. There was every probability that, sooner or later, it would become weary of the *protégé* of England.

It was something to have put an end to the Bretagne war, and to that waged by the King of Navarre; but time was requisite to enable France to recover herself. A mere enumeration of the ordonnances of Charles V. is enough to show what frightful evils war had inflicted. The purport of most of them is to establish proof of the diminished number of hearths, and of the fact that the depopulated communes could no longer pay the taxes.† Others are the safeguards obtained from the king by the towns, abbeys, hospitals, and chapters. Public protection was so weak, that one of an express and special nature was demanded. The towns, corporations, and universities, solicit a ratification of their privileges. Several towns are declared inseparable from the crown. The Italian merchants in Nîmes, and the Castilians and Portuguese in Harfleur and Caen, obtain privileges. On the whole we see little or nothing of general measures; every thing is special, individual: we see how far the kingdom is from unity; how weak and sickly it is still.

The greatest misery of France was the brigandage of the companies. Dismissed by the English, and driven from the Isle of France, Normandy, Bretagne, and Aquitaine, these bands fell back on the centre, and roamed through Berri, Limousin, &c. There the brigands were, in a manner, at home. It was their domicile, as they insolently said.‡ They were of every nation, but most of them were English and Gascons; some few were Bretons. The people regarded them all as English, and nothing more contributed than this to exasperate France against England. A proposal was made to the companies that they should go on the crusade. The emperor had procured a passage for them through Hungary, and offered to pay their expenses through Germany; but the majority of them did not care to go so far.§ Those who made up their minds to do so with the expectation of pillaging Germany on their way, hardly reached that country. Led by the arch-priest into Alsace, they there encountered dense and hostile populations that fell on them from all quarters. Hardly any of them escaped, some of the others passed into Italy.

But the principal efflux took place towards Spain, towards Cas-

* Froissart, ch. 515, p. 275—280.
† Ord., iv. 617, 651.
‡ Froissart, iv. 283.
§ Froiss., iv. 284.

tile, where the war was waged between Don Henry of Transtamare, and his brother Don Pedro the Cruel. All the kings of Spain in those times merited that surname. In Navarre reigned Charles the Bad, the murderer, the poisoner; in Portugal, Don Pedro the Justicer, he who so atrociously executed justice for the death of Ines de Castro; in Aragon, Don Pedro the Ceremonious, who, without form of trial, hanged up by the feet a legate commissioned to excommunicate him. In like manner, Don Pedro the Cruel burned a monk alive for predicting to him that his brother would kill him. Read Ayala's Chronicle, to see what Spain was from the time when, having less reason to fear the Moors, she yielded to their influence, and became Moorish, Jewish, any thing rather than Christian. The wars without quarter against the unbelievers, had produced a ferocity of manners which became still greater under the hard Jewish fiscality.*

This Pedro the Cruel was a sort of raving madman. The two discordant elements of Spain contended in him, and made him a monster. He piqued himself on chivalry, like all Castilians, and at the same time he reigned only through the Jews, and trusted only in them and in the Saracens.† He was said to be the son of a Jewess. But for this partiality to the Jews, the commons would have thanked him for his cruelty to the nobles.

This bloody man was a lover. He had for mistress Dona Maria de Padilla, "a pretty woman, of small figure, and of a good understanding," as says the contemporary.‡ To please her he shut up his wife, Blanche, the sister-in-law of Charles V.; and at last poisoned her. He had already put to death I know not how many of his relations. His brother Don Enrique of Transtamare, who had every reason for fear, escaped into France, and solicited the king to avenge his sister-in-law.

The king gave him, with all his heart, the companies that were desolating France. The King of Aragon afforded a free passage through his territory, and the pope authorised the invasion of Castile. Among other acts of violence, Don Pedro had laid hands on some church property.§

The young Duke of Bourbon was nominally at the head of this expedition, but Duguesclin was the real leader.‖ He was still a

* The court was frequently forced to give the people satisfaction. In 1329, in order to appease the malecontents, the Jew Joseph was compelled to render an account of his financial administration, and a new regulation was laid down to the effect, that no one should exercise such functions who was not a Christian. In 1360, Don Pedro put to death the Jew Samuel Levi, whom Don Juan Alphonso had given him for treasurer ten years before. He had amassed an enormous fortune. Ayala, xxii.

† In 1358, intending to make war on the King of Aragon: "E enviò el rey D. Pedro a regard al rey Mahomad de Grenada, que le ayuda se con algunas galeas." Ayala, xi.

‡ E formosa, e pequeña de cuerpo, e de buen entendimento. Ayala, vi.

§ Dont les plaintes grandes et grosses venoient tous les jours à notre saint père le pape. Froiss., iv. 518, 295.

‖ There exists a Languedocian song on the expedition into Spain: A Dona

prisoner; the English would not let him go for less than 100,000 francs.* The king, the pope, and Don Henry clubbed together and paid the money for him.

Duguesclin took the command of the adventurers, and marched them into Spain, but by way of Avignon, in order to make a further drain upon the pope's finances. The army increased on the march;† for though the King of England had forbidden his subjects to take part in that war, a great number of English and Gascon adventurers paid no heed to the prohibition. A Frenchman led them all, to the great displeasure of the Englishman.‡

These men, who had begun by robbing the pope, nevertheless gave a spurious crusading air to the Spanish war. When they were in Aragon, they sent to the King of Castile, desiring him to give a passage and provisions "to God's pilgrims, who had undertaken, through great devotion, to go to the kingdom of Grenada, in order to avenge Our Lord's sufferings, destroy the unbelievers, and exalt our faith. When this news was brought to the king, Don Pedro, he only laughed at it, and said he would do nothing of the sort, and that he would not obey such a pack of vagabonds."§

It was indeed like a pilgrimage. There was no fighting, for Don Pedro was wholly forsaken. He could find no asylum, except in Andalusia, among his friends the Moors. Thence he went to Portugal, Galicia, and, lastly, Bordeaux, where he was well received.‖ The English were exasperated with anger and jealousy, and took upon them to restore Don Pedro, to replace the bloody executioner of Spain:—always that diabolical pride which has so often turned their brains, sensible, as they appear to be; the same which made

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Clamença. Cançon ditta la bertal, fatta sur la guerra d'Espania, fatta pel generoso Guesclin assistat des nobles moundis de Tholosa. 1367. Don Morice, i. 16. Froiss., iv. 286.

* Charles V. lent him the money, on condition he would take away the companies.—"To all who shall see these present letters, Bertran du Guesclin, knight, Count of Longueville, chamberlain of the King of France, my most redoubted and sovereign lord, greeting. We make known that for a certain sum of deniers which the said king, my sovereign lord, has sometime since granted us in loan, as well *to put out of his kingdom the companies which were in parts of Bretagne, Normandy, and Chartrain, and elsewhere in the low marches*, as to aid us in *paying part of our ransom to the noble man, Messire Jehan de Champdos*, Viscount of St. Sauveur, and Constable of Aquitaine, whose prisoner we are. We have promised and do promise the said king, my sovereign lord, by our faith and oath, to put and *lead away out of his kingdom the said companies*, according to our power as hastily as we can, without fraud or malice, and also without suffering them to remain or make a stay in any parts of the said kingdom, except on their march, and without either ourselves or the said companies demanding or being able to demand of the said king, my sovereign lord, or of his subjects or good towns, finance or other aid whatever," &c. (Aug. 22, 1365.) Archives, J., 481.

† "All the leaders of companies were there, to wit, Messire Robert Briquet, Lamit, little Meschin, the bastard Camus," &c. Froiss., iv. 299.

‡ Si y allerent de la principauté, et des chevaliers du Prince de Galles. Ibid.

§ Ibid., 299.

‖ Ibid., ch. 522, p. 313.

them burn the Maid of Orleans, and which, under Mr. Pitt, would have made them burn France.

The Prince of Wales was so infatuated with his power, that he was not content with wishing to reinstate Don Pedro in Castile, but also promised the despoiled King of Majorca to replace him in Aragon. The Gascon lords, who did not care to go so far to do the work of the English, ventured to tell him that it was more difficult to restore Don Pedro than to expel him. "Grasp all, lose all," said they again. "We should like to know who is to pay us. Men-at-arms are not to be marched out of their own country without being paid."* Don Pedro promised them all they desired; he had left treasures hidden in places only known to himself; he would give them 100,000 florins.† As for the Prince of Wales, he was to give him Biscay, that is to say the entrance of the Pyrenees, a Spanish Calais.‡

All the English adventurers, who were in Don Enrique's army, were recalled to Guienne. They were sent off, well paid by him, to return and beat him, and gain as much in the service of Don Pedro:§ such was the honour and loyalty of those days. In like manner the King of Navarre treated with both parties at once, and was paid both for opening and closing the mountain passes. He was so much afraid of compromising himself with either, that at the moment of entering upon a campaign with the English he preferred letting himself be made prisoner.‖

The Prince of Wales had more men-at-arms than he wanted.¶ The difficulty was how to victual them. When he reached the poor region on the banks of the Ebro, through wind, rain, and snow, his provisions failed; the scarcity was already such that a small loaf cost a florin.** Don Enrique was counselled not to give them battle, but have the passes guarded and starve them out. His Spanish pride could not stoop to this. He saw with him 3000 men in complete mail, 6000 light cavalry (20,000 men-at-arms, says Froissart††), 10,000 cross-bowmen, and 60,000 communeros with lances, pikes, and slings. After all, his forces were little more than a mob. The English archers were better than the Castilian slingers; the English lances had a longer range than the

* Frois., 315, sqq. † Ibid., 523, 322. M. Buchon's note.

‡ As will soon be the harbour of Passage, which they will take sooner or later if we do not look to it.

§ "They immediately took leave of King Henry in the most courteous manner they could, without discovering their own or the prince's intentions. King Henry, who was very liberal, courteous, and honourable, made them very handsome presents, thanking them most gratefully for their services." Frois., ch. 524. Duguesclin had been created Duke of Molina. D. Morice, i. 1628.

‖ Some in the army thought it might have been done designedly, as he was uncertain what would be the issue of the business between King Henry and Don Pedro. Frois., ch. 539.

¶ He retained only the English and the Gascons, and dismissed almost all the rest, Germans, Flemings, &c. Id., 531.

** Id., 545. †† Id., 544.

swords and daggers which the French and the Aragonese were fond of using.* The English forces were led by that brave and cool John Chandos, who had made them gain the battles of Poitiers and Auray. In spite of the efforts of Don Enrique, who rallied his men three times, the Spaniards fled. The adventurers alone fought on uselessly,† and were all taken or killed. Chandos was a second time Duguesclin's captor.

It was a grand day for the Prince of Wales. It was just twenty years since he had fought at Creçy, and ten since he had won the battle of Poitiers. He gave judgment on the plain of Burgos, and held gages and field of battle there: for one day he could call Spain his own.‡

The King of France, greatly disheartened by this news, durst not support Henry of Transtamare. In eager compliance with a letter from the Princess of Wales, he forbade the fugitives to attack Guienne; and he even imprisoned the Count of Auxerre, who was taking up arms for Don Enrique.§

The victors remained in Spain, waiting until Don Pedro should pay them out of his concealed treasures. They were very weary of the country, the sober hospitality of which made them no amends for their long stay. The sultry heats came on; they devoured the fresh fruits, and were carried off by dysentery in great numbers. The Prince of Wales suffered severely from that malady. It is said they were reduced to one-fifth when they determined to recross the mountains, ill-satisfied, ill in body, and ill-paid.‖

The Prince of Wales, who had answered for Don Pedro, not being able to satisfy their claims, they pillaged Aquitaine. At last, he told them to go and seek their subsistence elsewhere. Elsewhere meant France.¶ Thither they betook themselves, and whilst they plundered wherever they went, they failed not to state everywhere, that it was the Prince of Wales, their debtor, who authorised them to pay themselves thus.**

The prince, through pride, again committed the mistake of liberating Duguesclin, and so giving a leader to the companies. The prudent Chandos, "who was his master," had said he would never let him be redeemed.†† One day, however, when the prince was in

* Froissart, 552.

† Id., 554. The poor men of the communes, hotly pursued, were driven into the Ebro, the water of which was "strong, black, and hideous."

‡ Id., 557. § Id., 569.

‖ Knyghton, col. 2629, and Frois., ch. 562. "The air and heat of Spain had been very hurtful to their healths; even the prince himself was unwell and in low spirits." Walsingham states that it was reported at the time that the prince had been poisoned. Wals., p. 117.

¶ "The prince had them spoken to and entreated them that they would change their quarters, and seek elsewhere for a maintenance, for he could no longer support them.—They entered France which they called their home." Frois., ch. 564.

** "That the Prince of Wales sent them there." Ibid. †† Id., 559.

a merry mood, he saw the prisoner, and said to him: "How do you find yourself, Bertrand?" "Excellently well, thank God," replied Duguesclin; "how should I be otherwise? Since I have been here, I find myself to be the first knight in the world. It is everywhere said that you are afraid of me, and dare not accept ransom for me." Piqued at this, the prince replied, "Messire Bertrand, you think it is for your great valour we keep you. By St. George, pay 100,000 francs, and you are free." Duguesclin took him at his word.*

Ayala says, that the prince, to show how little account he made of Duguesclin told him he should himself name the sum he would pay. Duguesclin said proudly, "Not less than 100,000 francs." This would be more than 1,000,000 (40,000*l.*) at the present day. The prince was astonished. "And where are you to get them, Bertrand?" The chronicler states, that the Breton made answer in these spirited words, in which there is nothing improbable: "The King of Castile, my lord, will pay the half, and the King of France the rest; and, if that were not enough, there is not a woman in France who can spin, but would spin for my ransom."†

He did not presume too much. War was imminent. Whilst Charles V. was giving an honourable reception at Paris to a son of the King of England, who was on his way to Milan to marry, the companies dismissed by the English were laying waste Champagne, and carrying their devastations up to the environs of Paris.‡ It was too bad to pay and to be plundered besides.

The Prince of Wales came back from Spain with the dropsy, and his army was not in a much sounder plight. The Gascons who had taken part in this English affair, on the strength of Don Pedro's supposed hidden treasures, returned poor, in piteous case, and in very bad humour. They had besides many an old grudge against the Prince of Wales. He had forced the Count of Foix to grant a passage to the companies; he had demanded 1000 lances, and had left 800 of them on his lands.§ The people of the South disliked the English, not only on account of their oppression, but because they were English, that is to say, disagreeable and unsocial. Those lively, quick-witted, and talkative races could not bear their haughty

* Frois., 562, 435. "And as soon as the prince heard him speak thus he repented."

† N'a filairesse en France, qui sache fil filer,
Qui ne gaignast ançois ma finance à filer,
Qu'elles ne me volissent hors de vos las geter.
MS. de la Bibl. Royale, No. 7224, fo. 86.

‡ Froissart, ch. 563 and 564, p. 437—440.

§ He submitted to this with a very bad grace: "'My lord the Prince of Wales laughs at me.' In his rage he called for a secretary and said to him: "Write,' and the secretary wrote: 'My dear lord, be pleased to know that I cannot assure you of any of them divided from the rest.....and if any of them be dismissed, they will all go their ways; this I know full well. God have you in his holy keeping.'" Id., ch. 531.

taciturnity, and their everlasting rumination of their battle of Poitiers.*

The Prince of Wales despised the Gascons, and, with true English tact, he chose that moment to impose a hearth-tax of ten sous per hearth on their lands.† Instead of paying them, he asked money of them; he called for hearth-money from the indigent inhabitants of the *Landes*, and the poor goatherds of the mountains; hearth-money from that brave, petty noblesse, that was never rich in any thing but younger sons and bastards. The prince convoked the estates of Niort, in the hope of converting the Gascons through the good example of the Poitevins and Limousins; but it made no impression upon them. It was to no purpose he transferred the estates to Angoulême, Poitiers, and Bergerac. They were no more disposed to pay at Bergerac than at Niort.

And not only did they not pay, but they went, moreover, to the King of France, and told him, with the characteristic vivacity of their country, that they desired justice, that his court was the most just in the world, and that if he did not entertain their appeal, they would go and seek another lord.‡ The king, who was not prepared for war, tried to keep them quiet. He neither backed them nor dismissed them; but kept them in Paris, humoured them, and paid their expenses.§ There were fine fortunes to be made under that good king. The English did not pay even after money was due, whilst he paid beforehand. He gave petty knights not only money, but princely fortunes and establishments. He was a father to the Bretons and Gascons. He bore no malice against them. The more you had beaten his men, the better he treated you. He had just given the best reception to the Vendean Clisson, the man who had contributed the most to the defeat of the French at Auray. He presented the captal de Buch with the Duchy of Nemours, and bestowed a daughter of France in marriage on the Sire d'Albret.‖ It was a great encouragement to the Gascons, to see one of their countrymen become a prince, and brother-in-law to the kings of France and Castile.

On the 25th of Jan. 1369, the Prince of Wales received at Bordeaux a doctor of laws and a knight, who came to serve him with a citation on the part of the King of France. It was a polite summons to repair to Paris, and answer in the court of peers touching certain griefs, "wherein by weak counsel and misguidedly he had molested the prelates, barons, knights, and commons of Gascony on the frontiers of our realm, at the which thing we are quite amazed,"¶

* And they of Poitou, Saintonge, Quercy, Limousin, and Rouergue, are such by nature that they cannot like the English.....and the English also who are proud and presumptuous cannot like them, nor ever did so, and now less than ever, but hold them in great scorn and dislike. Frois., v., p. 11.

† The tax was not a franc, as Froissart says. Letters of the Prince of Wales, Jan. 26, 1368. MS. de la Bibl. Royale. ‡ Frois., v., ch. 574, p. 12.

§ "And we will put you on good terms with our very dear nephew the Prince of Wales, who, perhaps, has not been well advised." Id., iv. 565.

‖ Id., iv. 564. ¶ Id., v. 575, 576

The invalid having heard the message, replied haughtily in the words of William the Conqueror: "We will come, but it shall be with helmet on head, and with 60,000 men at our back..... It shall cost 100,000 lives." The prince was so irritated, that after letting the messengers depart, he had them fetched back in haste, and made some pretext to throw them into prison; "For fear they should go and repeat their jokes and floutings to the Duke of Anjou, who little likes you, and should tell how they cited me in my very dwelling."*

The King of France, on the contrary, affected to believe that the King of England was not at all concerned in the affair of Gascony; and, at that very moment, he sent him a present of fifty pipes of good wine, which, however, the Englishman would not accept. Charles had just recently paid one of the instalments of King John's ransom.

Charles had the art of bearing and forbearing; his affairs did not prosper the worse. In the North he was gaining over the people of the Low Countries, and was working upon Ponthieu and Abbéville. In the South he had long had bishops of his own choosing placed by the pope in all the English provinces. He sent Duguesclin and some of the men of the companies across the Pyrenees to aid the Castilians in getting rid of the king whom the English had forced upon them; in return for which service Don Enrique promised to equip against the English a fleet double as large as that of the King of France.

Don Pedro had many communes on his side, precisely by reason of his cruelties to the nobles. Above all he was favoured by the Moors and the Jews, bad auxiliaries, who were not capable of defending him, and gave an ugly colour to his party. He had retired to Andalusia, one of the least Christian countries in Spain. Don Enrique and Duguesclin, rapidly advancing with a small body of trusty men, did not give him time to reconnoitre the strength of his assailants. The Jews, who, contrary to their custom, had taken up arms, dropped them in all haste, and the Moors were unable to check the heavy cavalry with their arrows. Duguesclin forbade his men to give any quarter to the unbelievers.† Don Pedro had barely time to throw himself into the castle of Montiel. It is said that Duguesclin promised to facilitate his escape, and betrayed him; that the two brothers having met in Don Enrique's tent flung themselves on each other like madmen, and that Don Pedro having got Don Enrique under, Duguesclin caught Don Pedro by the leg, and enabled his brother to get the upper hand and poniard him.‡ The story, however romantic, is not improbable.

The battle of Montiel took place on the 14th of March. At the end of April Charles V. threw off all disguise, surprised Pon-

* Froiss., 577. † Id., iv., ch. 568, 569, p. 453—5.

‡ Ibid., ch. 570, p. 458—62. Instead of Duguesclin whom Ayala mentions as the person who interfered, Froissart names the Viscount de Roquebertin.

thieu, and defied the King of England. The defial was carried to Westminster by a scullion.* The choice of such a messenger would have seemed epigrammatic in a matter less serious. Those conquerors, damaged in Spain by the fruits, in France by the wines, were sick and prematurely aged through their excesses. Lionel, a son of Edward III., died in Milan of indigestion. The English maintained that he was poisoned.

There were but too good reasons for breaking the peace. The English themselves had broken it by letting loose their companies on France. Charles V. said nothing of this, nor of the remonstrances of the Gascons at the treaty of Bretigny, nor of their privileges violated by the English. He liked better to seek out some defect of form in the charters of the treaty. The estates general, deferentially consulted by him, decided that his right was good (May 9th, 1369).† He obtained sentence of confiscation of Aquitaine from the court of Peers, and he stated boldly in that act that the suzerainty and right of appeal had been reserved by the treaty of Bretigny.

He could lie with safety; every body was for him. The companies declared themselves French; the bishops of Aquitaine gave him their towns, they had been long won over by the Archbishop of Toulouse; sixty towns, boroughs and castles, drove out the English, even Cahors, even Limoges, the bishops of which seemed wholly English.‡ The King of France deserved these miracles; sickly as he was, he continually made devout processions barefoot.§ The popular preachers spoke for him. The King of England, too, made the Bishop of London preach, but he had not the same success.||

All the towns that surrendered to Charles V. had their privileges augmented and confirmed. We can follow the progress of his conquest from charter to charter: Rhodez, Figeac, Montauban, February, 1370; Milhaud en Rouergue, May; Cahors, Sarlat, July.¶

It is hard to believe that so cool and wise a head really entertained the idea of invading England.** He did all that was requisite to make it be believed, for the purpose, no doubt, of attracting the English to the North, and hindering them from putting down the movement in the South. They did land an army at Calais, under the Duke of Lancaster. The large and powerful French army led by the Duke of Burgundy, though five times

* Froiss., v., ch. 580, p. 33. † Secousse, Pref. aux. Ord., vi. 1.

‡ Froissart, v. 587, 56.

§ "He himself, as well as the queen, attended without stockings and barefooted.—The king ordered all the subjects of his realm to do the same, by the advice of the prelates and churchmen." Ibid.

|| "In truth it was but proper that both kings, since they were determined on war, should explain and make clear to their subjects the cause of the quarrel, that they might understand it, and have the better will to assist their kings; to which purpose they were all equally alert in the two kingdoms." Ibid.

¶ Ord., v. 291, 324, 328, 333. Sism., xi. 415. ** Froiss., v. 599, 98.

greater than the English force, was expressly forbidden to fight. It remained for a while inactive, and then fell back, hooted and jeered by the English,* who nevertheless lost both their time and their money. The towns in the North were in a good condition. In the South they had recovered many strongholds, but had lost what was much more valuable and irreparable, that wise and skilful captain, John Chandos, to whom they were indebted for the victories of Poitiers, Auray, and Najarra.†

That brave man had foreseen every thing that came to pass. From the moment the Prince of Wales determined in opposition to his advice to impose the fatal hearth-tax, Chandos withdrew to Normandy. Afterwards, when the South was insurgent, he returned to repair the mischief, and save the imprudent persons who had rejected his advice; but he had little hope for that war. The historian of the time represents him as very sad and melancholy, as though he had foreseen his own approaching death, and the loss of the English provinces. After his death the King of England at last followed his advice and revoked the tax; but it was too late.‡

The English were more and more maladroit and unlucky, as people commonly are when the tide of misfortune sets against them. They ought by all means to have made sure of the King of Navarre, and used him against France. According to all appearance what broke off the bargain was, the demand of the Viscounty of Limoges made by the Navarrese. The Prince of Wales would not make a gap in his kingdom of Aquitaine; it was of importance to him to preserve the integrity of that gate of France.§ He refused, and lost all. The King of France won back the King of Navarre by giving him Montpellier, which he had so long promised him.‖ Shortly afterwards he had the address, likewise, to conciliate the new King of Scotland, the first of the house of Stuart.¶ Castile, Navarre, Flanders, and Scotland, all these he detached from England, and left that foe of his isolated.

The national pride of England was so implicated in this war, that Edward still found means, after so many sacrifices, to make two simultaneous expeditions against France. Whilst the Duke of Lancaster, one of his sons, went to succour the Prince of Wales, who was closely beset in Bordeaux (end of July, 1370), another army under Robert Knolles, an old captain, entered Picardy (same month). To neither force was any resistance offered; it was the advice of Duguesclin and Clisson to avoid any engagement, and only to skirmish and defend the fortresses; the rural districts might take their chance. These company leaders troubled themselves about nothing except success; the bravest of them employed stratagem by preference; as for the honour of the realm, they did not know what it meant. The Duke of Bourbon was compelled to see pass along

* Froiss., 602, 110. † Ibid., 615, 153—9. ‡ Ib., 514, 148.
§ Secousse, Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, 131, and Rymer, vi. 677.
‖ Secousse, 133. ¶ Rymer, vi. 696.

before the front of his army his mother, the mother of the Queen of France, whom the English had taken prisoner and paraded on horseback before his eyes, in the hopes of provoking the son to battle. He proposed a duel to them, but refused a battle.*

A still grosser insult was offered at Noyon, when Seyton the Scotchman leaped over the barriers of the town, tilted for an hour with the French, and got back safe and sound.† The English army advanced in this manner into Champagne, to Reims, to Paris, burning and destroying all before them, and trying was there any ravage sufficiently cruel, any provocation sufficiently keen to rouse the honour of the foe. During one day and two nights that they lay before Paris, the king looked on unmoved from his hôtel, St. Paul, at the flames of villages burning on all sides. A numerous and brilliant chivalry were in the town, the Tancarvilles, the Coucys, the Clissons; but he made them keep still. Clisson, whose valour was well known, encouraged this cruel prudence: "Sir," he said, "you have no need to employ your men against these madmen. They will not put you out of your heritage with all these smoking dunghills."‡

Just as the English were marching away, one of them went up to the Barrière St. Jacques, which was quite open, and full of knights. He had made a vow to strike his lance against the barriers of Paris. Our knights applauded him, and let him go.§ This insult to the walls of the city, to the honour of the *pomœrium*, a thing so sacred among the ancients, gave feudal men no concern. The Englishman was riding slowly away, when a brave butcher sprang forward and struck him between the shoulders with a long-handled heavy axe, repeated the blow on his head, and brought him down. Three others then came up, and all four let fall their blows on the Englishman, "as upon an anvil." The lords who were at the gate took up the body and had it buried in consecrated ground.

The Prince of Wales encountered no more obstacles in laying siege to Limoges, than Knolles in insulting Paris. Duguesclin himself had recommended the disbanding of the army of the South, and had retained only 200 lances for the purpose of scouring the country. The prince was the more bitterly incensed against the people of Limoges, inasmuch as the bishop, the author of the defection of that town, was his creature and familiar friend. He had sworn by his father's soul, that he would make the town pay dearly for its treason. The terrified burgesses would have surrendered, but the French captains prevented them. Meanwhile, the prince,

* "Gentlemen,—My lords and masters let you know, that since you are not willing to accept the offer they have made you, three days hence, between nine and twelve o'clock in the morning, you, my lord Duke of Bourbon, will see your lady-mother placed on horseback, and carried away. Consider this, and rescue her if you can." Frois., 620. "But they never stirred." Id., 621.

† "Gentlemen,—I am come to see you; for as you do not vouchsafe to come out beyond your barriers, I condescend to visit you." Id., 629.

‡ Id., ch. 634.

§ "Get away! get away! thou hast well acquitted thyself." Ibid.

having undermined part of the walls, blew them up, and entered through the breach; he was too ill to sit his horse, and was drawn in a chariot. He gave orders to kill every human being in the town, man, woman, and child, and he indulged himself with the sight of the butchery. "There is no man so hard of heart, but had he been that day in the city of Limoges and had any thought of God, he would have wept piteously at the sight.* The Prince of Wales had no such thoughts. That pallid, sick, and dying man, who was so near his account, could not satiate his eyes with death. Women and children threw themselves on their knees before him, crying out: "*Grâce, grâce, gentil Sire.*" He would not listen to them. He spared none but the bishop, that is to say, the only guilty person, and three French knights, who gained his favour by their desperate resistance.†

This extermination of the inhabitants of Limoges, which made the English name execrable in France, taught the towns the necessity of vigorously defending themselves. It was the farewell act of an enemy, who treated the country as another's territory, to which he was never to return. Shortly afterwards, feeling himself worse, the prince yielded to the advice of his physicians, that he should go back and breathe his native fogs, and he embarked for London.‡ He was, doubtless, beginning to look suspiciously on his brother, the Duke of Lancaster. Having no hope of himself succeeding to the throne, he wished at least to secure it to his son.

The king gratified the whole kingdom by naming Duguesclin constable.§ The petty Breton knight, invested with this first dignity in the realm, ate at his sovereign's table: an astonishing distinction, since we see from Christine de Pisan, that it was the etiquette in France for the king to be waited on at table by his brothers.

The new constable alone understood the sort of war that was to be waged against the English. Pitched battles were impossible; men's imaginations lay under the spell of Crécy and Poitiers. Strange to say, the French, who under Duguesclin's command stormed many places defended by the English, hesitated to encounter in the open field those whom they did not fear to attack in their strongholds. They had no confidence in the field, unless they had the advantage of at least twofold numbers. They began to pluck up more spirit when Duguesclin, following Knolles in his retreat, cut off 200 English with 400 French.‖

What served the cause of Charles V. better than Duguesclin, better than every other aid, was the folly of the English, the de-

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* "More than three thousand men, women, and children, were put to death that day. God have mercy on their souls, for they were veritable martyrs!" Frois., 636.

† Ibid., 219. Walsingham, 185.

‡ Ibid., 642, 235.

§ Pour le plus vaillant, mieux taillé et idoine de ce faire, et le plus vertueux et fortuné en ses besognes. Id., 638.

‖ Ibid.

lirium that led them into blunder after blunder. They made the Duke of Bretagne declare for them; but Bretagne itself was against them, and so they occasioned the ruin of Montfort, whom they had established with so much difficulty. The Bretons drove out their duke.*

The alliance with Castile had hitherto been of little use to Charles V. The English took means to knit it more closely, and render it more efficacious. The Duke of Lancaster, in the extravagance of his ambition, married Don Pedro's eldest daughter, and the Earl of Cambridge his second. It was a monstrous, incredible infatuation. England, which had been unable to conquer France, undertook, in addition, the conquest of Spain. The result of this new imprudence was to give the French a fleet. The King of Castile, threatened by this marriage, sent Charles V. a naval army. The large Spanish vessels, carrying artillery, demolished the small vessels of the English, with their archers, off Rochelle.† The town applauded, and driving out the vanquished party, surrendered to the king, but conditionally, and with important reservations, so as to remain a republic under the crown of France.‡

This great event threw all Poitou into the hands of the French. King Edward and the Prince of Wales, the one stricken in years, and the other in health, put to sea, nevertheless, and tried to retrieve their fortunes. But the sea would not have them; it carried them back, whether they would or not, to England. Thouars succumbed; Duguesclin beat the remains of the English forces at Chizey. Bretagne followed; a few sieges settled every thing in that quarter.§ The sole remaining captain of the English was a Gascon, the Captal de Buch; one of the best the French had was a Welshman, a descendant of the princes of Wales, who avenged his ancestors in serving France. The Welshman took the Gascon prisoner, and Charles V. carefully detained so important a captive in the Tour du Temple, and never allowed him to ransom himself.

Edward's second son, the Duke of Lancaster, the progenitor of that ambitious house, to which England owed so much glory and sorrow in the fifteenth century, had assumed the title of King of Castile. He had himself nominated captain-general of the King of England in France, and his lieutenant in Aquitaine, where the English had hardly any thing left. There is in the English character such a force of pride, such a passionate obstinacy, that after losing in the game so many men and so much money, they made a fresh stake with the hope of recovering all they had lost, and once more found

* "All the barons, knights, and squires of Bretagne were much attached to the French: 'Dear lord,' they said to their duke, 'as soon as we shall clearly perceive that you take any part with the King of England against the King of France.....we will quit you and leave Bretagne.'" Frois., vi. 674. † Id., v. 658.

‡ The towns should be allowed a mint, with liberty to coin florins, and black and white money, with the same alloy and form as those of Paris. Id., vi. 670.

§ Id., 678.

a great army for their captain of Aquitaine. After landing in Calais, Lancaster traversed France without finding any thing to do, neither battle to fight nor town to take; all were closed and in a state of defence. All the English could do was to sack some villages. Whilst they were in the North they had provisions in abundance; "they dined splendidly every day." But when they reached Auvergne they could not find either provisions or fodder. Famine and sickness made frightful havoc in the army. They had 30,000 horses when they left Calais, and they arrived in Guienne on foot:* they were an army of mendicants, and begged their bread of the French from door to door.†

The arrival of this army in Bordeaux, nevertheless, produced one effect. The Gascons who were no longer English, and were not in a hurry to become French, took courage, and told the constable of France, that they would do homage to whichever of the two parties succeeded in beating the other. It was agreed that a battle should be fought at Moissac, on the 15th of April. The English afterwards adjourned it to the 15th of August, and they required that the ground should be near Calais. The documents not having been preserved, it is not very certain what was agreed on. The French repaired on the 15th of August to Moissac, arranged themselves in order of battle, waited, and saw no one to oppose them. After this they forced the Gascons to keep their word. The English had now nothing left in France but Calais, Bayonne, and Bordeaux (1374).‡

This effort ending in nothing, this blow spent in the air, did them much mischief. Such was the exhaustion that followed it, that Edward accepted the pope's mediation which he had so often refused. The grumbling of the people began to alarm the king. That surly mastiff, which had been so long tempted forwards by the hope of a prey that continually retreated, was giving signs of some inclination to fly at its master. There had been incredible difficulty in making the war popular among the English; they were already weary of it at the time of the battle of Crécy. When the chancellor [the king's chamberlain], thinking to rouse the commons, by touching their sense of honour, said to them: "Then you will assent to a perpetual treaty of peace if it can be had?" they answered at once and unanimously, "Yes, yes."§ Afterwards they were given to understand that all would be ended with the taking of Calais. Then came the victory of Poitiers and turned their brains. They fancied that the King of France's ransom would relieve them for ever from the burden of taxation. The next lure held out to them was Spain, and Don Pedro's famous hoards; and when the Spanish money failed to arrive, they were persuaded that Spain itself should be seized.

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* Vix quadraginta caballos vivos secum ducens. Wals., 529.

† Milites famosos et nobiles, delicatos quondam et divites....ostiatim mendicando, panem petere, nec erat qui eis daret. Id., 187.

‡ Ibid. Froiss., vi. 688, 78. § Hallam, Mid. Ages, ii. 185 (ann. 1350).

In 1376, they cast up their accounts, and saw that they had nothing, neither money, nor Spain, nor France. Their ill-humour was extreme, and they vented it on the king and the Duke of Lancaster, who then possessed the chief influence. His elder brother, the Prince of Wales, ill as he was, showed himself favourable to the opposition. The parliament of 1376, called the *good parliament*, refused to be led by mere words, and desired to know what had become of all the money, what had been done with the subsidies, and the French and Scotch ransoms. They made a fierce attack on King Edward, disclosed the royal weaknesses without pity, and pursued him with their invectives, even into his domestic privacy, and his bed-chamber.

The old monarch was ruled by a young, handsome, and impudent married woman, named Alice Perrers, lady of the bedchamber to the queen.* The poor queen, who saw all, entreated the king on her death-bed, that "he would be pleased to have himself buried beside her in Westminster," in the hopes of having him to herself at least in death.

The queen's jewels were given to Alice. Her rapacity was insatiable; what she could not get by fair means she stole. She sold places and even judicial sentences. She used to go in person to the King's Bench to exert her influence on behalf of suitors, and the judges of the church and the doctors of canon law were often interrupted in their high functions by the fair Alice, who came boldly into court, and whispered in their ears.† The parliament required the king to dismiss that woman and other evil counsellors.

The Prince of Wales died leaving one son, a child. Between this young nephew and his old father, the Duke of Lancaster was virtual king. The dismissed counsellors returned. A vote for a heavy tax was extorted from the parliament. The duke, who had need of still larger supplies towards his intended conquest of Spain, prepared to lay his hands on the property of the clergy. He had before this set on the famous preacher Wicliffe against the priests, and he now, along with all the great lords, supported him against the Bishop of London. The Londoners, provoked by an insolent expression applied to their bishop by the duke, rose up, and were near tearing him to pieces.‡

During all this uproar old Edward III. was dying at Eltham, abandoned to the mercy of Alice Perrers. She deceived him to the last, remaining by his bedside, flattering him with hopes of speedy recovery, and hindering him from thinking of his soul's weal. As soon as he was speechless, she took the rings off his fingers and left him.§

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* Milites parliamentales graviter conquesti sunt de quadam Alicia Peres appellata, femina procacissima. Wals., 189.

† Illa nunc juxta justitiarios regis residendo, nunc in foro ecclesiastico juxta doctores se collocando....pro defensione causarum suadere ac etiam contra postulare minime verebatur. Wals., 189.

‡ Id, 192.

§ Inverecunda pellex detraxit annulos a suis digitis et recessit. Ibid.

Father and son died within a year of each other. These two names, with which events so striking are associated, are still perhaps amongst those dearest to memory in England. Though the prince owed his victories of Poitiers and Najara, in a great measure, to John Chandos, though his pride drove the Gascons to revolt and armed Castile against England, few men better merited their country's gratitude. We ourselves, to whom he did so much mischief, cannot see in Canterbury, without respectful feelings, the coat-of-arms of the great foe of France. That sorry worm-eaten scrap of leather outshines all the rich scutcheons that adorn the cathedral; 500 years has it survived the noble heart that beat beneath it.

When the King of France heard of Edward's death, he said that his had been a glorious reign, and that such a prince deserved to be held in memory among the *preux*. He assembled a number of prelates and lords, and had a service performed for the deceased in the Sainte Chapelle.* The funeral rites in England were disturbed. Four days after Edward's death the fleet of Castile, carrying French troops, swept the whole coast, and burned the towns of Wight, Rye, Yarmouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Winchelsea.† England had never suffered such a disaster in the lifetime of Edward and the Black Prince.

The King of France carried on a war negotiation in all quarters. For five years he had hindered a marriage between one of Edward's sons and the heiress of Flanders, on the grounds that a papal dispensation was wanting; that dispensation he procured without difficulty for his brother, the Duke of Burgundy, who was related to the young countess in the same degree as the English prince. Both her father and the towns of Flanders were averse to this marriage, but her grandmother, the Countess of Artois and Franche Comté, sent word to her son, the Count of Flanders, that she would disinherit him if he did not give his daughter to the French prince. The marriage took place to the extreme mortification of the King of England, who saw that immense inheritance about to devolve on the house of France. Mutilated on the west, France was forming to herself her vast girdle on the east and the north.

This check, and the subsequent ones sustained by the English near Bordeaux, disposed them to do what they ought to have done in the very first instance, namely, to league with the King of Navarre. They were to give him Bayonne and the adjacent country, and he was to be their lieutenant in Aquitaine. The Navarrese, who had more cunning than ability, sent his son to Paris, the better to delude the king whilst he was treating with the English. It happened with him as with Louis XI. at Peronne; his own cunning led him into the trap. The king detained his son, took back Montpellier from him, and seized his county of Evreux. His lieutenant, Dutertre, was arrested; and also his counsellor, Du Rue,

* Froiss., ch. 692, p. 105. † Ib., 107.

who it was said had purposed to poison the king. Charles the Bad was accused of having already poisoned the Queen of France, the Queen of Navarre, and others besides.* All this was not improbable; it is not unlikely that this petty prince, exasperated by his long misfortunes, did attempt to recover by fraud and crime what he had been deprived of by force. He had grounds for hating those of his own house as much as the enemy: his wife was false to him with the Captal de Buch,† the brave Gascon captain of the English. Du Rue acknowledged only that Charles the Bad designed to poison the king through the instrumentality of a young physician from Cyprus, who could easily obtain an introduction to Charles V., and make himself agreeable to him, "because he spoke good Latin and was very argumentative." Dutertre and Du Rue were executed. Charles V. derived from this prosecution the advantage of disgracing and dishonouring the King of Navarre, stamping him with the character of a poisoner, and thus extinguishing his pretensions to the throne of France.

Charles the Bad lost every thing in the North except Cherbourg; in the South he was menaced by the Castilians, and he would have lost Navarre itself if the English had not come to his aid. The Gascons lent their hands to the English in this affair. The latter next attempted to take St. Malo, but were not more successful than were the French in their attempt on Cherbourg. All this great warlike movement ended in nothing. The King of France could neither be forced to fight nor to yield; he sat still and kept possession.‡

The ability of Charles V., and the weakness of the other states, had raised up France again, at least in public opinion. She was again the mark to which the eyes of Christendom were turned. The pope, Castile, and the King of Scotland regarded the king as their protector. The future Count of Flanders was his brother, he was connected by family ties with the Visconti, and the kings of Aragon and of Hungary courted his alliance. He received embassies from the King of Cyprus, and from the Sultan of Babylon who addressed themselves to him as the first prince of the Franks.§ The emperor himself paid him a sort of homage by making a visit in Paris. After having alienated the rights of the empire in Germany and Italy, he came and bestowed the title of King of Arles on the Dauphin.‖

The sudden revival of the kingdom of France was a miracle every

* Secousse, Hist. de Charles de Mauvais, i., 2e. partie, 173.

† Lebrasseur, Hist. du Comte d'Evreux, 93. See the original records of the suit, Archives du Royaume, J., 618.

‡ Le roi de France ressoignoit (craignait) si les fortunes périlleuses que nullement il ne vouloit que ses gens s'aventurassent par bataille si il n'avoit contre six les cinq. Frois., vii. 115.

§ "Comme au solennel prince des chrétiens." He offered to make him governor of his provinces, and master of his cavalry. Christ. de Pisan, vi. 61.

‖ Ibid., 97.

one was curious to see. People came from all parts to behold that prince who had endured so much, and had vanquished by dint of not fighting,* a man of Job's patience and Solomon's wisdom. The fourteenth century, discarding chivalry and heroic follies, revered in Charles V. the hero of patience and cunning.

This naturally thrifty prince, this king of a ruined people, amazed foreigners by the multitude of his buildings. He erected round Paris what were called pleasure-houses, Melun, Beauté, and St. Germain; but every house in those days was a fortress. He bestowed on the town a new bridge (Pont Neuf), walls, gates, and a good bastille. He put little trust in any thing but walls.†

Near his Bastille he built, enlarged, and fitted up with the magnificence of a king and the fastidious refinements of an invalid, the vast hôtel Saint Paul.‡ The splendour of that royal abode, and the sumptuous hospitality bestowed there on foreign princes and lords, misled them as to the actual state of the kingdom. The honours were done by the Sire de la Rivière, Charles V's. agreeable

* Le roi Charles de France fut durement sage et subtil; car tout quoi (coi) etoit en ses chambres et en ses dèduits; si reconquéroit ce que ses prédécesseurs avoient perdu sur le champ, la tête armee, et l'epée au poing. Frois., vii. 192.

† Comment le roy Charles estoit droit artiste et appris ès sciences et des beaulx maçonnages qu'il fist faire:—Fonda l'eglise de Saint Antoine dedans Paris. L'eglise de Saint Paul fist amender et accroistre, et maintes autres eglises et chapelles fonda, amenda et crut les edifices et rentes. Accrut son hotel de Saint Paul; le chastel du Louvre a Paris fit édifier de neuf; la bastille Saint Anthoine, combien que puis on y ait ouvré, et sus plusieurs des portes de Paris, fait edifice fort et bel. Item les murs neufs et belles, grosses et hautes tours que entour Paris sont. Ordonna à faire le Pont Neuf. Edifia Beaulté; Plaisance la noble maison; repara l'ostel de Saint Ouyn. Moult fit rédifier le chastel de Saint Germain en Laye; Créel, Montargis; le chastel de Meleun et mains autres notables edifices. Christ de Pisan, vi. 25.

‡ He thought the air of the hôtel St. Paul agreed with his health. In the labyrinth of rooms, forming the king's apartments, were reckoned *la chambre où gist le roi, la grande chambre de retrait, la chambre de l'estude*. There were besides, a garden, a park, a bathing-room, a stove-room, one or two others which were called *chauffe-doux*, a tennis court, lists, an aviary, a room for turtle doves, menageries for wild boars and for large and small lions, a council chamber, &c. Charles united within the limits of his hôtel St. Paul several other hôtels, such as those of the Abbots of St. Maur and Puteymuce (*petimus;* there were scriveners in the neighbourhood whose business it was to write petitions; Petitmusc was another corruption of the same word). The apartments of the Duke of Orleans were hardly less spacious than the king's; then came in like proportions those of the Duke of Burgundy, Mary, Isabella, and Catherine of France, the Dukes and Duchesses of Valois and Bourbon, the princes and princesses of the blood, and a number of other lords and courtiers. The Duke of Orleans had a closet, which served him merely for the purpose of repeating his hours, and which was called *retrait ou dit ses heures Monsieur Louis de France*. In like manner, on going down into the court-yards, one found the farriery, the porter's lodge, the *fourille*, the napery, the furriery, the butlery, the *saucisserie*, the larder, the oven-house, the falconry, the laundry, the fruitery, the cupbearer's offices, the pantry, the grocery, the tapestry-room, the coal-house, the place in which hypocras was made, the confectioner's department, the wood-house, the tailor's department, the wine-cellar for the king's houses, the kitchens, the tennis-courts, the store-rooms, the hen roosts, &c. The rooms were floored and wainscotted

and subtle councillor, the accomplished gentleman of his day.* He showed strangers his master's dwelling, its galleries, its libraries, its buffets loaded with gold, and they called Charles the *rich king*.†

"The hour of his rising in the morning was about six or seven. He gave audience even to the meanest, and allowed them to speak freely to him. Afterwards, when he was combed, clad, and dressed . . . . they brought him his breviary; about eight he went to his mass; on his coming out of chapel all manner of persons could present their petitions. After this, on the day appointed thereto, he used to go to the council, after which, about ten, he sat down to table. . . . Following the example of David, he was fond of hearing soft instruments after his meals.

"When he had risen from table, at the collation all manner of strangers could approach him. Here news was brought him from all manner of countries, or touching the fortune of his wars . . . . during a space of two hours; afterwards he went and lay down for an hour. After his nap he spent a while with his intimates in amusement, inspecting jewels and other riches. Then he went to vespers. . . . Next . . . he went in summer into his gardens whither merchants brought velvet, cloth of gold, &c. In winter he often employed himself in hearing read divers fine histories of Holy Scripture, or tales of the romances, or moralities of philosophers, or other matters of learning, until the time was come for supper, at which he sat down rather early, after which he amused himself for a while and then retired. To obviate vain and wandering words and thoughts there was (at the queen's dinner) a wise man (*prud'homme*) placed at the end of the table, who related, without ceasing, gests of virtuous manners of certain good men, departed."‡

The philosophers with whom the king loved to converse were his astrologers.§ His astrologer in ordinary, an Italian named Thomas de Pisan, came to him at his express invitation from Bologna; the king gave him 100 livres a month. These people, whatever were the means by which they obtained their power of forecasting events, were not very wide of the mark in their predictions, being exceed-

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with the choicest woods, and in all, even to the chapels, there were fire-places and stoves called *chauffe-doux*. The fireplaces were ornamented with colossal statues, according to the custom of the times; "that in the king's chamber had large stone horses; another was fitted up with twelve large animals and thirteen tall prophets." Felibien, i. 634.

* "To maintain his court in honour the king had with him barons of his blood and other knights, accomplished in all honours. . . . thus Messire Burel de la Rivière, a good knight, and who certes very graciously, liberally, and pleasantly, received those whom the king wished to entertain and honour." Christ., vi. 65.

† So Mathieu de Coucy called him. Observat. sur Christ. de Pisan, vi. 161.

‡ Christ. de Pisan, 277—282, 286.

§ The great secular princes (says a contemporary of Charles V.) would not dare to do any thing new without his command and his holy election (by astrology); they would not dare to lay the foundations of castles, build churches, begin war, enter into battle, put on a new robe, give an entertainment, undertake, a great journey, or depart from home without his command. Id., 208.

ingly subtle and sagacious. Charles V. gave Duguesclin an astrologer, when he delivered the constable's sword to him.*

The little we know of Charles V., his judgments and his words, is indicative, as well as his whole reign, of a mild and cold wisdom; perhaps, also, of some indifference as to good or evil.† "Considering human frailty," says his female historian, "he never allowed husbands to immure (*emmurer*) their wives for corporal transgression, though he was often supplicated by them to that effect."‡ He thrice surprised his barber in the very act of picking his pocket, without either being angry or punishing the man.§

Charles V. was, perhaps, the first king of this nation, till then so volatile and heedless, who won his way to success by long and patient forethought, the first who comprehended the remote and slow, but even then real influence of books on public affairs. The prior Honoré Bonnor wrote by his orders, under the curious title of the "Tree of Battles," the first essay on the right of peace and war. His advocate-general, Raoul de Presles anticipating Luther and Calvin by so many years, translated the Bible for him into the vulgar tongue; and his former preceptor, Nicolas Oresme, translated that other Bible of the times, Aristotle. Oresme, Raoul de Presles, and Philip de Maizières laboured, probably in combination, on those big books the "Songe de Verger," and the "Songe du vieux Pélerin" a kind of encyclopedic romances in which all the questions of the day were handled, and which led the way to the depression of the spiritual power and the confiscation of church property. It was in like manner that Pithon, Passerat, and some others, cooperated together in producing the "Satire Ménippée."

Expenditure was on the increase, the people was ruined, the Church alone could pay. This was the whole thought and reasoning of the fourteenth century. In England, the Duke of Lancaster tried the instrumentality of Wicliffe and the Lollards, in order to expedite the consummation desired, and went near to convulse the realm. In France, the approach to it was made with judicious slowness by Charles V. The necessity for it was nevertheless urgent. The king could not be deceived by the apparent revival of prosperity in France. He lived only on expedients. He

* Christ. de. Pisan, 209.

† He did not blame every kind of dissimulation. "Dissimulation," said some, "is a branch of treason." "Certes," said the king thereupon, "circumstances make things good or bad; for dissimulation may be practised in such wise as to be virtue and in such wise as to be vice; viz.: to dissemble against the fury of perverse men, when necessary, is great good sense; but to dissemble and disguise one's animosity whilst waiting an opportunity to do any one a mischief, may be called vice." Id., vi. 53.

‡ ....." And hardly did he grant the husband permission to keep her confined in a chamber if she was too dissolute." Id., v. 307.

§ It was not until the fourth offence that he turned him off. Id., 297. Nevertheless, he had a strong sense of justice, and took active steps to enforce it. A woman having complained to him of a man-at-arms who had violated her daughter, he had the culprit hanged from a tree in his presence. Id., 290.

had been obliged to pay the judges by the fines they themselves imposed, to sell impunity to usurers, and to put himself into the hands of the Jews. In conformity with the monstrous privileges John had sold them in order to pay his ransom, they were exempt from taxes, and responsible to no jurisdiction except that of a prince of the blood, named guardian of their privileges.* No *letters royal* had force against them.† They promised not to exact more than four deniers' interest per livre weekly, but, at the same time, they were to be believed against their debtors in all they swore.‡

The prince, their *protector*, was to aid them in recovering the sums due to them, that is to say the king made himself a bumbailiff for the Jews, in order to share with them. The money extorted by such means cost the people much more than it rendered to the king.§

As the priest would not be despoiled, there was no alternative but to fall into the hands of the Jew. The Jew and the priest alone had money. As yet there was neither production of wealth by industry, nor circulation of it by commerce. Wealth in those days meant treasure, treasure hoarded by the Jew, and obscurely augmented by usury; priestly treasure, too visible in the churches, and in the possessions of the Church.

The temptation was great for Charles V., but so, too, was the difficulty. The priests had been his most zealous auxiliaries against the English; they had put the greater part of Aquitaine into his hands, as formerly they had bestowed it on Clovis.

There were two subjects of quarrel between the spiritual and the temporal powers: money and jurisdiction. The question of jurisdiction, indeed, resolved itself in a great measure into one of money, for justice was paid for.‖

The first complaints against the clergy came from the lords, and not from the kings (1205).¶ The former, as founders and patrons of the churches were much more directly interested in the question. In the time of St. Louis they formed a confederacy against the clergy, determined how much each should contribute to support the sort of war waged against that body, and appointed representatives who should assist with the strong hand all who fell under ecclesi-

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* Ord., iii. 351, 471. Cf., iv. 532. (Feb. 4, 1364.)

† Ord., iii. 468, Art. XXVI.

‡ They were not to lend on suspicious pledges, but they had an easy device for clearing themselves. Art. XX. of the Jews' privileges: "For fear things should be placed in their houses which they should afterwards be accused of stealing, we command that *they shall not be liable to answer for any thing found in their houses*, unless it be in a coffer of which they keep the keys." Ord., iii. 478.

§ Though Charles V. endeavoured to introduce some degree of order into the public accounts, he could not see his way clearly. The use of Roman numerals, maintained almost to our times by the *Chambre des comptes*, was enough to render calculation impossible.

‖ The official defender of the clergy in 1329 tells us expressly, that the nettest income of the Church, especially in France, was derived from the administration of justice.

¶ Libertés de l'Eglise gallicane, i. 3. 4.

astical sentences.* St. Louis, in his famous pragmatica, an instrument hitherto not well understood, demands that ecclesiastical elections should be free, that is to say, left open to royal and feudal influence.†

Philip the Fair had the lords with him in his struggle against the pope. They formed a new feudal confederacy, which dismayed the bishops, and delivered the Church of France into the king's hands; and the submission of that Church made him master of the papacy. In the beginning and the end of his reign, however, Philip the Fair struck two blows with daring impartiality; he enacted the *maltôte*, which fell upon the nobles and the priests as well as on the burghers, and he suppressed the ecclesiastical chivalry of the Temple. Royalty, triumphant under Philip of Valois, made the pope grant it whatever it pleased out of the revenues of the Church of France; and even pretended to the right of levying tithes for the crusade upon all Christendom. To indemnify themselves for the tenths, regalia, &c., which they had to pay, the churches endeavoured to increase their judicial profits, and to encroach on the lay jurisdictions, seignorial or royal. The king seemed desirous of counteracting these proceedings. On the 22nd of December, 1329, there took place before him at the château of Vincennes, a formal pleading between the avocat Pierre Cugnières and Pierre du Roger, Archbishop of Scns, the former defending the rights of the king and the lords,‡ the latter those of the clergy. The archbishop spoke upon the text, "Fear God, honour the king;" and resolved that precept into the four following: "Serve God devoutly; give to Him largely; honour His servants duly; render Him his own entirely."§

I am disposed to think that all this dispute was but a satisfaction granted by the king to the lords. He ended it by saying, that far from diminishing the privileges of the Church, he would rather augment them;‖ only he issued an ordonnance, establishing his right to royalties out of vacant benefices (1334). Of the two advocates,

* Libertés de l'Eglise gallicane, i. ii. 90

† He remonstrates against the excesses of the court of Rome, the encroachments on jurisdictions, and the violation of the franchises of the realm, without saying what the franchises are. Ibid., ii. 76.

‡ Pierre Cugnières demanded among other things that the felon vassal should be punished by the lord and not by the Church, saving as regarded the subsequent penance; that a lord should not be excommunicated for the fault of his people; that the ecclesiastical judge should not compel by excommunication another's vassal to plead before him; that the Church should not afford asylum to those that escaped out of the king's prisons; on the other hand, that lands acquired by a clerk should pay taxes, and should return to his family, instead of remaining in mortmain; that the clerk who trafficked or lent should be subject to tallage (*la taille*); that a *roturier* should not give half of his land to his son who was a clerk, if he had two children, &c.

§ Libertés de l'Eglise gallicane, 7.

‖ Seque jura ecclesiarum aucta potius quam imminuta esse velle. Bulæus, iv. 222.

the one who spoke for the clergy became pope; the advocate for the king and the lords, we are told by a grave historian, was universally hissed, and his name became a common designation for a stupid caviller.* Nor was this all: there was in Notre Dame a grotesque figure, representing a damned soul, like the Dagobert teased by devils, which is seen elsewhere; this ugly, flat-nosed figure was called *M. Pierre du Coignet.* The whole clerical pack, subdeacons, sacristans, beadles, and choir-boys, used to stick their tapers under the poor devil's nose, or dash them against his face to put them out.† For four hundred years he endured this *vengeance de sacristie.*

The churches were between the hammer and the anvil, between the king and the pope. When a vacant bishopric had for a year or more paid the king the royalties (*régales*) on the vacancy, the newly-elected bishop had to pay the pope the *annat*, or first year's revenue.‡

Another thing which was most complained of by the lord patrons of the Church, and the canons or monks who competed in the elections, was what was called the Reservations. The pope with one word stopped the election, declaring that he reserved it to himself to nominate to such a bishopric, such an abbey. These Reservations, which often bestowed an Italian or a French pastor on an English, German, or Spanish Church, were extremely odious; yet they had frequently the advantage of withdrawing the great sees from the stupid feudal influences which would have been almost sure to fill them unworthily with the younger sons or the cousins of the lords. The popes sometimes took from the seclusion of a convent, or from the dust of the universities, some learned and able clerk, and made him bishop or archbishop, primate of Gaul, or of the Empire.

The Avignon popes rarely evinced this high policy. Poor servants of the King of France, they let the papacy fare as it might. They regarded the Reservations but as a means of selling places, and committing simony on a grand scale. John XXII. declared, with barefaced audacity, that in his great hatred of simony, he reserved to himself all the benefices vacated in Christendom during the first year of his pontificate.§ This son of a Cahors cobbler left at his death a hoard of 25,000,000 of ducats. The men of his day believed he had discovered the philosopher's stone.‖

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* Abiitque in proverbium ut quem sciolum et argutulum et deformem videbaus, M. Petrum de Cuneriis, vel corrupte, M. Pierre du Coignet vocitemus. Bulæus, iv. 222.

† Libertés de l'Eglise gallicane. Traités. Lettres de Brunet, p. 4. Simulacrum ejus, simum et deforme....quod scholastici prætereuntes stylis scriptoriis pugnisque confodere et contundere solebant. Bulæus, iv. 322.

‡ The archbishops of Mayence and Cologne paid the pope each 24,000 ducats for the *pallium.*

§ Baluz., Pap. Aven., i. 722. Omnia beneficia ecclesiastica quæ fuerunt et quocunque nomine censeantur et ubicumque ea vacare contigerit.

‖ See above, book v., ch. i.

Benedict XII. was so alarmed at the state in which he found the Church, and the intrigues and corruption that beset it, that he preferred leaving benefices vacant; he reserved to himself the nomination, and nominated no one.* After his death the torrent returned to its course. It is alleged, that on the election of the prodigal and mundane Clement VI., more than 100,000 clerks repaired to Avignon to buy benefices.†

Read Petrarch's piteous lamentations over the state of the Church, and his invectives against the Babylon of the West. His strains remind us at once of Juvenal and of Jeremiah. Avignon is in his eyes another Cretan labyrinth, but with no Ariadne, no liberating thread; he finds in it the cruelty of Minos and the infamy of the Minotaur.‡ He portrays with disgust the senile amours of those hoary-headed minions, the princes of the Church. A thousand scandalous tales were current. The absurd story of the Pope Joan assumed an air of likelihood.§

Petrarch's erudite indignation might be regarded with some distrust. A judgment more imposing in the popular estimation was that of St. Bridget, and of the two Saint Catherines. The former puts the following words into the mouth of Christ himself, addressing the Pope of Avignon: "Murderer of souls, worse than Pilate and Judas! Judas sold me only; thou sellest me and the souls of my elect."‖

The popes who followed Clement VI. were polluted monks, but they had more ambition than he; they made the Church a conqueror, and desolated Italy. Clement had purchased Avignon from Queen Joanna, the price being absolution for her husband's murder. His successors, with the aid of the companies, recovered all the patrimony of St. Peter. This connexion between the pope and the English and Breton brigands, exasperated the Italians to the last degree. The war became atrocious, full of outrage and barbarity. The Visconti made the legates, who brought them excommunication, choose whether they would eat the bull or be drowned. The priests were thrown into heated ovens in Milan; in Florence they were in danger of being burned alive. The popes felt that they must lose Italy if they did not quit Avignon.

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* Cum eos non reperiebat juxta gustum suum bene idoneos. Prima Vita Bened. XII. ap. Baluz, i. 264.

† In Clemente clementia. Tertia Vit. Clem. VI. ap. Baluz, i. 284.

‡ Petrarch., Ep. 10. De tertia Babylone et quinto labyrintho.

§ The antipope Nicholas V. had had for wife Jeanne or Joan de Corbière, whom he divorced to become a Franciscan. When he was pope, Joan alleged that the divorce was a nullity. A thousand stories were invented on the subject at the court of Avignon; thence the fable of the she pope, Joan. The year 848 was assigned as the date of this history, and Marianus Festus and Sigebert of Gemblours were quoted in support of it; but not a word relating to it was found in the old MSS. of those authors. It was not until a subsequent period that what had been written at first in the margin was foisted into the text. Bulæus, iv. 240.

‖ Tu pejor Lucifero....tu injustior Pilato....tu immitior Juda, qui me solum vendidit; tu autem non solum me vendis sed et animas electorum meorum. S. Brigittæ revelationes, i. 41.

Their attachment to that town had, no doubt, diminished, since they had there been robbed by the companies. The prostration of France left them free to select their abode. Urban V., the best of these popes, tried to settle in Rome. He went thither, but was not allowed to remain. Gregory established himself in that city, and died there. At his death the French had a promising majority in the conclave. That conclave, however, was held in Rome; the cardinals heard a furious people shouting in their ears: "Romano lo volemo o almanco Italiano." Out of sixteen cardinals who entered the conclave, but four were Italians, and one a Spaniard; the other eleven were Frenchmen.* The French cardinals were divided among themselves. Two of the last popes, who were from Limousin, had made several men of their own province cardinals; and these, seeing that the other Frenchmen were resolved on excluding them all from the papacy, joined the Italians, and nominated an Italian, whom, indeed, they believed devoted to France, the Calabrian Bartolomeo Prignani.

Just as at the election of Clement V., the very opposite of what had been expected came to pass, but this time to the prejudice of France. Urban VI., a man sixty years of age, until then regarded as very moderate in his temper, seemed to have lost his wits on becoming pope. He was resolved, he said, to reform the Church, but he began with the cardinals, insisting, among other things, that they should have but one dish on their table. They ran away, declared that the election had been made under constraint, and chose another pope, a great lord, Robert de Genève, son of the Comte de Genève, who had exhibited great daring and ferocity in the wars of the Church. They called him Clement VII., in memory no doubt of Clement VI. one of the most prodigal and mundane popes that ever dishonoured the Church. In concert with Queen Joanna of Naples, against whom Urban had declared himself, Clement and his cardinals took into their pay a company of Breton adventurers that haunted Italy. But these Bretons were defeated by Barbiano, a brave condottiere who had formed the first Italian company to oppose the foreign adventurers.† Clement fled into France to Avignon. So, then, here were two popes, the one in Avignon the other in Rome, defying and excommunicating each other.

It was not to be expected that France and the states which were then led by it (Scotland, Navarre, and Castile), would easily submit to be dispossessed of the papacy. Charles V. acknowledged Clement, thinking, doubtless, that even were all Europe for Urban, it was better for himself to have a French pope, a sort of patriarch who would be at his own disposal. He was bitterly censured for this selfish policy. All the misfortunes that subsequently befel France, the madness of

* Bulæus, iv. 470.

† Sism., Rep. Ital., vii. 154.

Charles VI. and the victories of the English, were regarded as punishments ordained by Heaven.*

It is asserted that the French cardinals thought at first of making Charles V. himself pope, and that he refused the honour on the ground of being lame of an arm and unable to celebrate mass.† A pope who was at the same time King of France would have had all the world against him.

It was not without difficulty that the king brought the university to decide in favour of Clement. The faculties of law and medicine readily gave their approval to the king's pope; but that of arts, consisting of four nations, was divided within itself; the French and Norman nations being for Clement VII., whilst the Picard and English voted for neutrality. The university, not being able to come to an unanimous vote, begged for time.‡ The king took the whole matter upon his own responsibility. He wrote from Beauté-sur-Marne that he was in possession of full and sufficient information: "Pope Clement VII. is true pastor of the universal Church... If you refuse or delay in this matter you will displease us."§

Charles V. acted on this occasion with a vivacity not usual with him, as though he was vexed and ashamed at not having foreseen what had happened.

He would gladly have won Flanders for his pope, and through it England. He sent word to the Count of Flanders that Urban spoke very ill of the English, and said, that from their conduct towards the Holy See he thought them heretics.‖ Flanders and England, nevertheless, recognised the pope of Rome out of aversion for the pope of Avignon. Urban already had Italy; Germany, Hungary, and Aragon embraced his party. He was recognised by the two popular saints, Catherine of Sienna and Catherine of Sweden, and also by the Infante, Peter of Aragon, who had also the reputation of sanctity. The unparalleled course was taken of consulting the most famous lawyer of the day as to the legality of their pope's election; Balda decided that it was good and valid, and he added, with great apparent reason, that even had the election taken place under constraint, still the cardinals had voluntarily returned after the tumult, and had enthroned Urban in perfect freedom.¶

An event which could not possibly have been foreseen had placed

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* O quel flayel! ô quel douloreux meschief, qui encore dure! etc. Christ. de Pisan, vi. 116. The following canticle was sung at that period:

"Plange regni respublica,
Tua gens, *ut schismatica,*
Desolatur.
Nam pars ejus est iniqua,
Et altera sophistica,
Reputatur," etc. Bib. du Roi, cod. 7609.

† Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, 103. Nevertheless, he every year showed the true cross to the people with his own hands, as St. Louis had done. Christ. du Pisan, 316.

‡ Bulæus, iv. 566. § Id., 568. ‖ Id., 521. ¶ Id., 464.

all Christendom in opposition to France: fortune had baffled wisdom. Queen Joanna of Naples, the king's cousin and ally, was soon after deposed by Urban, overthrown by Charles de Duras, her adopted son, and strangled, in punishment for a crime committed five-and-thirty years before.

All Europe was in commotion: there was movement everywhere, but the causes were infinitely various. In England the Lollards seemed to threaten the Church, the crown, and even the security of property. The Ciompi were effecting their democratic revolution in Florence. France itself seemed escaping from the grasp of Charles V. Three provinces, the most vital perhaps, though the furthest from the centre, revolted.

Languedoc was the first to break out. Charles V., pre-occupied with the North, and looking constantly to England, had made one of his brothers, the Duke of Anjou, a sort of king of Languedoc. Through the Duke of Anjou he hoped to get hold of Aragon and Naples, whilst he would become master of Flanders through his other brother, the Duke of Burgundy. But France, in her miserably ruined condition, was hardly capable of remote conquests. Fiscality, then so severe all over the kingdom, became an atrocious tyranny in Languedoc. The rich municipalities of the South, whose prosperity was based only on commerce and freedom, were subjected to tallages without mercy, just like a northern fief. The feudal prince would not hear of their privileges. He wanted money with all speed, to invade Spain and Italy, and to recommence the famous victories of Charles of Anjou.

Nîmes revolted (1378), but finding it stood alone, submitted.* The Duke of Anjou still further increased the burden of taxation. In March, 1379, he imposed a monstrous duty of five francs and ten gros on each hearth; and in October he ordained a fresh tax of twelve gold francs a year, or one franc per month.† As for levying the latter, the thing was impracticable; the province was so ruined, that the population fell in thirty years from 100,000 families to 30,000. The consuls of Montpellier refused to collect the last tax, and the people of the town massacred the Duke of Anjou's men. Clermont-Lodève did the same, but the other towns did not stir; and the terrified inhabitants of Montpellier received the prince on their knees, and awaited his decision of their fate. The sentence was tremendous. Two hundred citizens were to be burned alive, two hundred hanged, two hundred decapitated, eighteen hundred branded and deprived of all their property. Ruinous fines were inflicted on all the rest.‡

The Duke of Anjou was with difficulty prevailed on to mitigate the sentence. Charles V. perceived the necessity of taking Languedoc from him, and sent commissioners into the province to reform abuses. In the instructions he gave them, there is no trace of a single sentiment natural to a man or to a king; the only thing he

* Hist. du Languedoc, xxxii. 365. † Ibid., 368. ‡ Ibid., 369

thinks of is the interest of the fisc and the domain: "Whereas we have in the said country many tillage lands, vineyards, forests, mills, and other hereditaments which used commonly to afford us much revenue and profit; the which lands are left desert because the people is so diminished by mortalities, wars, and otherwise, that there is no one who is able or willing to cultivate them or hold them subject to the old charges and dues, we are willing that our counsellors shall have the power of disposing of our hereditaments upon new terms, increasing or diminishing the old charges." They were, likewise, to revoke all gifts, to inquire into the conduct of all seneschals, captains, provost-marshals, &c.*

The narrow policy, too manifest in these instructions, led the king into a great error, the greatest of his reign, one that set Bretagne against him. His best soldiers were Bretons; he had loaded them with wealth, and thought through them he was master of the whole country. These mercenaries, however, were not Bretagne. Nor were they themselves as well satisfied as they had been with the king. He had given orders that the soldiers were for the future to pay for all they took, and he had created a *maréchaussée* to put down their plunderings, and provosts who went about the country trying and hanging military offenders.

He did not like Clisson; and though he nominated him to succeed to the constableship on the death of Duguesclin, he would have preferred the Sire de Couey.†

Dugueselin's cousin, the Breton Sévestre Budes, who had acquired much reputation in the Italian wars, was arrested on suspicion by the French pope, Clement VII., and delivered by him to the *bailli* of Mâcon, who put him to death to the great grief of Dugueselin.‡ When the Breton's friends complained of his execution and affirmed his innocence, the king replied coolly: "If he died innocent, the thing is the less distressing for you; it is so much the better for his soul and for your honour."§

The Bretons were French against England; but they were above all things Bretons. Their duke wanted to hand them over to the English, and they expelled him. When the king wanted to unite them to the crown, they drove away the king.

On the 5th of April, 1378, Montfort engaged to open the castle of Brest to the English. On the 20th of June the king summoned him to appear in parliament, and then passed sentence on him by default.‖ The proceedings were strange. Citations were addressed to the duke at Rennes and Nantes, while he was in Flanders. No safe-conduct was granted him. Many peers refused to sit in judgment upon him. The king spoke in person against his vassal, and demanded sentence of confiscation. Had the duchy been taken from Montfort, it should have gone to the house of

* Ord., vi. 465, 467.
† Frois., vii. 64, 903. ‡ Ibid., 214. § Christ. de Pisan, vi. 38.
‖ Lobineau, Hist. de Bret., xii. 418.

Blois, conformably with the treaty of Guérande, which the king had guaranteed.

It was a bold thing to tell old Bretagne, that for the future it was to be but a province of France, a dependance of the domain; it was also an ungrateful thing, after what the Bretons had done towards expelling the English. The cold and selfish monarch evidently did not know the people he had to deal with, nor could he; there are some kinds of ignorance for which there is no remedy, those, namely, of the heart.

The Bretons, both nobles and peasants, were already disaffected. The constable, Duguesclin, had not been tender with his countrymen in his Breton wars; he had imposed a hearth-tax, of twenty sols per hearth, upon them, prohibited emancipations, and re-established mortmain servitude which the duke had abolished.* The first act of the royal government was the establishment of the gabelle. Bretagne took up arms.

The burghers armed as well as the nobles. Those of Rennes formed an express league with the barons, and swore to live and die in defence of the common cause. The duke returned from England, and was received with transport by those very men who had driven him out. No one remembered whether he was a Blois or a Montfort; he was the Duke of Bretagne. When he landed near St. Malo, all the barons and the whole people were waiting for him on the shore; many of them went into the water, and then knelt down. Jeanne of Blois herself, the widow of Charles of Blois, the man he had killed, presented her congratulations to him at Dinan.†

The best captains the king could employ against Bretagne were Bretons. Clisson appeared before Nantes, but he could not help telling the people of the town they would do wisely not to admit within their gates any one who was stronger than themselves. Duguesclin and Clisson repaired to the army which the Duke of Anjou was collecting; but at the first approach of a Breton troop, that army vanished.‡ The duke was constrained to ask for a truce.

The duke saw his Bretons, one after the other, pass over to the enemy. Those who would not quit him without his sanction, obtained it without difficulty; but they were arrested on the frontiers, and put to death as traitors. Duguesclin himself, incurring the

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* Daru, Hist. de Bretagne, iv.

† Sismondi, Hist. de France, xi. 285. Lobineau, xii. 108, p. 423.

‡ Chronique en vers de 1341 à 1381, par maître Guill. de St. André, licencié en décret, scholastique de Dol, notaire apostolique et impérial, ambassadeur, conseiller et sécretaire du duc Jean IV.:

Les Francois estoient testonnés,
Et leurs airs tout efféminés;
Avoient beaucoup de perleries,
Et de nouvelles broderies.
Ils estoient frisques et mignotz,
Chantoient comme des syrenotz;
En salles d'herbettes jonchées,
Dansoient, portoient barbes fourchées;
..Les vieux resembloient aux jeunes;
Et tous prenoient terrible nom,
Pour faire paour aux Bretons.

king's suspicion, sent him back the constable's sword, saying he was going to Spain, for he was constable also of Castile. The dukes of Anjou and Bourbon were sent to appease him, for Charles V. well knew he could do nothing without him. But the old captain had too much sense to run his head into the midst of that furious Bretagne; it was better for him to remain on bad terms with the king, and gain time. According to all appearance, he did not consent to resume the constable's sword. It was as the Duke of Bourbon's friend, and to oblige him, that he went to the castle of Randon, near Puy en Vélay, and besieged a Company that was ravaging the country. He was taken ill there, and died.* It is said that the captain of the fortress, who had promised to surrender in a fortnight, if he was not succoured, kept his word, and laid the keys on the dead man's bed.† This is not improbable. Duguesclin had been the honour of the Companies, a father to the soldiers; he made their fortunes, and ruined himself to pay their ransoms.

The estates of Bretagne negotiated with the King of France, the Duke of Bretagne with the King of England. On the refusal of Charles V. to hear of any arrangement, the Bretons let the English come. The Earl of Buckingham, brother to Richard II., was ordered to march into Bretagne through Picardy, Champagne, Beauce, Blaisois, and Maine. Charles V. let them pass; the Duke of Burgundy in vain begged to be allowed to fight.

Duguesclin died on the 13th of July, 1380. The king followed him in the September of the same year. On the very day of his death, he abolished all imposts not sanctioned by the estates. This was returning to the point from which his reign had begun.

He also recommended, in his last moments, that the Bretons should be conciliated by every possible means.‡ He had previously directed that Duguesclin should be interred in St. Denis, beside his own tomb. His faithful counsellor, the Sire de la Rivière, was buried at his feet.

This monarch died young (æt. 44), and without finishing any thing. A minority began. The schism, the war in Bretagne, the scarcely suppressed revolt of Languedoc, and the revolution of Flanders,§ now in full play, these were sore perplexities for a king but twelve years old. Though Charles V. had enacted, by an ordonnance, in 1374, that the kings of France were, for the future, to be deemed to have reached their majority at the age of fourteen, his son's minority was destined to be a long one, and even for life.

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* Ah! doulce France amie, je te lairay briefment!
Or veille Dieu de gloire, par son commandement,
Que si bon conestable aiez prochainement
De coi vous vailliez mieulx en honour plainement!
Poeme de Duguesclin, MS. de la Bibl. Royale, No. 7224, 142.

† See the excellent article Charles V., by M. Lacabane (Dict. de la Conversation).

‡ Froissart, vii. 366.

§ The history of this revolution connects itself more naturally with that of the reign of Charles VI. It will be related further on, Book vii., ch. 1.

Charles left after him two things—fortresses in good condition, and money. After having paid away so much to the English, and the companies, he had still found means to amass 17,000,000 of francs, which he concealed in the thickness of a wall at Vincennes. But his son never enjoyed the benefit of this hoard.

The king thought himself sure of the burghers. He had confirmed and augmented the privileges of all the towns that forsook the English.* He had forbidden that his brothers' mansions should afford asylum to criminals, and had put them under the provost's jurisdiction. In compliance with the remonstrances of the parliament of Paris, he authorised it to issue its decrees without delay, *all royal letters to the contrary notwithstanding*.† He permitted the burghers of Paris to acquire fiefs, with the same right and title as the nobles, and to wear the same ornaments as the knights. In this way the king created, in the centre of the kingdom, a *roturier* nobility, which tended to lower the consequence of the other one, by imitating it. All the lands in the Isle of France were destined gradually to fall into burgher hands; that is to say, into the most immediate dependence on the king.

These remote advantages did not counterbalance the present evils. The people was quite exhausted. The taxes were so much the heavier, because the king had, from the commencement of his reign, wisely prohibited all tampering with the coinage. I know not even if this latter mode of taxation was not regretted. At a period when there was little trade, and when even feudal rents were generally paid in kind, adulteration of the coinage affected but few persons, and those only who could afford to lose, usurers, for instance, Jews, Cahorsins, Lombards, and those who managed the financial affairs of Rome or Avignon. Taxes, on the contrary, did not touch these persons, but fell directly on the poor man.

The property of the Church could alone relieve the king and the people, but the time was not yet come for laying hands on it. To wrest that property from the pious foundations, to annul the last wishes of the founders, whose families still subsisted, to despoil the convents that received the younger sons and the daughters of the nobles,‡ were things that no one could have attempted with impunity in the fourteenth century.

A fact that proves how much power was still possessed by the clergy, is the facility with which they drove the English out of the towns of the South. The King of France, who had just received

* We can trace the steps of his conquest by charters: Rhodez, Figeac, Montauban, February, 1370; Milhaud en Rouergue, May; Cahors, Sarlat, July, &c. Ord., v. 291, 324, 338, 333.—Respecting the history of the communes see particularly M. Guizot's Course. No one has analysed the very complex origins of the tiers état in a more precise and judicious manner. I will myself return to this important subject.

† Ord., v. 323.

‡ In 1784, the noblesse of Burgundy called once more for the establishment of a chapter of Demoiselles. Archives du Royaume, K., pieces relatives à la suppression du convent de Marcigny.

such important aid from the priests, would of course look twice before he made them his foes.

The great schism put the Avignon pope altogether in the king's power, and, indeed, left the latter the uncontrolled disposal of all benefices in the Gallican Church: but it placed France in a perilous situation, leaving her in a manner isolated, in the midst of Europe, and, as it were, out of the pale of the common law of Christendom.

It was certainly no little thing for royalty to have, in the course of two centuries, concentrated in its hands the two fundamental powers of the middle ages, the Church and feudalism. The ecclesiastical dignities were thenceforth secured to the king's servants; the fiefs were united to the crown, or were become apanages of the princes of the blood. The great feudal houses, those living symbols of the separate existences of the provinces, had gradually become extinct.* The diversities of the middle ages were melting into unity; but that unity was weak, as yet.

If Charles V. was himself unable to effect much, still he bequeathed to France the type of the modern king, which as yet she knew not. He taught the harebrained blunderers of Crécy and Poitiers the value of reflection, patience, and perseverance. The education was to be a long one; many a lesson was requisite; but, at least, the goal was plainly marked out, and France was to make her way to it, slowly, indeed, under the guidance of Louis XI. and Henry IV., Richelieu and Colbert.

In the miseries of the fourteenth century, she began to know herself better. In the first place, she knew that she was not, and would not, be English. At the same time she lost something of the religious and chivalric character that had confounded her with the rest of Christendom, during all the middle ages; and, for the first time, she saw herself as a nation and as a thing of prose. She attained the perfection of narrative prose at one stroke, in Froissart.† The progress of the language is immense, from Joinville to Froissart; from the latter to Comines it is almost nothing.

Froissart is a real epitome of the France of that day, intrinsically quite prosiac, but chivalric in form and graceful in bearing. The gallant chaplain who *desservoit Madame Philippa de beaux récits et lais d'amour*, tells us his story in as easy and off-hand a style as he chanted his mass. Friends and foes, English and French, good and evil, are all one to the narrator. Those who accuse him of partiality do not rightly know him. If he appears sometimes to show a preference for the English, it is because the English are successful.‡ Little he cares for aught else, provided he can roam from

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* See the details in Sismondi, Hist. de France, xi. 305.

† Not to mention the many fine narratives with which Froissart abounds, I do not think there is any thing in our language more exquisite than the chapter: Comment le roi Edouard dit à la Comtesse de Salisbury qu'il convenoit qu'il fût aimé d'elle, dont elle fut fortement ébahie.

‡ Though Froissart resided so long in England, I find but one word in his

castle to castle, from abbey to abbey, telling and listening to fine tales of prowess; as, for instance, we see him, the jocund priest, riding on his way to the Pyrenees, with his four greyhounds in leash, which he is taking to the Count of Foix.*

A book less known, and on which I would so much the more willingly dwell, is a treatise composed for the use of rustics, by the king's order: *The true Rule and Government of Shepherds and Shepherdesses, composed by the Rustic, Jehan de Brie, the good Shepherd* (1379).† In this little book, written with much grace and sweetness, an endeavour is made to enhance the importance of rural life, to cheer the peasant whom so many calamities had disheart-

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writings that seems borrowed from the language of that country: "Le roi de France pour ce jour étoit jeune et volontiers *travillait* (travelled), ix. 475, an. 1388.

* "I considered in myself that grand deeds of arms would not fall out for a long space of time in the marches of Picardy and the country of Flanders, since there was peace in those parts; and it was very tiresome to me to be idle, for I well know, that when the time shall come, when I shall be dead and rotten, this grand and noble history will be in much fashion, and all noble and valiant persons will take pleasure in it, and gain from it augmentation of profit. And moreover, since I had, God be thanked, sense and memory, and a good collection of all past things, with a clear understanding to conceive all the facts of which I should be informed, touching my principal matters, and since I was of an age and constitution of body well fit to encounter difficulties, I determined not to delay pursuing my subject. And in order to learn the truth of distant transactions, without sending upon the inquiry any other in place of myself, I took an opportunity of visiting that high and redoubted Prince Gaston Phœbus, Count de Foix and de Béarn.....I began my journey, inquiring on all sides for news, and, through the grace of God continued it, without peril or hurt, until I arrived at the court and residence of Orthès.....in the year of grace, 1389..... He himself, when I put any question to him, answered it most readily, saying, that the history I was employed on would, in times to come, be more sought after than any other." Johnes' Froissart, iii. 1.

† Jehan begins by relating how, "At the age when children begin to cast their first teeth and are still callow, and not accountable under any law," he was made to keep geese, and then swine; how afterwards, "being increased in estate in that he was promoted to field honours," he had the charge of horses and cows. But he was hurt in this occupation, and declared he would never again keep cows. "Then he was given the charge of eighty débonnaire and innocent lambs ....and he was as it were their tutor and curator, for they were under age and minors." He did not behave like certain temporal or spiritual pastors, &c. Afterwards "the said Jehan de Brie was appointed *without simony* to carry the keys of the provisions of the hôtel de Messy, belonging to one of the counsellors of our lord the king in his parliament of Paris.... When the said De Brie was licenced and master in that science of the shepherd, and was worthy to read in rue au Feurre (*la rue du Fouarre where the schools were*) by the calves' pail, or under the shade of an elm or lime, behind the sheep, then he went to live in the Palais Royal, in the hostel of Messire Arnoul de Grantpont, treasurer of the royal Sainte Chapelle in Paris....—First, the lambs which are young and tender ought to be treated kindly and without violence, and they ought not to be chastised with rods, sticks, &c.—When the lambs are cut the shepherd ought to be without sin, and it is good that he confess himself," &c. &c. This charming little book has not been reprinted, as far as I know, since the sixteenth century. I know two editions of it, both of Paris; the one dated 1542 (Bibl. de l'Arsenal), the other without date (Bibl. Roy., S., 880).

ened, and to give him an interest in his occupations. This is very touching. It is evidently the king who turns shepherd, and in that guise seeks out the hind, where he lies among the oxen and the asses, reads him a mild homily, encourages and tries to instruct him.

Apropos to the rearing of flocks and herds, and amidst receipts for the shepherd and the farrier, *Jehan* finds means to insinuate a few words on the great questions of the times. The words shepherd and flock admit of a thousand allusions. Beneath an affected rustic simplicity we everywhere discern something of the sly inuendoes of the *gens de robe*,* and their timid causticity towards priests. This book is very near of kin to the "Avocat Patelin" and "Satire Ménippée."

To return from this digression: In the seeming order admired under Charles V., and the general system of the fourteenth century, there was something weak and spurious. Royalty, that new religion on which every thing was based, itself rested on an equivocation. It had transformed itself under the influence of the lawyers from a feudal suzerainty into a Roman imperial monarchy. The establishments of *France and Orleans* were become the establishments *of France*. The king had enervated feudalism, and wrested its weapons from its hands; and then, when war came, he would have given them back. Full of pride and weakness, feudalism still continued to subsist, like a gigantic suit of armour, which, empty as it is, looks threatening with its pointed lance; but it fell when touched at Crécy and Poitiers.

It was necessary then to employ mercenaries, that is to say, to make war with money. But where was the money to be got? None durst yet despoil the Church, and manufacturing industry was not in existence. Charles V., with all his political wisdom, could find no help in this dilemma. In his last days every thing failed him at once. The English who traversed France in 1380 met no more resistance than in 1370; the king was still weaker than before, for he had not the Bretons to aid him.

Wisdom having failed, folly was next tried. France rushed under young Charles VI. into an extravagant imitation of the old chivalry, the true character and even the very forms of which were forgotten.† This spurious chivalry took for its hero a very unchivalric personage, the famous leader of the companies who had delivered France of them, the able Duguesclin. The epopœa that was made of his ex-

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* The following passage looks very much like one written by *un homme de robe:* Ils estoient les agneaux sous age et mineurs d'ans; et pour ce que ledit Jehan n'est pas noble, et que il ne lui appartenoit pas de lignage, il n'en put avoir le *bail*, mais il en eut la *garde*, gouvernement et administration, quant à la nourriture.

† So much so that in the reign of Charles VI., when the two sons of the Duke of Anjou were solemnly armed as knights, all the spectators asked what was the meaning of those rites. See Book vii.

ploits* shows plainly enough that no one had rightly seized the true character and genius of Charles Vth's constable.

The part of chivalry that was best imitated was the sumptuous splendour of weapons and armour, and the magnificence of tournaments. Charles V. had left behind him a ruined people; and this was called on to contribute out of its penury more than wealth had ever been able to pay. Once resolved on demanding impossibilities, what signifies a little more or a little less!

The same state of things, the same delirium existed all over Europe. It so chanced that the thrones of most kingdoms were filled by minors. Royalty, that new divinity, stammered or babbled nonsense. The century that produced Charles the Wise, the first century of policy, had but completed its third quarter when it became stark mad. A generation of lackwits filled all the thrones of Christendom. The glorious Edward III. was succeeded by the giddy Richard II.; the prudent Emperor Charles IV. by the drunkard Wenceslas; the sage Charles V. by Charles VI., a raging madman. Urban VI., Don Pedro of Castile, and John Visconti, showed all the symptoms of mental derangement.

The petty negative wisdom which thought to have neutralised the great movement of the world, found itself already spent and baffled. It fancied it had ended all, and all was beginning. The strings which the clever thought they held fast were growing more and more entangled. The world's self-contradiction was augmenting. One would have said that reason, human and divine, had abandoned its throne. "God grew tired of the game," as Luther says, "and threw the cards under the table."

That is a tragical moment in which one feels the approach of madness, the moment when reason, lighted up with a last expiring gleam, sees itself on the point of extinction. Hear Lear exclaiming:

> "O, let me not be mad, not mad, sweet Heav'n!
> Keep me in temper; I would not be mad."

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* This poem presents a whimsical medley of two very opposite tones of feeling. Duguesclin is depicted in it as a knight of the thirteenth century; but he has all the ill-will of the fourteenth for priests. He will take nothing from the people, and plunders only the pope and churchmen. We might fancy it was the Henriade we had before us.

"——Le prévost d'Avignon
Vint droit à Villenove, où la chevalerie
De Bertran et des siens estoit adonc logie.
I la dit à Bertran que point ne le detrie:
Sire, l'avoir est prest, je vous acertefie,
Et la solution séelée et fournie,
Come Jhesu donna le fils sainte Marie
A Marie-Magdalaine qui fut Jhesu amie.
Et Bertran li a dit: Beau sire, je vous prie,
Dont vint ycilz avoirs, ne me le celez mie?
La pris li Apostcles en sa thresorerie?
Nanil, Sire, dit-il, mais la debte est paie
Du commun d'Avignon, a chascun sa partie.
Dit Bertran Du Guesclin: Prévost, je vous afie,
Jà n'en arons deniers en jour de notre vie,
Se ce n'est de l'avoir venant de la clergie,
Et volons que tuit cil qui la taille ont paie,
Aient tout lor argent, sans prendre une maillie.
Sire, dit li prévos, Dieux vous doint bonne vie!
La pour gent arez forment esleessie (*réjouie*),
Amis, ce dit Bertran, au pape me direz,
Que ces grans tresors soit ouvers et defermez.
Ceulz qui lont paié; il lor soit retorez,
Et dittes que jamais n'en soit nul reculez.
Car, se le savoie, jà ne vous en doubtez,
Et je fusse oultre mer passez et bien alez,
Je seroie ainçois par deçà retournez...

(Poëme de Duguesclin, MS. de la Bibl. Royal, No. 7224, folio 49.)

PREFACE TO VOL. IV. OF THE ORIGINAL;

CONTAINING BOOKS VII., VIII., AND IX.

THIS volume and the fifth have for their common subject the great crisis of the fifteenth century under its two phases, a crisis in which France seemed undone and overwhelmed. Of the six following books the first three will recount the death, the last three the resurrection.

The first of the two periods, on the history of which we are about to enter, extends through nearly half a century, beginning from the papal schism, and passing through the political schism of Orleans and Burgundy, Valois and Lancaster.

One feeble national unity of the fourteenth century was centered wholly in the crown; in the fifteenth, when the monarchy itself was divided, the people was of necessity impelled to seek some means of supplying its place. The people of the towns made an unsuccessful endeavour of the kind in 1413, the only lasting result of which was a code, the first administrative code possessed by France. We shall see the rural population effecting by inspiration what had baffled the wisdom of the towns; we shall see it raising up prostrate royalty, and re-establishing unity; and from this trial in which the country went near to perish, will come forth, confused as yet, but lively and strong, the very idea of the fatherland.

Before attaining to this consummation, the country must descend into ruin and death, to a depth of which, perhaps, nothing before or since has given an idea. He who with studious steps has gone back through ages, and transported himself into the midst of the miseries of that dismal epoch, who, the better to understand them has aspired to live and bear his portion in them, even he can hardly by its utmost effort convey a faint glimpse of their horrors.

History is grave here from the nature of its subject; it is not less so from the quite novel stamp of authority it derives from the muniments of the epoch. For the first time, perhaps, it treads on firm ground. The chronicler, hitherto childish and garrulous, begins to depose with the seriousness of a judicial witness. But, besides this kind of testimony, we find another more to be relied on. The great collections of public acts, printed or in manuscript, become more complete and instructive. Their series, henceforth little interrupted, constitutes authentic annals, by means of which we may date, corrobo-

rate, and enlarge, and often disprove the *on dit* of the chroniclers. Without putting unlimited confidence in the acts, without forgetting that the weightiest acts, the laws themselves, often remain but words on paper without application, we cannot deny that these official and national testimonies have generally an authority superior to that of individual testimonies.

The Ordonnances of our kings, the Trésor des Chartres, the Registers of Parliament, the Acts of the Councils, such have been the sources upon which we have drawn for the most important facts. Add to these, as regards England, "Rymer's Collection," and the "Statutes of the Realm." These collections have furnished us, particularly towards the end of the volume, with the whole history of important periods respecting which the chronicles are silent.

The study of these documents, which increase continually in number as we proceed, the task of interpreting and checking the chronicles by the official instruments, and *vice versâ*, all this imposes the necessity of preliminary labours, tentative efforts, and critical discussions, the tediousness of which we will spare our readers. A history being a work of art as well as of learning, it ought not to appear encumbered with the machines and scaffoldings employed in its construction. We should not even mention the thing, did we not think ourselves called on to explain the slow rate at which the volumes of this work are successively produced, and the development it has taken. It could not retain the form of an abridgment without leaving many essential things in obscurity, and excluding the new elements to which the history of modern times owes whatever it possesses of pregnancy and certainty.

February 8, 1840.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

CHAPTER I.

Youth of Charles VI. 1380—1383.

Had the grave Abbot Suger and the devout King Louis VII. come forth from their sepulchres, awakened by the noise of the strange festivities held by Charles VI. in the abbey of St. Denis, had they returned to cast a momentary glance on the new France, assuredly they would have been dazzled, but they would also have been bitterly surprised; they would have crossed themselves from head to foot, and gladly have laid themselves down again in their coffins.

What indeed could they have made of such a spectacle? Vainly would those men of the feudal times, studious contemplators of heraldic signs,* have pored over the prodigious medley of escutcheons hung against the walls; vainly would they have searched for the families of the crusading barons who followed Godefroi or Louis the Young; the greater number of them were extinct. What was become of the great sovereign fiefs of the dukes of Normandy, kings of England, of the counts of Anjou, kings of Jerusalem, of the counts of Toulouse and Poitiers? Their armorial bearings would with great difficulty have been found, shrunken as they were or obliterated by the fleurs-de-lis of the forty-six royal escutcheons.† On the other hand, a whole people of noblesse had sprung up with a chaos of dubious blazons. Simple formerly, as emblems of fiefs, but now become the insignia of families, these blazons grew more and more complicated and perplexed through marriages, inheritances, and true or false genealogies. The heraldic animals had coupled together in the oddest manner. The whole collection resembled a whimsical masquerade. Mottoes, a poor modern invention,‡ endeavoured to explain these nobilities of yesterday.

Such as the blazons such were the persons. Our dead of the twelfth century could not have beheld without humiliation, nay, horror, their successors of the fourteenth. Greatly would they have been scandalised when the hall was filled with the monstrous cos-

* See book iv., ch. iii., on Godefroi de Bouillon.

† Le Laboureur, Hist. de Charles VI., introd., p. 41.

‡ Modern, that is to say then recently revived. The ancients had also had distinctive cognizances. See Spencer, and Michelet's "Origines du Droit."

tumes, the immoral and fantastic accoutrements that were worn without shame in those times. First she-men prettily pranked out, and listlessly trailing after them robes twelve ells long; then others displaying their shapes in Bohemian jackets and tight-fitting hose, but with loose sleeves that swept the ground; here beast-men embroidered over with all sorts of animals;* there music-men with notes dotted upon them,† which were read off and sung from before or behind them, whilst others bedizened themselves with letters or characters,‡ which, doubtless, conveyed no good meaning.

This mob buzzed about in a sort of church, for such was the aspect of the huge wooden hall. God's arts had complaisantly descended to minister to man's pleasures. The most mundane ornaments had assumed sacred forms. The chairs on which fair dames sat were like little ebony cathedrals and golden shrines. The precious veils, which in former days would have been brought forth from the store-rooms of the cathedral only to adorn Our Lady's head on Assumption-day, fluttered round pretty mundane faces. God, the Virgin, and the Saints, seemed to have been laid under contribution for the *fête:* but the devil supplied still more. Living creatures did not scruple to disfigure themselves with trappings copied from the satanic bestial forms of the grinning monsters in the churches. Women wore horns on their heads, men on their feet; the points of their shoes were turned up and twisted into horns, claws, and scorpions' tails. The women above all were a sight to tremble at, as with bare bosoms and heads erect, they carried their gigantic *hennin* with its scaffolding of horns above the heads of the men. They were obliged to stoop and sidle as they passed through the doors. To see them thus handsome, smiling, and fat§ in sinful security, one doubted were they really women; the Beast foretold in holy writ seemed before one in all its terrible beauty; and then it was recollected that the Devil was often pourtrayed under the figure of a handsome woman with horns.‖ Costumes exchanged between the two sexes, the devil's livery

* Litteris aut bestiis intextas. Nicolai Clemang., epist. ii. 149.

† Ordonnance of Charles, Duke of Orleans, for the payment of 276 livres, 7 sols, 6 deniers tournois, for 960 pearls to adorn a robe: "On the sleeves are written in embroidery, in full length, the words of the song, *Madame, je suis plus joyeulx*, and the same is noted at full length on each of the two sleeves: 568 pearls to form the notes of the song, in which there are 142 notes, that is, four pearls in square for each note, &c." Printed catalogue of the collection of M. de Courcelles, sold May 21, 1834. ‡ Nic. Clemang., ep. ii. 149.

§ Obesity is a personal characteristic of that sensual epoch; see the statues in St. Denis; those of the fourteenth century are visibly portraits. See especially the statue of the Duke de Berri in the crypt at Bourges, with the ignoble fat dog at his feet.

‖ Les dames et demoiselles menoient grands et excessifs estats, et cornes merveilleuses, hautes et larges; et avoient de chacun costé, au lieu de bourlées, deux grandes oreilles si larges que quand elles vouloient passer l'huis d'une chambre, il falloit qu'elles se tournassent de côté et baissassent. Juvenal des Ursins, p. 336.—Quid de cornibus et caudis loquar?.... Adde quod in effigie cornutæ feminæ Diabolus plerumque pingitur. Nic. Clemang., ep. ii. 149.

worn by Christians, the trappings of the altar on ribalds' shoulders, —all this made up a splendid and royal sabbat.

One costume alone would have found favour. Some persons of sober bearing and demure sly visage, humbly wore the royal robe, the ample red robe trimmed with ermine. Who were these kings? Honest burghers of the city, domiciled in the Rue de la Calandre, or in the court of the Sainte Chapelle; scribes at first of the royal parliament of the barons, then sitting beside them as judges, then judges of the barons themselves, in the king's name and clad in his robes. The king, laying aside those cumbrous robes for a more sprightly garment, threw it on their stout shoulders. Here we have two disguises: the king assumes the garb of the people, the people takes that of the king. Charles VI. knows no greater pleasure than to lose himself in the mob, and fall under the blows of the sergeants.* He can run about the streets, dance and joust in his short jacket; the burghers will judge and reign in his stead.

Even this Babel of costumes and blazons, all too weakly typified the prevailing confusion of ideas. Political order was in the birth; intellectual disorder seemed commencing. Public peace was established; moral war was declaring itself. One would have said that fancy had all at once broken loose from the trammels of the grave feudal and papal world. That new queen of the times was fast making herself amends for her long penance, like a schoolboy that has slipped out of bounds and delights in doing all the mischief he can. She had a great respect for her worthy father, the middle age, who had so long kept a tight hand over her; but under pretext of doing him honour she dressed him up in such a fashion, that the poor old fellow did not know himself.

It is not commonly known that self-oblivion came upon the middle ages in their lifetime.†

The stern Speculator Durandus, that inflexible guardian of antique symbolism, declares with grief that even in his day the very priest no longer knew the meaning of the sacred offices.‡

Pierre de Fontaines, St. Louis' adviser, deems himself bound to write the law of his time. "For," he says, "the ancient cus-

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* See the entry of Queen Isabella, *infra*.

† This is not the place to enter at full length upon this great subject. I purpose adducing a superabundance of proofs elsewhere: here I must content myself with mentioning a few facts in support of my assertion.

‡ Proh dolor! ipsi hodie, ut plurimum, de hiis qui usu quotidiano in ecclesiasticis contrectant rebus et præferunt officiis, quid significent et quare instituta sint modicum apprehendunt, adeo ut impletum esse ad litteram illud propheticum videatur: Sicut populus, sic sacerdos. Durandi Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, fol. i. 1459. Mogunt. All the subsequent editions known to me erroneously read *proferunt* for *præferunt*. The first publisher, one of the inventors of printing, alone was aware that *præferunt* conveyed an allusion to the *prælati*, as *contrectant* to the *sacerdotes* in the preceding phrase. Cf. the editions of 1476, 1480, 1481, &c.

toms which the wise held, are now set at nought.... So that the country is almost without custom."*

Had the knights, who piqued themselves so much on fidelity, remained true to the rites of chivalry? We read that when Charles VI. knighted his young cousins of Anjou, and went through every step of the old ceremony, many persons "thought the thing outlandish and extraordinary."†

Thus, before the year 1400, the great conceptions of the middle ages, and their most cherished institutions, had begun to suffer continual decay, their outward signs becoming obsolete and their meaning obscure. We know better at this day what we were in the thirteenth century than we did in the fifteenth. It has happened in this case, as it does with a man who has lost sight of his family, his relations, and the habits of his early life, and who, pondering over his recollections at a later period, is astonished to think how he could have suffered these old familiar things to pass away from his memory.

When some one offered the great Themistocles an artificial system of memory, he rejected the offer with these bitter words: "Give me, rather, an art of forgetting." Our France has no need of such an art; she forgets but too quickly.

That such a man spoke these words in earnest is what I can never believe. Had Themistocles really thought thus, had he despised the past, he would not have deserved the praise bestowed on him by Thucydides as "One who could discern the present, and foresee the future."‡

Whosoever neglects, forgets, and despises, shall be punished by the spirit of confusion. Far from catching glimpses of the future, he will be quite unable to comprehend the present; he will see in it but a fact without a cause. A fact, and nothing that makes it! What can be more perplexing? The fact will appear to him without reason or law for its existence. Ignorance of the fact, and obscurity of the law, are the grievous defects of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The chroniclers, unable to explain these things, look on them as

* De Fontaines, ap. Joinville du Ducange, 1668. Brussel says, and proves very plainly, that "In the middle of the thirteenth century they began to be ignorant even of the meaning of the principal terms of the laws relating to fiefs," i. 41. The young and learned Klimrath has proved (Revue de Legislation) that Bouteiller did not know what *saisine* meant.

† Quod peregrinum vel extraneum valde fuit. Chron. du Relig. de St. Denis, ed. de MM. Bellaguet et Magin, 1839, i. 590. Correct edition, elegant translation. This grave historian is the chief authority for the reign of Charles VI. Le Labourcur pronounces this eulogy upon him: "When he speaks of the exactions of the Duke of Orleans one would say he was a Burgundian; when he details the practices of the Duke of Burgundy, and his deplorable connexions with infamous assassins, and with the rabble of Paris, one would suppose he was an Orleanist."

‡ Τῶν τε παραχρῆμα...κράτιστος γνώμων, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπιπλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής—Thucydides, i. 138.

the penalty of the great schism. They are right in a certain sense, but the papal schism was itself an incident of the universal schism that affected the minds of men.

The intellectual and moral discord of the times manifested itself in civil wars: war in the Empire, between Wenceslas and Robert; in Italy between Duras and Anjou; in Portugal for and against the children of Ines; in Aragon between Peter IV. and his son; whilst in France were preparing the wars of Orleans and Burgundy, and in England those of York and Lancaster.

Discord in every state; discord in every family:

> "So that two men arising from one bed,
> Falling to talk, from one another fly;
> * * * *
> And for their farewell when their leaves they take,
> They their sharp swords at one another shake."*

So was it with kinsmen and brothers. But any one who had gone still deeper into the matter, and opened one human heart, would have found there a whole civil war, a turbulent medley of discordant thoughts and feelings.

If wisdom consists in knowing oneself, and keeping peace in one's own breast, no epoch was more naturally mad. Each individual carrying this furious war within him, rushed from thought to passion, and out of one perturbation into another. By degrees mind and senses, soul and body, all getting out of gear, there was soon not one piece in the human machine that did its work. How, passing from ignorance to error, from false ideas to evil passions, from intoxication to frenzy, does man lose his nature as man? We will narrate the melancholy story. Individual history explains general history. The king's insanity was not his alone; the kingdom had its part in it.

Let us resume our observation of Charles VI. in his childhood and at his accession.

The little twelve-year old king, already mad with the love of the chase and of war, was one day hunting the stag in the forest of Senlis. Our forests were far more vast and dense in those days than they are now, and the depopulation of the preceding forty years had further increased their growth. Charles VI. met with a marvellous adventure in this hunt. He saw a stag bearing, not a cross like St. Hubert's stag, but a handsome collar of copper gilt, with this Latin inscription: *Cesar hoc michi donavit* (Cesar gave me this).† That this animal should have lived so long was unanimously considered a prodigious thing, and one that portended much. But how was the fact to be interpreted? Was it a sign from God predicting victories to the reign of his elect? Or was it, indeed, one of those diabolic visions wherewith the Tempter beguiles men into his clutches, making them rush heedlessly upon precipices over which they fall and break their necks?

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* Michael Drayton, The Miseries of Queen Margaret, part iv.

† Chron. du Religieux de St. Denis, ed. de M. Bellaguet, i. 71.

Be this as it may, the morbid imagination of the royal child, already spoiled by the romances of chivalry, was struck by this adventure: he once more saw the stag in a dream before his victory at Roosebeeke. Thenceforth he placed the marvellous stag in his escutcheon, and gave for supporter to the arms of France the unlucky figure of the horned and fugitive animal.

It was not very comforting to see a great realm committed like a toy to a child's caprice. Something strange was looked for; marvellous signs were appearing.

Whom or what did these signs menace? The realm, or the foes of the realm? This might still be held matter of doubt. Never had there been a weaker king; but never had France been so strong. Throughout the whole of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, through triumphs and disasters, she had constantly been a gainer. Impelled to greatness by destiny, she waxed in victory; beaten, she waxed still. After the defeat of Courtrai she acquired Champagne and Navarre;* after the defeat of Créey, Dauphiné and Montpellier; and after that of Poitiers, Guienne, the two Burgundies, and Flanders. Strange power, ever successful in spite of and by means of her own errors!

Not only was the kingdom extending, but the king was more king. The lords had resigned to him their swords of battle and of justice;† they waited but a sign from him to mount and follow him, no matter whither. Men were beginning to obtain a sight of that great spectacle of modern times, an empire moved as one man.

Whither was this enormous force about to turn? Whom was it about to crush? It vacillated in a young, awkward, and violent hand, that knew not even what it held.

Wherever the blow might fall, there seemed to be nothing in all Christendom capable of resisting it.

Italy, with all its outward beauty, was weak and diseased; here, the tyrants, the successors of the Ghibelines; there, the Guelf towns, other tyrants that had absorbed all the life of the land. Naples was what it is at this day, a mixture of heterogeneous elements, a big head without a body. Under pretext of Queen Joanna's old crime, some called in the Hungarian princes of the first house of Anjou, issued from the brother of St. Louis; others appealed for aid to the second Angevin house, that is to say, to the oldest of the uncles of Charles VI.

Germany was in no better condition. She was, with great difficulty, getting rid of her old state of feudal hierarchy, without as yet attaining her new state of federation. Besotted, like her emperor, Wenceslas, that great Germany staggered heavily round and round. France, apparently, had but to take from her whatever she chose. Accordingly, the Duke of Burgundy, the youngest and

* By the death of Jane, Philip the Fair's queen.

† For appeals, not to mention the indirect influence of the royal judges, see *infra*.

ablest of the king's uncles, urged him in that direction. By marriage, purchase, or war, the Empire might be deprived of that which adhered least strongly to it, namely, the Low Countries.

Beyond the Low Countries the Duke of Burgundy pointed out England. The moment was auspicious; that haughty England was then labouring under a tremendous fever. The king, the barons, and their man, Wicliffe, had set on the people against the Church; but the bull-dog once let loose, turned round upon the barons. In this perilous emergency, all who had authority or property, king, bishops, and barons, stood fast by each other, and made common cause. The king, young and impetuous, smote the people, strengthened the hands of the lords spiritual and temporal, then repented of what he had done, and retreated. France might take advantage of this false move to strike a blow.

That France, then so strong, had no hindrance save in herself. The uncles were dragging her in opposite directions, north and south. The first thing to be settled was, who should govern young Charles VI. These princes, who had come, whilst their brother was on his deathbed,* with two armies to contend for the regency, consented nevertheless to submit their claims to parliament.† The Duke of Anjou, as the elder, was regent; but an ordonnance of the late king was produced, which reserved the guardianship of his son to the Duke of Burgundy, and the Duke of Bourbon, his maternal uncle. Charles VI. was to be immediately crowned.‡

Another difficulty was that, although the affairs of the country had somewhat recovered towards the end of the reign of Charles V.

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* The Duke of Anjou kept himself concealed in an adjoining room while his brother was dying, and then seized all the furniture, plate, and jewels.—It was said that the late king had had gold and silver ingots sealed up in the walls of the castle of Melun, and that the masons employed on the job afterwards disappeared. The treasurer had sworn to keep the secret. The Duke of Anjou finding he could get nothing out of him, sent for the executioner: "Cut off that man's head," said he. The treasurer told the spot. See Relig. de St. Denis.

† Deputatos antistites, barones et eminentis scientiæ viros, cum quibus ardua semper disposuerat negotia (Carolus quintus)....cameris regalis palatii presidentes.....Ibid., 6.

‡ The three uncles of Charles VI. were fully as ambitious and avaricious as the uncles of Richard II. They too were bent on having crowns. In France itself the crown might become vacant. The young children of the sickly Charles V. might follow their father. The Duke of Berri's motto, as seen in his handsome chapel at Bourges, plainly enough indicated these vague hopes: "Oursine, le temps venra!" See in the acts of August and October, 1374, to what a degree the mind of the wise king Charles V. was filled with apprehensions regarding his brothers, so many years before his death. He does not name the Duke of Berri. As for his elder brother the Duke of Anjou he cannot avoid leaving him the regency; but he makes fourteen the age of majority for kings; and he limits the power of the regent not only by reserving the guardianship of his son's person to the queen mother and the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, but also by authorising his personal friend the chamberlain Bureau de la Rivière to accumulate until the young king's majority all that can be saved out of the revenues of the towns and lands set apart for his maintenance, the towns of Paris, Melun, Senlis, the duchy of Normandy, &c. He calls to the council Duguesclin, Clisson, Couci, Savoisi, Philippe de Maizières, &c. Ord., vi. 26 and 49—54.

still there was no order or ability in the financial administration. The little money that was raised drove the people to despair, and did not profit the king.

People indulged the belief that the late king had for a while abolished the new taxes for his soul's weal. Afterwards it was thought they would be remitted by the new king, in honour of his coronation. But the uncles took their pupil straight to Reims, without letting him pass through the towns,* lest he should hear any complaints. They even, on his return, made him avoid St. Denis, where the monks were awaiting him in great pomp; and he was prevented from paying his devotions to the patron saint of France, as was always done by new kings.

The royal entry was a fine sight; fountains threw out milk, wine, and rose-water; and yet there was no bread in Paris. The people lost patience; already the towns and hamlets all round were in uproar. The provosts thought to gain time by convoking the notables to the Parloir aux Bourgeois; but others also came to the meeting: a tanner† asked, Did any one suppose they were to be played upon in that manner? They marched the provost away to the palace, whether he would or not. The Duke of Anjou and the chancellor, quaking for fear, stood up on the marble table,‡ and promised the abolition of the taxes imposed since the reign of Philip of Valois, or even of Philip the Fair. The populace then hurried to the Jew receivers, pillaged and murdered![§]

The way to keep these raving wild beasts occupied, was to throw them a man. The princes selected one of their personal enemies, one of the late king's advisers, old Aubriot, provost of Paris.[||] They had other reasons besides; Aubriot had lent money to many a great lord, to whom his being hanged would be a receipt in full. This provost was a stern justicer, one of those men whom the populace loves and fears, because, while they deal roughly with the people, they are themselves of the people. He had constructed vast works in Paris—the Quai du Louvre, the wall of St. Antoine, the bridge of St. Michel, the first sewers, and all these by compulsory labour, and impressment of those he found roaming idly about the streets. He did not treat the Church or the University with tenderness, but persisted in ignoring their privileges. He had two dungeon cells made in the Châtelet, expressly for scholars and clerks.[¶] He hated the university especially, "as the mother of priests," and often said to Charles V., that kings were fools to have endowed church-

* Religieux de St. Denis, i. 32. † Or tawer: alutarius. Ibid., 44.

‡ Super mensam marmoream. Ib., 48.

§ Many debtors took advantage of the riot to rob their creditors of the writings that proved their debts: Obligationum nobilium et ignobilium substractionem credebant omnibus lucris præferendam; ad quod etiam nonnulli nobiles instigabant, qui ibi præsentes erant. Ibid., 54.

|| Ibid., 98—106, passim.

¶ Teterrimos carceres composuerat, uni *Claustri Brunelli*, alteri *Vici Straminum* adaptans nomina. Ib., 104.

men with such large revenues.* He never communicated. A railer, a blasphemer, and very debauched, notwithstanding his sixty years, he was on good terms with the Jews, still more so with the Jewesses, and restored them their children who had been taken away to be baptized.† This was what destroyed him. The university accused him before the bishop. A century earlier he would have been burned; he was let off for the *amende honorable* and *perpetual* penance, which did not last long.

Abolition of the taxes imposed since the time of Philip the Fair would have been tantamount to suppressing the government. The Duke of Anjou twice endeavoured to renew them (October, 1381, March, 1382). His second attempt was made with great caution. He had the receipts put up to auction, but within the Châtelet, with closed doors. There were persons bold enough to purchase, but none who dared to proclaim the re-establishment of the taxes. By dint of money, however, there was found a determined man who rode into the market-place, and cried at first, in order to collect the crowd: "King's plate stolen! Reward for the finder!"‡ Then, when all was attention, he clapped spurs to his horse, and cried out, as he rode away, that next day every body would have to pay duty.

Next day one of the collectors ventured to demand a sol of a woman who was selling cresses;§ he was beaten to death. The uproar was so tremendous, that the bishop, the principal burghers, and the provost himself, who should have established order, fled from Paris. The infuriated populace ran all over the town, with new malls they had taken from the arsenal, and which they tried on the collectors' heads. One of the latter had taken refuge in St. Jacques, and was clasping the image of the Virgin, when he was seized, and his throat cut on the altar (March 1, 1382). They pillaged the houses of the dead; and then, under pretext that there were collectors, or Jews, in St. Germain des Prés, they broke into and plundered that rich abbey. These men, who violated monasteries and churches, respected the king's palace.

Having broken into the Châtelet they found there Aubriot, whom they set free and appointed their captain. But the ex-provost was too wise to remain with them. The night was spent in drinking, and next morning they found that their captain had made his escape. The only man who confronted them, and acquired some ascendency over them, was old Jean Desmarets, advocate-general. This good man, who was much liked in the town, hindered many other excesses. But for him they would have destroyed the bridge of Charenton.

Rouen had revolted before Paris, and now submitted before it. Paris began to take alarm. The university and good old Desma-

* Fatuos fertur vocasse, dum eas tot reditibus dotassent. Relig. de St. Denis.
† Repetentibus....filios baptizatos....restituit. P. 102.
‡ Quasdam scutellas in regis curia furatas. Ibid., 134.
§ Qui *cresson* Gallicè nuncupatur. Ibid., 136.

rets interceded for the town, and obtained a general amnesty, from which were excepted only a few of the most notorious rioters, who were quietly thrown into the river by night. After all, there was no such thing as talking of duties to the Parisians. The princes assembled the deputies of several other towns of France at Compiègne (mid. April, 1382). These deputies asked leave to consult their towns, and the towns would listen to nothing.* The princes were constrained to yield, and sold peace to the Parisians for 100,000 francs. What led to the hasty conclusion of this arrangement, was the fact of the regent's anxiety to depart; he could no longer delay his Italian expedition, Queen Joanna of Naples, threatened by her cousin Charles de Duras, had adopted Charles of Anjou, and had for two years been requesting his presence;† but as long as there remained in the kingdom any thing he could lay hands on he had been unwilling to move. He had employed those two years in pillaging France, and the French Church. The pope of Avignon, in hopes that Louis would rid him of his Roman adversary, had given over to him, not only all the Holy See might receive, but all it might borrow; pledging, moreover, all the Church's lands as security for those loans.‡ In order to levy this money the Duke of Anjou quartered sergeants royal and bailiffs, or *eaters* as they were then called, in all the houses of the clergy, who were driven to such extremity as to sell the books, ornaments, and chalices of their churches, and even the very tiles from their roofs.

At last the Duke of Anjou set out, loaded with money and maledictions (end of April, 1382). He set out when the time was quite gone by for succouring Queen Joanna. The unhappy woman, fascinated by terror, and with energies impaired by age, or by the remembrance of her crime, had awaited her enemy, and was already a prisoner when she had the grief to see at last off Naples, the Provençal fleet which would have saved her had it come a few days sooner. The fleet appeared in the beginning of May, and on the 12th of that month Joanna was smothered under a mattress.

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* Quibusdam ex potentioribus urbibus.....Potius mori optamus quam leventur. Religieux de St. Denis, 150.

† Charles V. at first proposed to the King of Hungary to unite their children by marriage (the King of France's second son was to have married the King of Hungary's daughter) and then to force Joanna to assure the succession to them. See the instructions given by Charles V. to his ambassadors. Archives, Trésor des Chartes, J, 458, particularly No. 9.

‡ In the incredible treaty between them, which still subsists, the pope grants the duke all tithes in and out of France, in Naples, Austria, Portugal, Scotland, with half the revenue of Castile and Aragon, together with all debts and arrears, all biennial charges, all the residue left by deceased priests, and every emolument of the apostolic chamber; the duke was to have his agents there. The pope promises further to take up loans from the clergy and the receivers of the Church. He will pledge Avignon, the Venaissin, and other territories of the Church, as security for what the duke expends. He grants him Benevento and Ancona in fee. And as the duke does not put full faith in his mere word, he swears to all this on the cross.—See the scheme of a kingdom to be infeudated by the pope to the Duke of Anjou, the remonstrances of the cardinals, &c. Ibid., 495.

Louis of Anjou, who cared little about avenging his adoptive mother, had a mind to remain in Provençe, and thus get hold of the most tangible part of her inheritance, but the pope urged him towards Italy. It seemed shameful, indeed, to do nothing with such an army and such a mass of money. But all this was of no use. Louis of Anjou had not even the satisfaction of seeing his enemy, for Charles de Duras shut himself up in fortresses and left the climate, famine, and the hatred of the people to do their work. Louis of Anjou challenged him to a pitched battle ten several times. At the end of some months army, money, and all were gone; the gallant battle chargers were dead of hunger, the proudest knights were mounted on asses. The duke had sold all his plate and all his jewels, even to his crown. He had nothing over his cuirass but a shabby painted cloth.* He died of fever at Bari. The rest got back as they could by begging, or did not get back at all (1384).

Of the three uncles of Charles VI., the eldest thus found his death in quest of an Italian throne; the second, the Duke of Berri, made himself a virtual royalty in France, governing absolutely Languedoc and Guienne, and taking no heed to the rest; the third, the Duke of Burgundy, being disencumbered of the two others could do what he pleased with the king and the realm. Flanders was his own in right of his wife, and thither he took the king in order to terminate a revolution that put his hopes in danger.

There was then a great commotion throughout all Christendom; an universal war of the little against the great seemed begun. In Languedoc the peasants, driven to madness by distress, fell upon the nobles and the priests, killing without mercy all whose hands were not hard and callous like their own; they had a lunatic for their leader.† The Whitehoods of Flanders were led by a burgher of Ghent; the Ciompi of Florence by a woolcomber; the Companions of Rouen elected as king, whether he would or not, a draper, "a big man of little talent."‡ In England a tiler§ led the people

* Relig. de St. Denis, i. 336.

† His name was Pierre de la Bruyère. He ordained: Si quis in concione sua esset aut per eum transiret, qui nimirum leves manus et non callosas haberet.....etc. inficeretur indilate. Thus they killed a Scotch esquire, after having crowned him with red hot iron, and a monk of La Trinité whom they ran through and through with an iron spit. Next day, having caught a priest who was on his way to Rome, they cut off the ends of his fingers, scalped him where he was tonsured, and burned him. Ibid., 308. See also D. Vaissette, Hist. du Langued., iv. 382, and Preuves, 378.

‡ Ducenti et eo amplius insolentissimi viri vino forsitan temulenti, et qui publicis officinis mechanicis inserviebant artibus, quemdam burgensem simplicem, locupletem tamen, venditorem pannorum, ob pinguedinem nimiam Crassum vocatum, angarientes, ut ejus autoritate uterentur in agendis....regem super se illico statuerunt. Hunc in sede, more regis, præparatum super currum levaverunt, quem per villæ compita perducentes, et laudes regias barbarisantes, cum ad principale forum rerum venalium pervenissent, ut plebs maneret libera ab omni subsidiorum jugo postulant et assequuntur.....Sedens pro tribunali, audire omnium oppositiones coactus est. Rel. de St. Den., i. 130.

§ See Augustin Thierry's fine narrative.

to London, and dictated to the king a general enfranchisement of serfs.

The dismay was great. The nobility and gentry everywhere simultaneously attacked, knew not which way to turn. "It was feared," says Froissart, "that all gentle blood would perish." In all this, however, there was nothing concerted, nothing of a combined effort. Though the Maillotins of Paris tried to correspond with the Whitehoods of Flanders,* all these movements, however apparently analogous, proceeded from causes in reality so different that they could not harmonise, and were fated to be all suppressed severally.

In Flanders, for instance, the crisis had been determined by the rule of a French count, his extortions and violence; but there was an evil still deeper and more serious, the rivalry, namely, between the towns of Ghent and Bruges,† and their tyranny over the small

* Letters from burghers of Paris are said to have been found in the pillage of Courtrai, which proved them to have been in league with the Flemings. "During the time the King of France was encamped on the hill of Ypres, news was brought that the Parisians were in rebellion: and that they had resolved, as it was then reported, to pull down the castle of Beauté, which is situated in the wood of Vincennes, and the castle of the Louvre, as well as all other castellated houses in the neighbourhood of Paris, to prevent being oppressed in future by means of them." But Nicholas *the Fleming* said to them: "Fair sirs, let us abstain from doing this, until we see how the king's affairs turn out in Flanders. If the Ghentmen succeed, as I truly hope they will, then will be the time to destroy all these castles."....

"Now consider what a sad devilment it would have been, if the King of France, and the gallant chivalry with which he was accompanied, had been defeated in Flanders. It may well be supposed that then all the nobility would have been destroyed in France, as well as in other places; for the Jacquerie was never so ferocious as it would, at such a time, have been. In like manner, the peasants began to rebel at Rheims, at Châlons in Champagne, and down the river Marne, and to menace those gentlemen, ladies, and children, who had remained at home. At Orleans, Blois, Rouen, and the Beauvoisis, the devil had entered their heads, and prompted them to murder every one, if God had not provided a remedy." Frois., b. ii., ch. 119.

"All took example from the Ghentmen, and the common people everywhere said the Ghentmen were good people, and valiantly maintained their franchises; wherefore, they ought to be loved and honoured by all men." Id.

"The nobles of England....said, that if the commonalty of Flanders had been victorious over the King of France, and his nobility had been slain, the pride of the common people would have been so great that all gentlemen would have had cause to lament it, for appearances of insurrection had shown themselves in England." Id., 127.

† "Before the commencement of these wars in Flanders, the country was so fertile, and every thing was in such abundance, that it was marvellous to see; and the inhabitants of the principal towns lived in very grand state. You must know that this war originated in the pride and hatred that several of the chief towns bore to each other; those of Ghent against those of Bruges, and others in like manner vying with each other through envy..... The wars which ensued were caused by so trifling an event, that if the earl had possessed any prudence it ought not to have produced that effect; and those who read this book, or who may have it read to them, will say that it was the work of the devil. You know wise men think the devil, who is subtle and full of artifice, labours night and day to cause warfare wherever he finds peace and harmony, and seeks by distant means, and by degrees, to accomplish his ends." Frois., book ii., ch. 36.

towns and the country parts. The war began through the imprudence of the count, who, to make money, sold to the people of Bruges the right of turning the Lys into their canal to the prejudice of Ghent.* That great town of Bruges, then the first commercial entrepôt in Christendom, had extended a pitiless monopoly around her. She hindered the ports from having warehouses,† and the country parts from manufacturing;‡ she had established her dominion over twenty-four neighbouring towns. She was unable to prevail over Ghent, which being better situated, at the point whence the rivers and canals radiated, was, besides, more populous, and inhabited by a violent race, ever ready with the knife. The men of Ghent fell on those of Bruges, who were turning off their river, killed the count's bailiff and burned his castle. Ypres and Courtrai followed their example. Liége, Brussels, and Holland itself, encouraged them, and regretted that they were themselves so far from the scene of action.§ Liége sent them six hundred cart-loads of flour.

Ghent had no lack of able leaders; the more of them were killed, the more were found to take their places. John Hyoens, the first who directed the movement, was poisoned; the second was treacherously beheaded. Pierre Dubois, Hyoens' servant, was the third. This man seeing things prosper badly, induced the men of Ghent to choose a tyrant, in order to act with more unity of purpose.‖ This was

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* "To take away our river, whereby our good town of Ghent would be destroyed and undone." Froissart.

† In 1358 the Earl of Flanders "pledged himself to the people of Bruges that he would never set up any staple of goods or merchandise in any other town than the said Bruges, and that he would deprive of their offices the bailliffs and syndics of the water at Sluys, as often as they should be found to have transgressed the said right of staple, and the same should be proved by five syndics of Bruges." Oudegherst, fol. 273, 4to. edit.—"Then (those of Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, and Courtray) went by agreement to Sluys, and pulled down several houses which stood by the port, in a street where merchandise was bought and sold, And the Flemings of Bruges and the others said that this practice was prejudicial to the merchants and themselves, and, therefore, they pulled the houses down." Chronique de Sauvage, 223.

‡ Interdictum petitione Brugensium [1384] ne post hac Franconates per pagos suos lanificium faciant. Meyer, 201. "Those of the Franconate have always been of the earl's party more than all the rest of Flanders." Froissart.

§ "The Brabanters and Liegeois were very favourable to them, more particularly the citizens of Brussels. The Liegeois wrote to them to keep up their spirits: 'Good men of Ghent, we are well aware that at this present you have enough to do; that you are hard pushed by the earl, your lord, and by the gentry and the rest of the country, which we are extremely sorry for; know that if you were only five or six leagues from our frontiers, we would send that succour which ought to be given to our brothers, friends, and neighbours.'" &c. Frois., ii. 67. See also Meier.

‖ Dubois went to Philip van Artevelde, and said to him: "Can you be cruel and proud? for a great man among the commonalty, and particularly among such as we shall have to do with, will not be thought any thing worth if he be not feared and dreaded, and at times renowned for his cruelty. It is thus the Flemings wish to be governed; and among them men's lives should be no more valued, nor should they have more pity shown to them, than swallows or larks which are caught in the proper season for the table."—"By my troth,"

Philip van Artevelde, son of the famous Jacquemart, a man if not as able, at least as bold as his father. Besieged, without succour, without provisions, he took all that remained, five cart-loads of bread, and two of wine, and with five hundred men of Ghent he marched straight to Bruges where the count was. The Brugians, who were 40,000 strong, marched out proudly, and fled almost at the first blow. The Ghenters entered the town along with the fugitives, and pillaged and killed, especially the members of the great trade corporations.* The count escaped by concealing himself in an old woman's bed (May 3, 1382).

The Duke of Burgundy, son-in-law and heir of the Count of Flanders, easily persuaded the young king that nobility were for ever dishonoured if such ribalds were left to enjoy their victory. They had, besides, made a foray upon the country of Tournay, which was French ground. A war in the rich land of Flanders was a joyful occasion for fighting men. The army was joined by a whole host of Burgundians, Normans, and Bretons.† Ypres took fright, the alarm spread, and the towns surrendered. The pillagers had but to stretch out their hands and help themselves; to sell, pack up, and send home woollen cloths, linens, and plate.

The Ghenters, having none on whom they could rely,‡ with no other forces than their own militia, and having scarcely any gentlemen among them, consequently no cavalry, arranged themselves as usual in one great battalion. Their position was good (Roosebeke, near Courtrai), but the season was growing inclement (27th of November, 1382). They were impatient to return to their comfortable fires. Desertions, too, were commencing. The Sire de Herzele, one

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answered Philip, "I know well how to act this part." "All then goes well," said Peter. "You are just such a one as I want, and the chief I look for." Frois., book ii., ch. 70.

* In order to humiliate Bruges, they carried away to Ghent the great dragon of gilt copper which Baldwin of Flanders, Emperor of Constantinople, had taken from St. Sophia, and which the people of Bruges had placed above the fine tower of their cloth market. This contested tradition is discussed and finally adopted in the interesting Précis des Annales de Bruges de M. Delpierre, p. x., 1835.

† The Religieux de St. Denis asserts that this army amounted to more than 100,000 men. A single contractor, Nicolas Boulard, a burgher of Paris, undertook to supply, for four months, the market that was held in the camp: Rogatu regis, unicus civis Parisiensis, negociator publicus, Nicolaus Boulardi nuncupatus, suis sumptibus exequendum suscipiens, terrestri itinere navalique subsidio atque nautarum studio, subsidio tantam copiam adduxit, quod quatuor mensium spatio, centum millibus et eo amplius viris pro victu commerciorum non defuerit lex communis.

‡ The Ghenters applied for aid to the English, but lest they should be made to pay for it, they put in a demand for the sums formerly lent by Flanders to Edward III. They got neither aid nor money. "When the lords had heard this speech and demand they looked at each other, and some began to smile. They said among themselves: 'It is by no means reasonable that we should pay and assist them into the bargain.' They looked on the Flemings as proud and presumptuous, in thus demanding a debt of 200,000 old crowns, of so very ancient a date as forty years." Frois., ii. 106.

of their leaders, had forsaken them. They forced Artevelde to lead them to battle.

In order to make sure of charging all together, and of not being separated by the cavalry, they tied themselves one to the other. The mass advanced in silence, bristling with pikes, which they thrust vigorously with their shoulders and breasts. The further they advanced the more they were hemmed in between the lances that hovered upon their flanks, right and left. These gradually closed upon them; the lances were longer than the pikes, and the Flemings were struck without being able to strike. The first rank recoiled on the second; the battalion shrank in, and the enormous mass underwent a slow and terrible compression. Blood flowed only from the outer lines; the centre was enduring suffocation. It was not the common tumult of a battle that was heard, but inarticulate cries of men gasping for breath, low groans, and the death rattles issuing from chests that were cracked like nut-shells.*

The king's uncles, who had kept him out of the action on horseback, then took him to the ground, and showed him all. It was a hideous spectacle—a heap of many thousand suffocated men. They told him it was he who had won the battle, since he had given the word of command. It had been noticed, too, that at the moment the king ordered the oriflamme to be unfurled, the sun rose, after five days of fog and gloom.

To contemplate that horrible spectacle—to believe that he had done all that—to experience, amidst the repugnances of nature, the joy against nature over that immense murder—in all this there was matter deeply to unsettle a young mind. The Duke of Burgundy soon had an opportunity of perceiving this, to his own loss. When he went to Courtrai with the young king, whose heart had been made drunk with blood, some one imprudently spoke to the latter of the five hundred French spurs which were kept there since the defeat of Philip the Fair, whereupon he gave orders that the town should be sacked and burned.

The king, thus excited, wished to push forward the war, advance to Ghent, and besiege it; but the town was in a state of defence. December was come, and the rains were incessant. The prince liked better to make war on the subdued Parisians than on the armed

* "The Flemings, inflamed with pride and courage, came on with vigour, and pushing with shoulders and breasts like enraged wild boars, they were so strongly interlaced one with the other that they could not be broken nor their ranks forced.... There was a large and high mount of the Flemings who were slain, and never was there seen so little blood spilt at so great a battle, where such numbers were killed, the reason of which was that so many were smothered in the throng." Frois., ii. 124. Et y heubt en Flandres après la bataille grant orreur et pugnaisie en le place où le bataille avoit esté, des mors dont le place duroit une grande lieue.....et les mangeoient les chiens et maint grant oisel qui furent veu en icelle place, dont le peuple avoit grant merveille." Chronique inédite MS. 801, D. de la Bibl. de Bourgogne (Brussels), folio 153. This curious chronicle is not the one which was freshened up by Sauvage; besides, it goes further.

Flemings. Paris was still disturbed, but disposed to obey. The advocate-general, Desmarets, had had the address to keep all quiet, by dint of fair words, promising more than he could perform, and virtuously betraying the two parties, as usual with moderate men. When the king arrived, the burghers, to do him the more honour, thought it would be a fine thing to range themselves in battle array. Perhaps, too, they expected to obtain better conditions by thus showing their numbers. They paraded before Montmartre in long files, among which was a corps of cross-bowmen, another armed with shields and swords, and another with *maillets*, or maces; these *maillotins* alone amounted to 20,000 men.*

This display did not produce the impression they expected. The noblesse were come back, all puffed up with their victory at Roosebeke. The men-at-arms began by throwing down the barriers, then the gates were torn from their hinges, and laid flat on *the king's causeway:* the princes and all the nobles had the satisfaction of trampling on the gates of Paris,† and continued their march as victors to Notre Dame. The young king, well schooled in his lesson, rode along, with his lance on his thigh, saying nothing, saluting no one, majestic and terrible.

The soldier was placed at free quarters in the house of the burgher. Proclamation was made that all men were to carry their arms to the palace, or to the Louvre, and so well did they obey the order in their fear, that there was deposited enough, it was said, to arm 800,000 men.‡ The town being disarmed, it was determined to shut it in between two fortresses. The Bastille St. Antoine was completed, and a great tower was built at the Louvre, the wall of which was washed by the river. It was supposed, that once caught in this vice, Paris would have no power to stir.

Then began the executions. The most notorious and violent were first put to death,§ then honest men who had kept them in check, and had rendered the greatest services, such as poor Desmarets.‖

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* Touching all this matter see Relig. de St. Denis. The discrepancy between his reckoning and Froissart's is apparent not real. "There were in the city of Paris rich and powerful men armed from head to foot, in all 30,000 men, as well equipped at all points as any knight could be; and they had their varlets and their suites suitably armed. They carried mallets of iron and steel, fearful batons for smashing helmets and bassinets. And they said in Paris when they were numbered, that they were able enough and numerous enough, by parishes, to fight the greatest lord in the world, with their unassisted strength." Frois., ii. 119.

† E cardinibus evulsas super stratam regiam prostraverunt, super quas pertranseuntes, quasi Iconinam civium superbiam conculcarent. Relig. de St. Denis, i. 234.

‡ Ibid. This exaggeration proves only what notions were already entertained respecting the population of this great town.

§ On the Monday following the king's entry, a jeweller and a cloth merchant were executed, and several others in the following fortnight, among whom was one Nicolas the Fleming (Nicolas Flamingi), notorious in the reign of King John for having been aiding in the murder of Robert de Clermont. Ibid., x. 240.

‖ It is alleged that at his death he refused to say Thanks to the king, and said

The offence of having put himself between the king and the town was not forgiven him. After some days of executions and terror, a scene of clemency was got up. The university, and the old Duchess of Orleans, had already begged for mercy to the Parisians, but the Duke of Berri had replied that all the burghers deserved death. At last, a magnificent tent was pitched on the top of the palace steps, and there the young king sat with his uncles and the high barons, whilst the suppliant crowd filled the court-yard beneath. The chancellor enumerated all the crimes of the Parisians since the reign of King John, cursed their treason, and asked what extremity of punishment had they not merited. The unhappy wights saw the thunderbolt ready to burst upon them, and bowed their heads, and nothing was heard but groans, and the cries and sobs of women, whose husbands were in prison. The king's uncles and brother were affected by the piteous scene, threw themselves at his majesty's feet, according to their cue, and begged that the penalty of death might be commuted for a fine.

The effect was produced; fear opened the burghers' purses. All who had filled any office, all who were rich or in easy circumstances, were mulcted in heavy sums, 3000, 6000, 8000 francs. Many paid more than they had. When there seemed no likelihood of squeezing any more out of them, it was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that in future the old imposts should be paid with further augmentations, and a surcharge of twelve deniers was imposed on all goods sold. The town could say nothing; there was no longer town, or provosts, or syndics, or commune of Paris.* The street chains were carried to Vincennes; the gates lay open day and night.

The same severity and extortion were practised on Rouen,† Reims, Châlons, Troyes, Orléans, and Sens. The greater part of this money so harshly extorted, found its way finally into the

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only Thanks to God. He was the author of a collection of Decisions notoires établies par enquestes par tourbes, de 1300 à 1387 (à la suite de Brodeau).

* Statuentes ut officium præposituræ exerceret qui regis auctoritate et non civium fungeretur.—Confraternitates etiam ad devotionem ecclesiarum, sanctorum, et earum ditationem introductas, in quibus cives consueverant convenire, ut simul guadentes epularentur.....censuerunt etiam suspendendas usque ad beneplacitum regiæ majestatis. Rel. de St. Denis, i. 242.—Ord. du 27 Jan. Recueil des Ord., vi. 685. A passage in this ordonnance intimates that the Parisians had indirectly aided the Flemings: "Ils ont empesché que nos charioz et ceux de nostre chier oncle, le duc de Bourgogne, et plusieurs autres choses fussent amenez par devers nous. . . . où nous étions.

† The town of Rouen was very severely treated; its bell was taken away and given to the king's pantlers, as appears from a charter obligingly communicated to me by M. Chéruel, a distinguished professor and antiquary of that town. Comme par nos lettres patentes vous est apparu nous avoir donné a nos bien amés panetiers Pierre Debuen et Guillaume Heroval une cloche qui soulloit estre en la mairie de Rouen, nommée Rebel, laquelle fut confisquée à Rouen quand la commotion du peuple fust dernièrement en ladicte ville.....Archives de Rouen, registre MS. coté A, folio 267.

pockets of a few lords. But little of it remained in the royal coffers.* Two things did remain—the arrogance of that noblesse, who fancied they had conquered Flanders and France, and the infatuation of the young king, thenceforth ready for every kind of folly, with a head for ever bewildered by his triumphs in Paris and at Roosebeke, and galloping in full speed along the career of insanity.

CHAPTER II.

Youth of Charles VI., continued. 1384—1391.

[1384.] FLANDERS which they said was beaten and put down, was so far from being so, that it took two more campaigns to bring matters to a conclusion with it; and, after all, France had to grant the Flemings every thing she had at first denied them.

This poor Flanders was pillaged both by its foes, the French, and by its friends, the English. The latter, enraged at the victory of the French at Roosebeke, prepared a crusade against them, as schismatics and partisans of the Avignon pope. This crusade, designed it was said against Picardy, fell on Flanders. The Flemings in vain represented to the Bishop of Norwich, the leader of the crusade, that they were friends to the English, and not schismatics, but like them, partisans of the Pope of Rome. The bishop, who, for all his episcopal rank, was but a rude man-at-arms, and a great plunderer, persisted in believing that Flanders had been conquered by the French, and was become thoroughly French. He stormed and took Gravelines, a friendly town.

The Count of Flanders urged the necessity of acting in earnest, and bringing the war to an end; but every body was weary. The country was beginning to be greatly impoverished, and nothing was to be got without fighting. One thing which it was most important to take, if possible, was the great town of Ghent; and this could not be without a long and severe siege, which no one was disposed to enter upon. The Duke of Berri, especially, was exceedingly annoyed at being detained so long from his beautiful South, and forced to spend all his winters in mud and fog, doing the business of the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Flanders. Fortunately, the latter died. The Flemings, in their hatred of the French, asserted that he had fallen under the Duke of Berri's dagger.† If that

* Nec inde regale ærarium ditatum est. Rel. de St. Denis, i. 23.

† Froissart says he died a natural death, ix. 10, ed. Buchon. That grave and rigorous historian, the Religieux de St. Denis, who disguises no crime of the princes of those days, does not accuse the Duke of Berri. Meyer (xiii. 200)

prince, naturally of a mild temper, and rather addicted to pleasure, had committed that misdeed, which is scarcely probable, he would have done better service than he wished to the Duke of Burgundy, the dead man's son-in-law and heir. This son-in-law did not make much difficulty as to the conditions of peace; he bore no malice to the Flemings; for to him the main thing was to secure the inheritance. He granted them every thing they desired, and swore to all the charters they put before him. He even excused them from swearing on their knees, though this was the usual ceremony between vassal and lord, and implied nothing humiliating according to feudal notions. [December 18, 1384.]

The Duke of Burgundy was the only man of politic views in this family. He strengthened himself in the Low Countries, by a double marriage of his children with those of the house of Bavaria, which, possessing Hainaut, Holland, and Zealand, thus encompassed Flanders on the north and south. He had also the address to marry the young king likewise into this same house of Bavaria. The daughters of the dukes of Bavaria, Lorraine, and Austria, were severally proposed, and a painter was sent to take the likenesses of the three princesses. The Bavarian failed not to prove the most beautiful of the three, exactly as the Duke of Burgundy's interest required. She was brought in great pomp to Amiens.* The marriage was to have taken place at Arras; but the king declared he would have his little wife at once;† they were obliged to let him have her. Yet they were two children; he was sixteen years of age, she fourteen.

The Duke of Burgundy was now very strong, with one foot in France and one in the empire. He desired to achieve a great, an immense thing, but one which was then practicable—the conquest of England. The English were devastating all the south of France, and were invading Castile, our ally. Instead of tediously pursuing this interminable war on the continent, it was better to carry it into their own island, and wage it there at their expense. They were busy among themselves with another war, a secret, silent, terrible war. So rancorous was their mutual animosity, so virulently were they bent on worrying each other, that one might beat them and kill them before they were aware of the danger.

The magnitude of the efforts made on this occasion was worthy of the object in view. All the vessels were collected that could be bought or hired, from Prussia to Castile, to the number of 1387.‡

reports the assassination only on the authority of a Flemish chronicle of the fifteenth century, which refutes itself by the cause it assigns for the deed, viz., that the Duke of Berri quarrelled with the Count of Flanders about the homage of the county of Boulogne, his wife's inheritance. Now it was not until five years afterwards that the Duke of Berri married the heiress of Boulogne. Art de verifier les Dates, Comtes de Flandre, ann. 1384, iii. 21.

* "The young lady stood up, quite still, moving neither eye nor lip; at that time she knew no French." Frois., ii. 162. † Ibid.

‡ "Never since God created the world were there seen such numbers of large

These were transports, rather than vessels of war; every body was eager to embark. It seemed as though a general emigration of the French noblesse was in preparation. The lords did not fear to spend all they were worth, being sure of finding ten times as much on the other side of the Straits. They made it a point to take the sea in gallant style, and pranked out their vessels as they would their mistresses. The masts were silvered, the prows gilded; huge silk flags, floating in all the pride of heraldry, displayed to the wind lions, dragons, and unicorns, to frighten the leopards.

The marvel of the expedition was a wooden town, which was brought ready made from the forests of Bretagne, and was stowed away in seventy-two vessels. It was to be put together as soon as the landing took place, and was to furnish quarters for the whole army, covering a space of three thousand paces diameter.* Whatever might be the fortune of the battle, these wooden walls would secure to the French the most important result of their landing, it would give them a place in England, where they might receive and harbour the malecontents of the country, a sort of British Calais in fact.

All this was reasonable enough. But the Duke of Burgundy was not king of France. The project had the defect of being too useful to him; the master of Flanders would have gained more than any one else by a successful invasion of England. His orders were therefore obeyed sluggishly, and with bad grace. The wooden town was not delivered in due time, and when it arrived it was half shattered by a storm. The Duke of Berri kept the king amused as long as he could with the marriage of his own son, and the king's little sister, aged nine. It was not until the 5th of August, that Charles VI. set out, and then he was taken slowly to visit the fortresses of Picardy, so that he did not reach Arras before the middle of September. The weather was fine, and the passage was practicable; but the English negotiated, and the Duke of Berri did not arrive; he was in no hurry to do so. Letters and messages were of no effect, nothing could make him hasten his march, and when he did arrive the season was such as to render the passage almost impossible.† December was come with its bad weather, and its

ships as filled the harbours of Sluys and Blanckenburgh: for when they were counted in the month of September, this same year, they were 1287 ships.... the constable's navy not included.....Provisions arrived from all quarters. Very great quantities of wine, salted meats, oats, trusses of hay, onions, verjuice, biscuit, flour, butter, the yolks of eggs in powder, and rammed in barrels, and every other necessary were sent from Flanders; so that in future times those who have not been eye-witnesses will never believe the accounts. Frois., ii. 36.

* Knyghton, p. 2679. Quemdam murum ligneum.....altitudinis viginti pedum, qui semper ad duodecim passus haberet turrim. Walsingham, p. 323.

† The Duke of Berri said coldly, in reply to the Duke of Burgundy's reproaches as to the inutility of this prodigious expenditure: "Fair brother, if we have money, and our men have it too, the greater part of it will return to France; money always comes and goes. It is better to adventure this than to put our bodies in danger or jeopardy." Frois.

long nights. This time too the Ocean saved its island, as it did from Philip II. and Bonaparte.*

Our best arm against Great Britain is Bretagne. Our Breton seamen are the true adversaries of those of the islanders; equally brave, less steady perhaps, but making up for this by their impetuosity in the critical moment. The constable Clisson, the king's man, and leader of the Breton resistances against the Duke of Bretagne, took up the frustrated expedition and made it the affair of his province. Clisson had high aims. He had lately ransomed from the English the young Count of Blois, pretender to the duchy of Bretagne; he gave him his daughter in marriage, and would have made him duke. Jean de Montfort, the reigning duke, treacherously captured Clisson, but his barons prevented him from putting his prisoner to death.† This little event again frustrated the great expedition against England.

The English, however, being now fully warned, took their measures accordingly. They disarmed their king, whom they regarded with suspicion. Their new government sought out occupation for us in Germany, where there were plenty of needy princes to be had cheap. The Duke of Gueldres, who had many quarrels with the houses of Burgundy and Blois, sold himself to the English for a pension of twenty-four thousand francs, and did homage to them;‡ and with a boldness so much the greater as he had less to lose,§ he majestically defied the King of France.

Looking to the extension of his own influence, the Duke of Burgundy was delighted with the opportunity of making the full weight of the great kingdom felt in the Low Countries, and so far north. He had almost as strenuous preparations made against that imperceptible Duke of Gueldres, as would have sufficed for the conquest of England. Fifteen thousand men at arms, and eighty thousand infantry were collected.‖ The difficulty was not how to raise men, but how to convey them to their destination. The Duke of

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* And Ocean 'mid his uproar wild,
Speaks safety to his island child.—Coleridge.

† The Sire de Laval said to the Duke of Bretagne: "If you thus put him to death, no prince will ever so completely disgrace himself; and there will not be in Bretagne a knight, squire, city, castle, or good town, or any man, but will mortally hate you, and do every thing they can to drive you out of your duchy. Neither the King of England, nor his council, will thank you; and would you thus ruin yourself for the life of one man?" Frois., ii. 67.

‡ Rymer, vii. 433.

§ And more to gain. "The more rich and powerful is the Duke of Burgundy, the better is he to make war on.....For one blow I receive, I shall give six." Frois., ii. 100.

‖ The greater number, it is true, were dismissed as unfit for service. Those who were retained had no want of provisions to complain of, these being provided by that same Colin Boulard, of whom we have spoken. He sent his agents to the Rhine with 100,000 gold crowns; they were everywhere well received on the strength of their master's reputation. "Ob magistri notitiam." The bargemen of the Rhine exerted themselves very zealously in conveying the provisions down the river to the Low Countries. Rel. de St. Den., ix. 7.

Burgundy, for whose sake the war was waged, would not have that great devouring army pass through his rich Brabant, which he was about to inherit; they had to make a detour through the wilds of Champagne, and the low, damp, muddy forests of Ardennes, picking their way as well as they could along the paths beaten by the hunters. Two thousand five hundred men went before them with axes, to clear the way, lay down bridges, and fill up morasses. It rained heavily; the country was dreary and monotonous. There was nothing they could lay hand on, nor any one to be seen, not even enemies. Weariness and disgust at last inforced a hearing for the mediators, namely, the Archbishop of Cologne, the Bishop of Liége, and the Duke of Juliers. Charles VI. was particularly touched by the prayers of a great lady of the country, who declared herself smitten with love for the invincible King of France.* The Duke of Gueldres, thus charmingly patronised, was allowed to apologise, which he did on his knees, affirming that the defials had not been written by himself, but that it was his clerks who had played him that trick (1388).

The result was great for the Duke of Burgundy, little for the king. Two or three words of excuse were a poor indemnity for so much trouble and expense. Nor had the other expeditions turned out better. France had invaded Italy, threatened England, and touched Germany. She had made great movements, toiled and sweated, and had gained nothing. She was not lucky, nothing prospered with her. The king, early spoiled by the battle of Roosebeke, had thought every thing easy, and he now met with nothing but obstacles.† Whom could he blame for this, but those who had entangled him in wars; his uncles, who had always advised him to his own injury and their profit?

Charles V.'s pacific counsellors, the Sire de la Rivière, the Bishop of Laon, Montaigu, and Clisson, now prevailed in their turn. Charles VI., child as he was, had always liked these men. He had early had Clisson made constable, and he had saved the life of the mild and amiable Sire de la Rivière, whom his uncles wanted to destroy. La Rivière was the personal friend and servant of Charles V.; he lies interred in St. Denis at his master's feet.

The king was now one-and-twenty: but his uncles had the power in their hands, and address was requisite to take it from them. The

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* Quod acceptabilius regi fuit, insignis domina municipii *Amoris*, casto *amore* succensa, ad eum personaliter accessit. Id., p. 538. See the original treaties of the princes of the Low Countries and their excuses to the king. Archives, Trésor des Chartes, J, 522.

† An expedition solicited by the Genoese, and commanded by the Duke of Bourbon, failed in Africa (1390). The Count of Armagnac, collecting all the soldiers who were pillaging France, crossed the Alps, attacked the Visconti, and was made prisoner (1391). The king himself projected an Italian campaign, for the purpose of establishing young Louis of Anjou in Naples, and putting an end to the schism by the reduction of Rome.

business was well managed.* On their return from their inglorious Gueldres expedition, a great council was assembled in Reims, in the hall of the archbishop. The king asked, what were the means of giving the people a little rest and quiet, and ordered the persons present to state their opinions. Thereupon the Bishop of Laon rose, enumerated in good set terms all the king's good qualities, corporal and spiritual, the dignity of his person, his prudence and circumspection,† and declared that he lacked nothing requisite for reigning by himself. The uncles not daring to say aught to the contrary, Charles VI. replied, that he approved of the prelate's advice; he thanked his uncles for their good services, and ordered them to go home, the one to Languedoc, the other to Burgundy. He retained only the Duke of Bourbon, his maternal uncle, who was indeed the best of the three.

The Bishop of Laon died by poison: but he had rendered the realm a double service. The uncles being sent home, turned their attention a little to the affairs of the provinces, and cleared them of the brigands that were devastating them. The king's new counsellors, those petty folks, those *marmousets* as they were called, restored to the town of Paris its syndics and its provost of the merchants. They concluded a truce with England, favoured the university against the pope, and sought for means to put an end to the schism. They were also desirous of effecting a financial reform. They took off taxes at first, but were soon obliged to reimpose them.

The government was wiser than before, but the king was madder. For want of battles he would have *fêtes*. He had had the misfortune to begin his reign with one of those lucky chances that turn the wisest heads; he had gained a great battle at the age of fourteen, and been hailed as victor on a field of 26,000 dead. Every year he had hopes of war, every spring his banner was unfurled for gallant adventures; and now that he was past twenty, when he had acquired the full vigour of youth, and was admitted to be a cavalier accomplished in all martial exercises, now it was that they forced him to sit still. A government of *marmousets* forbade him all high hopes and vast schemes. How many tournaments were requisite to compensate to him for the want of real fights; how many *fêtes* and balls, and hurried amours, to make him forget the dramatic life of war, its delights, and its chances!

He plunged into unbounded revelry, and waged terrible war on his finances, spending and giving away with youthful prodigality

* It had been prepared long beforehand. No opportunity was lost of making the king ill-disposed to his uncles: "Leur en ay oy aucune foiz tenir leurs consaulz et dire au roy: Sire, vous n'avez mais à languir que vi. ans, et l'autre foiz que v. ans, et ainsi chascune année, si comme le temps s'aprochoit....." Instruction de Jean de Berry, dans les Analectes Hist. de M. Le Glay. Lille, 1838, p. 159.

† Refulgens dignitas....vigilantissimus animus....nil inconsulte aut ex precipiti agere consuevit. Rel. de St. Denis, ix. 11.

and royal munificence. His goodness of heart was a public calamity. The chamber of accounts, not knowing how to resist, sadly noted each of the king's gifts with these words, "*Nimis habuit*," or "*Recuperetur*." The wise councillors of the chamber also hit upon the device of employing whatever surplus might remain after all expenses were paid, in constructing a handsome gold stag, hoping that this figure, of which the king was so fond, would command the more respect and forbearance. But the stag melted away continually, and could never be completed.*

The sons of the Duke of Anjou being about to leave France, to pursue their claims upon the unfortunate crown of Naples, the king determined previously to confer the order of knighthood upon them. The ceremony took place at St. Denis, with incredible magnificence and concourse of company. All the nobility of France, England, and Germany were invited. The silence of the venerable abbey, the church of tombs, was broken by these mundane pomps; gilt spurs rang in the cloisters, and the poor monks had to entertain fair dames, who were lodged in the abbey itself.† The page of the monkish chronicler seems still in a flutter as it recounts these unwonted passages.

No hall being vast enough for the royal banquet, one was made in the great court-yard. It was in the form of a church,‡ and was not less than sixty-four yards long. The interior was hung with a huge cloth, striped white and green. At the end rose a broad and high alcove, formed of precious tapestries, curiously slight, and looking like the altar of this church—it was the throne.

Lists, 120 paces long, well levelled and enclosed with barriers, were prepared outside the abbey walls. On one side rose galleries and towers, in which the ladies were to sit and judge each doughty stroke.

The festivities lasted three days, beginning with masses and church ceremonies; then came the banquets, jousts, and balls at night; the whole was closed with a masked ball, in which all were safe from showing their blushes. Neither the king's presence, nor the sanctity of the place, put any restriction on the revellers, who had been excited to the highest pitch by three days' expectation. It was a real *pervigilium Veneris;* the season was the beginning of May; "Many a demoiselle forgot herself; several husbands suffered." May it perchance have been on this unlucky night that the young Duke of Orleans, the king's brother, had the misfortune to find favour in the eyes of the wife of his cousin, Jean sans Peur, as he afterwards imprudently boasted?§

* Non nisi usque ad colli summitatem peregerunt. Rel. de St. Den., i. 608.

† Abbatia pro Regina dominarumque insigni contubernio retenta.....Ibid., 586.—Quarum si pulchritudinem....attendisses.....fictum dearum.....ritum dixisses renovatum. Ib., 594.

‡ Ad templi similitudinem. Ibid., 588.

§ This tradition is found only in Meyer and other comparatively modern authors. But the contemporary chronicler makes an allusion to it: Alias displicentiæ radices utique non sic cognitas quod scriptu dignas reputem. Rel. de

Strange doings ensued on the day after this bacchanal scene among graves. It was not enough that the dead had been disturbed by the noise of revelry, but they also were forced to play their part. To heighten the mirth by contrast, or to dispel the lassitude that followed that wild night, the king chose to enjoy the spectacle of a funeral; and Duguesclin, his favourite hero,* whose exploits had charmed his childhood, and who had died ten years before, had the honour of amusing the silly and luxurious court with his obsequies.

Fêtes beget *fêtes*. The king determined that Queen Isabella, who had a hundred times entered Paris, during the last four years, should now make her *first entrance* into the capital. The nobles had had their grand feudal festivities, and now it was the people's turn to enjoy themselves in their own fashion, with boisterous merriment, vulgar and ludicrous incidents, and the extravagant excitement that naturally attends every great concourse. The burghers were all dressed in green, the followers of the princes in pink.† The windows were all thronged with fair girls clad in scarlet with golden girdles. The fountains ran wine and milk; musicians played at every door before which the queen passed, and children enacted pious mysteries at the crossways. As the queen passed through the Rue St. Denis, two angels, gliding down by a rope, placed a gold crown on her head, singing,

> " Dame enclose entre fleurs-de-lis
> Etes vous pas du paradis?"‡

When she arrived at the bridge of Notre Dame every one beheld with astonishment, a man with a torch in each hand walking down a rope stretched from the towers of the cathedral.

The king took his part like any other person in the diversions of the day, and mingled with the burghers that he also might see his fair young German pass. He even got many a thump from the serjeants for approaching too near the procession, and he boasted of this in the evening to the ladies.§ The good-humoured prince knowing, also, that there were many strangers present who regretted they had never seen the king joust, took part in the tournament to amuse them.

Soon afterwards the Duke of Orleans, the king's young brother,

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St. Den., 388 verso. Juvenal, writing later is still clearer on this point: Et estoit commune renommée que desdites joustes estoient provenues des choses deshonnetes en matière d'amourettes, et *dont depuis beaucoup de maux sont venus.* Juvenal des Ursins, 73, ed. Godefroy.

* He bequeathed a considerable sum, 300 livres. to be expended on prayers for the soul of Duguesclin, who died twelve years before. Testament de Charles VI., Jan. 1393. Archives, Tres. des Chartes, J, 404.

† Coloris viridis....roseis vestibus. Rel. de St. Den., i. 612.

‡ Froissart, xii. 12. Barante, ii. 78.

§ En eut le roy plusieurs coups et horions sur les epaules bien assez. Et au soir, en la presence des dames et damoiselles, fut la chose sçue et recitée, et le roy mesme se farçoit des horions qu'il avait reçus. Grandes Chroniques de St. Denis, copiées par Juvénal des Ursins, 72.

married the daughter of Visconti, the rich Duke of Milan.* Charles VI. chose Mélun as the place where the wedding should be celebrated, and there gave a magnificent reception to the charming Valentina, who was afterwards to exercise so gentle and so durable an ascendancy over his weak mind.

The town of Paris had fancied that it would obtain a diminution of taxes in consideration of the queen's entry; but it was quite the reverse. It was necessary to augment the gabelle in order to cover the cost of the ceremony, and, moreover, the pieces of twelve and of four deniers were cried down, with a prohibition to pass them under penalty of the halter. These pieces were peculiarly the coin of the poor classes, who remained for a fortnight in a state of despair, not being able to buy food with the decried coin.†

Meanwhile, the king began to find himself dull, and bethought himself of travelling. He had not yet made a royal progress through his realm, and was not yet acquainted with his southern provinces, from which he had received melancholy tidings. A pious monk of St. Bernard had come all the way from Languedoc to complain to him of the bad government of his uncle, the Duke of Berri. The monk had overcome all obstacles, had forced his way into the royal presence, and had spoken with Christian boldness before the face of the king's uncle. The king, who had a good heart, listened to him with patience, took him under his safeguard,‡ and promised to go and see that unfortunate country for himself. Besides this, he wished also to visit Avignon, and confer with the pope as to the means of ending the schism.

After having paid his devotions in the abbey of St. Denis, as customary with our kings in such circumstances, he took his route by Nevers, and was received there with the prodigal magnificence of the house of Burgundy. But he did not allow his uncles to accompany him,§ not choosing that they should shut out his people's complaints from his ears. Perhaps, too, he felt their presence some restraint on the indulgence of his youthful caprices. For the same reason he did not take the queen with him, wishing to enjoy royally and uncontrolled all that France could offer him in the way of pleasure.

He stopped first in that pleasant half-Italian great town, Lyons. He was received under a canopy of cloth of gold by four fair young damsels who conducted him to the archbishop's palace, and the four days he remained there were one continued scene of games, balls, and gallantry.

But nowhere did the king pass his time more agreeably than at

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* This marriage had important consequences, as we shall see by and by. She brought Asti as her dowry with 450,000 florins, &c. Jan. 1386. Arch., Tres. des Chartes, J, 409.

† Relig. de St. D., x. 7. ‡ In regiam accepit custodiam. Ibid., ix. 14.

§ On this point I follow the Rel. de St. Denis. The contradictions of historians respecting this journey are not irreconcilable.

Avignon, with the pope. None were more consummate masters than these priests in all the arts of pleasure: nowhere was life more easy, nowhere did the yoke of conscience press more lightly. Had it made itself felt at all inconveniently, the very source of indulgence was close at hand; pardon lay next door to the sin. On his departure the king bestowed rich tokens of remembrance on the ladies of Avignon, who all "praised his liberality."*

He went away a confirmed friend to the pope and his interests. Clement VII. bestowed the title of King of Naples on the young Duke of Anjou, and to the king himself he gave the patronage of 750 benefices, among the rest that of the Archbishopric of Reims: but the prelate whom the king appointed to that see, and who was a famous adversary of the pope and the Dominicans, was soon despatched by poison.†

When the king reached Languedoc nothing met his ear but cries and lamentations. The Duke de Berri had reduced the country to such a state of despair that already more than 40,000 men had fled to Aragon. That prince, mild and good in his own Berri, gave up Languedoc to his agents like a farm of which they were to make the most for their own profit. At once greedy and lavish, he was blessed by one set of people and cursed by another. He was a man to bestow 200,000 francs on his buffoon. It is true that, to make amends for such mundane prodigality, he was also open-handed to clerks, and was a builder of churches, rearing those airy turrets, and expending great sums on the carving of those stone lace-works, which we admire, and which the people execrated. He spared no cost in the acquisition of precious manuscripts, rich miniatures, and seals of rare device. Last of all he had just married, at sixty years of age, a girl of twelve, niece to the Count of Foix. What *fêtes*, what expenses must it have cost the sexagenarian to make that childish bride pardon his age!

After being detained twelve whole days in Montpellier by the "frisky" demoiselles of the country,‡ the king at last proceeded to Toulouse, to be present at the execution of Bétisac, his uncle's treasurer. The man had confessed all his crimes, but added that he had done nothing except by order of Monseigneur de Berri. Not knowing how to withdraw him from such potent protection, his enemies persuaded him that he had no other resource than to declare himself a heretic, whereupon he would be sent to the pope, and his life would be saved. He took the advice, declared himself a heretic, and was burned alive. The execution took place under

* "Being young and giddy, they neither could nor would refrain from dancing, carolling, and musing themselves with the ladies and damsels of Avignon, though they were in the pope's palace, and among the cardinals; and the Count of Geneva, brother to the pope, was the master of the revels. Frois., iv. 5.

† According to the Benedictine of St. Denis the Dominicans were generally suspected.

‡ "He presented to those most in his favour rings and clasps of gold." Frois., iv. 7.

the king's windows amidst the acclamations of the people. Thus much satisfaction did he give to the complaints of Languedoc.

By way of doing another agreeable thing to the good town of Toulouse, Charles VI. conceded to the *abbeys* of courtesans that their inmates should no longer be compelled to wear a certain costume,* but should be at liberty to dress as they pleased. He wished that they too should have their share in the joy of his royal entry.

He returned straight to Paris, satiated with pleasures, and weary of entertainments; and avoided those which were prepared for him on the way back. He challenged his brother to run a race with him to Paris, and wagered he would arrive there first. There was no more rest for him, but in giddy excitement. At two-and-twenty he was used up; he had exhausted two lives—one of war, one of pleasure. His head was dead, his heart empty, his senses began to fail. What remedy for that desperate condition? Agitation, a bewildering career of frantic folly. "The dead speed fast."

Life is a combat, doubtless, but let us not therefore complain; it is a misfortune when the combat is ended. The intestine war of the *homo duplex* is precisely what sustains us. Let us contemplate this war, no longer in the king, but in the kingdom, and in the Paris of that day where it was so strikingly displayed.

The Paris of Charles VI. was especially that of the northern side, that great and profound Paris of the plain, stretching out its obscure streets from the royal mansion of St. Paul to the Hôtel de Bourgogne and the markets. In the heart of that Paris, towards the Grève, rose two churches, types of two ideas—St. Jacques and St. Jean.

St. Jacques de la Boucherie was the parish of the butchers and the Lombards, of money and meat. Fitly girt around with slaughter-houses, tan-yards, and places of ill-fame, the rich and filthy parish extended from the Rue Troussevache to the Quai des Peaux or Pelletier. Beneath the shadow of the butchers' church, under the protection of its guilds, in a paltry stall, did Flamel and his old Pernelle—knowing folks, who passed for alchemists, and who really knew the art of extracting gold out of that fetid mud—write, intrigue, and accumulate wealth.†

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* Except a garter of a different colour on the arm.—Ord., vii. 327. Dec. 1389.

† St. Jacques was the St. Denis, the Westminster Abbey, of the guilds; it was the ambition of the butchers and armourers to be buried there. The first benefactress of this church was a dyer. The butchers enriched it. Those rough men loved their church. We find from the charters that Alain, the butcher, purchased a loophole in it, so that he might see the mass from his own house. This church enjoyed a very independent position between Notre Dame and St. Martin, which contended with each other for the right of patronage over it. It was a redoubtable asylum which no one could have violated with impunity; and this was the reason why the cunning Flamel, a scrivener, not sworn or authorised by the university, established himself under the shadow of St. Jacques. He could be protected by the curé of that day, a man of importance, registrar to the Parliament, and holding that cure without even being a priest (see the letters of Clemengis). There Flamel kept his station for thirty years in a stall five feet

In opposition to the materialism of St. Jacques, rose close at hand the spiritualism of St. Jean.* Two tragic events had converted that chapel into a great parish church; viz., the miracle of the Rue des Billettes, where "God was boiled by a Jew,"† and the destruction of the Temple, which extended the parish of St. Jean over that vast and silent quarter. Its curé was the great doctor of the age, Jean Gerson, that man of strife and contradiction. A mystic, and an enemy to the mystics, but still more an enemy to the votaries of matter and animality, the poor and powerless curé of St. Jean, placed between the follies of St. Paul and the violence and disorder of St. Jacques, censured the princes and attacked the butchers, and wrote against those dangerous material sciences, astrology and alchemy, which were covertly undermining Christianity.

His task was difficult; the adverse party was strong. Nature, and the sciences of nature, kept down by the Christian spirit, were about to have their *renaissance*.

That dangerous power, long captive in the crucibles and alembics of the disciples of Averrhoes, transformed and quasi spiritualised by Arnaud de Villeneuve,‡ still smouldered in the thirteenth century; in the fifteenth it blazed out.

How did the old schoolmen's lore grow pale before this dazzling apparition! The former had occupied the whole man, and then left him, all void. In the pause between the acts of the spiritual drama, eternal nature reappears, ever young and charming, lays hold on man as he droops and languishes, and presses him to her bosom.

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by three, and so well did he thrive by his toil, his knowledge of the world, and his mole-like industry, that when he died it took a chest larger than his stall to hold the title deeds of his property. In the beginning, having nothing else to support him than his pen and a fine hand, he married an old woman who had something. He carried on more than one trade under the same sign. Whilst he was copying those handsome manuscripts which we still admire, it is probable that in that quarter of rich, ignorant burghers, Lombards and Jews, he executed and caused to be executed many another writing besides. A curé and registrar of Parliament could also procure him work. As the value of instruction was beginning then to be felt, the lords to whom he sold his handsome MSS. sent their children to him to be taught. He bought a few houses at a very low price, in consequence of the flight of the Jews and the general distress of the times, and these afterwards gradually increased in value. Flamel contrived to turn them to good account. Every body was flocking to Paris, and lodgings were exceedingly scarce. He converted his houses into *hospices*, where he received lodgers at a moderate rate. These petty gains which thus accrued to him from all parts, gave rise to the saying, that he knew how to make gold. He let people say so if they pleased, and, perhaps, he rather encouraged the report, in order to improve the sale of his books. Such occult arts were, however, not without danger: hence Flamel's extreme solicitude to parade his piety everywhere at the church doors. He was everywhere to be seen represented in bas-relief, kneeling before the cross, with his wife Pernelle. He found a double advantage in this: he sanctified his fortune, and he augmented it by giving increased publicity to his name. See the learned and ingenious Abbé Vilain's Histoire de St. Jacques la Boucherie, 1758, and his Histoire de Nicolas Flamel, 1761.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, i. 137, sqq. † Felibien, Preuves, i. 296.

‡ See his Works, Lyon, 1504, and his Life by Haitze, Aix, 1719.

She comes back after Christianity, and in defiance of it; she comes back as sin. The charm is but the more tempting for man, the desire so much the keener. Not being yet understood, not being science, but magic, she exercises a deadly fascination over man. The finite being loses himself in the infinitely varying charms of nature. He, on his part, gives, and gives without counting; she, beautiful and immutable, takes always and smiles. All belonging to him is fated to be thus absorbed. The pale and meagre alchemist, growing old in the search after gold, will bend over his crucible to the last. He will burn his furniture, his books; he would burn his children. Others will pursue nature in her more seducing forms, and pine after beauty. But beauty is as fugitive as gold; each of her lovely apparitions vanishes away, leaving the heart of the votary void and craving, and carrying away with it the richest gifts of his being. Thus does insatiable, indefatigable nature triumph over the ephemeral creature, absorbing his life and strength, taking back into herself him and his desire, and resolving love and lover into her eternal chemistry.

If life fails not, but only the soul gives way, then is it far worse; all that then remains of life to the man, is the consciousness of his death. Having extinguished his inward deity, he feels forsaken of God, and as it were a solitary exception from the universal providence.

Alone . . . . . But in the middle ages one was not long alone. The devil comes speedily in such moments, instead of God. The prostrate soul is a toy for him to toss about; and so sick is that poor soul, that it desires to remain sick, hugging its bane, and plunging eagerly into pernicious joys: "*Mala mentis gaudia.*" Allured by wild hopes, beguiled by faint glimmerings, and led hither and thither by vain curiosity, it gropes about in darkness and in fear.

They are strange times these. Men deny every thing, believe every thing. The sombre towns are wrapped in a feverous atmosphere of sceptic superstition. The gloom increases in their narrow streets, their fogs are thickened by the smoke of alchemy and witchcraft. The oblique windows cast squinting looks. The black mud of the thoroughfares squashes up in bad words. The doors are shut fast all day; but they open by night to admit the man of evil deeds, the Jew, the sorcerer, the assassin.

There is something expected; but what? No one knows; but nature gives warning; the elements seem changed. The rumour ran for a while in the reign of Charles VI., that the rivers had been poisoned.* A vague surmise of crime floated beforehand in the minds of all.

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* According to the Benedictine chronicler this crime also was imputed to the Dominicans. Veneficos ignorabant, sciebant tamen quod desuper habitum longum et nigrum, subtus vero album, ut religiosi deferebant. Rel. de St. Den., i. xi., 5.

CHAPTER III.

Insanity of Charles VI. 1392—1400.

THIS revolting history which is about to exhibit so many daring crimes that proudly obtrude themselves upon the light, begins with a villanous nightly crime, a skulking act of murder. It was an outrage of expiring feudalism against feudal law, a crime committed by a subvassal upon the person of his suzerain's officer, in the very residence of the suzerain, and in addition to this, it was an act of sacrilege, the assassin having chosen the day of the Holy Sacrament for the commission of the deed.

The Marmousets, those little men become masters of the great, were mortally hated; Clisson was moreover feared. In France he was constable, and wielded the king's sword against the lords; in Bretagne, on the contrary, he was the leader of the lords against the duke. Closely connected with the houses of Penthièvre and Anjou, he waited but an opportunity to expel the Duke of Bretagne, and send him off to his friends the English. The duke, who knew this perfectly well, who lived in continual fear of Clisson, and dreamed of nothing but that terrible one-eyed man,* was inconsolable at the thought that he had had his enemy in his hands, and had not had the courage to kill him. Now there was a man whose interest prompted him to kill Clisson, he having every thing to fear at the hands of the constable and the house of Anjou. This was an Angevin gentleman named Pierre de Craon, who having stolen the treasure of the Duke of Anjou, his master, in the Neapolitan expedition, had been the cause of his perishing wretchedly.† The duke's widow never lost sight of the man, and Clisson, who was allied to the house of Anjou, never saw the robber without treating him as he deserved.

Fear and hatred of the same object led to a confederacy between Craon and the Duke of Bretagne; the former promised the latter that he would rid him of Clisson. He made his way back to Paris in secret, and entered the town by night; the gates always lay open since the punishment of the Maillotins. He filled his hôtel in the Marché St. Jean with bravoes, and there they waited several days with the doors and windows barred. At last, on the 13th of June, the feast of the Holy Sacrament, a grand gala having taken place in the hôtel St. Paul with jousts, a supper, and dance after midnight, the constable returned almost alone to his hôtel in the Rue de Paradis. The vast and silent Marais, lonely enough even at this day, was far

* He lost an eye at the battle of Auray in 1364.

† The Duke of Berri said to him one day: "Wicked traitor, it was thou that didst cause the death of our brother;" and he gave orders to arrest him, but no one obeyed. Rel. de St. Den., i. x., 7.

more so then; it was entirely occupied with large mansions, gardens, and convents. Craon posted himself with forty bravoes at the corner of the Rue St. Catherine, and when Clisson came up, they extinguished the torches and fell upon him. The constable thought at first it was some jocular freak of the king's young brother. But Craon wished in killing him, to occasion him the bitterness of knowing by whose hand he died, "I am your enemy," he said to him; "I am Pierre de Craon." The constable, who was armed only with a small hanger, defended himself as well as he could. At last he received a blow on the head, and fell most luckily against the half open door of a baker, who was heating his oven at that late hour. His head and half his body lay within the shop, so that it would have been necessary to enter in order despatch him. The forty bravoes durst not dismount from their horses; they thought it better to believe he had had enough, and galloped off through the Porte St. Antoine.*

The news was brought to the king immediately after, just as he was going to bed. He did not stop to dress himself, but hastened to the spot in his shirt and cloak without waiting for his suite. He found the constable returned to himself, and promised to avenge him, swearing that never was deed more dearly paid for than that should be.

Meanwhile, the murderer shut himself up in his castle of Sablé, in Maine, and then in some corner of Bretagne. The king's uncles, who were delighted at the event, and who knew something of it beforehand, gave out, in order to mislead the king and gain time, that Craon was in Spain. But the king was not deceived. It was the Duke of Bretagne he desired to punish; but he was far away in his own poor and rugged country; and to reach him there it was necessary to pass though the forests of Mans, Vitré, and Rennes. The king obliged his uncles to bring their vassals, that is to say, to aid in punishing the crime of their friends, their own, perhaps.† Scarcely knowing how to overcome their reluctance, and to hasten their tardy movements, he even went the length of restoring Lan-

* Froiss., t. xii., p. 358, and t. xiii. 58.

† They soon obtained Craon's pardon (March 13, 1395). Letters of remission granted to Pierre de Craon: "Il ait esté par notre commandement et ordenance au Saint Sépulchre, et depuis par notre permission et licence et soubs notre sauf conduit soit venu en notre royaume et en l'abbaye de St. Denis où il a esté par l'espare de IIII. mois et demi ou environ en espérance de cuidier trouver paix et accord avec ledit sire de Clicon.....et avec ce ait esté nagneires banni de notre royaume et entre autres choses condempné envers nostre très chère et très amée tante le royne de Cécille pas arrest de nostre parlement pour lesquels bannissement et autres condemnations lui, sa femme et ses enfans sont du tout deserts d'estat et de chevance mesmement que de ses biens ne lui demoura autre chose....et leur a convenu....requérir leurs parens et amis pour vivre....Voulans en se cas pitie et misericorde préférer à rigueur de justice et pour contemplation de nostre très chère et très amée fille Ysabelle royne d'Angleterre qui sur ce nous a....supplié le jour de ses fiansailles et que ledit suppliant est de nostre lignaige, Nous par saine et meure déliberation de nos très chers et amés oncles et frère".....Archives, Trésor des Chartes, J, 37.

guedoe, of which he had so justly deprived him, to the Duke of Berri.*

He was fretting and siek with impatienee. He had had a fever some time before, and was not perfeetly eonvaleseent; there was something wild and strange in his manner and appearanee. His uneles would have had him take eare of himself, keep quiet, and, above all, abstain from being present at the eouneil, but they eould do nothing with him. He mounted in spite of them, and marehed them as far as Mans, where they eontrived to detain him three weeks; but at last, thinking himself better, he would stay no longer, but ordered his banner to be unfurled.

It was a hot, sultry August day. The king was muffled up in a blaek velvet eoat, with a searlet velvet hood on his head. The prinees slily lagged behind, and left him alone, in order, they said, to avoid ineommoding him with dust. Alone he passed through the tedious forests of Maine, with their poor foliage and seanty shade, the stifling heat of the open glades, and the dazzling mirages of the sand at noon. It was also in a forest, but how different from this! that he had twelve years before eneountered the marvellous stag that seemed to promise so mueh. He was then young, full of hope and spirits, with a heart ready to embraee all high thoughts. But how grievously he had been eompelled to lower his pretensions! Abroad he had everywhere broken down, had tried every thing, and failed in every thing; in the kingdom itself, was he really and truly king? See how his eounsellors were attaeked by every body, the prinees, the elergy, and the university. The most flagrant insult was put upon him by the attempted murder of his eonstable, and no one budged; a plain gentleman in a similar ease, would have had twenty friends to offer him their swords; the king had not even his kinsmen. They stayed to be summoned to the performanee of their feudal serviee, and even then they did not eomply without driving a bargain; he had to pay them in advanee, to bribe them with provinees, Languedoe and the duehy of Orleans. His brother, the new Duke of Orleans, was a handsome young prinee, who had but too mueh spirit and ability, and made himself engaging to every body; he had just put the fair snake of Milan† among the fleurs-de-lis. Thus, there was none he eould eall his friend, none on whom he eould rely. Those who had not hesitated to assail his eonstable almost at his door, would not seruple mueh to lay hands on himself. He was alone in the midst of traitors. Yet what had he done to be thus hated by all, he who hated no one, but rather loved all the world? He would fain have been able

* We follow the Religieux de St. Denis step for step. That grave historian is here the more worthy of attention, inasmuch as he was himself with the army, and an eye-witness of the events. Froissart's testimony is of much less importance; that of Juvenal still less so, except when he follows the Religieux.

† By his marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Milan, who had a snake in his armorial bearings.

to do something to relieve the distress of his people; at the least, he had a good heart; all honest folks knew this well.

As he was passing along through the forest, an ill-looking fellow, dressed only in a shabby white frock, suddenly caught the king's horse by the bridle, shouting out in a frightful manner, "Stop, noble king, go no further; thou art betrayed!" He was compelled to let go the king's rein, but was allowed to follow him, shouting in the same manner for half an hour.

It was noon when the king issued from the forest, upon a sandy plain, on which the sun beat vertically down. Every body suffered from the heat. A page, who carried the royal lance, fell asleep on his horse, and the lance, dropping out of his hands, struck the helmet which was carried by another page. Starting at the clash and glitter of the steel, the king drew his sword, and clapped spurs to his horse, crying out, "Down with the traitors! They want to betray me!" In this way he charged at the Duke of Orleans, who escaped; but the king had time to kill four men before he could be restrained.* They waited until his strength was spent, and then one of his knights having seized him from behind, he was disarmed, dismounted, and stretched gently on the ground. His eyes rolled wildly in his head, he knew no one, and spoke not a word. His uncles and his brother stood round him. Any body was free to approach and see him; the ambassadors from England did so among the rest, a thing which was generally considered highly improper. The Duke of Bourgogne was particularly incensed against the chamberlain, La Rivière, who had suffered the enemies of France to behold the king in that condition.

When he recovered his senses a little, and became aware of what he had done, he was horror-stricken, asked pardon, and confessed. His uncles had laid their grasp on everything, and had imprisoned La Rivière and the king's other advisers, except only Clisson, who escaped. The king, however, forbade that any harm should be done them, and even caused their property to be restored to them.†

The royal invalid had no lack of physicians, but they did him no good. The system of medicine then in vogue was, just as now, that materialist kind which applies itself to the body, without caring for the soul, and proposes to cure physical maladies without at all inquiring into those of a moral nature, though the latter are in general the primary causes of the former. The middle ages did just the

* Quemdam abjectissimum virum obviam habuit, qui eum terruit vehementer. Is nec minis nec terroribus potuit cohiberi, quin regi pertranseunti terribiliter clamando fere per dimidiam horam hæc verba reiteraret: Non progrediaris ulterius, insignis rex, quia cito perdendus es. Cui cito assensit ejus imaginatio nam turbata.... Hoc furore perdurante, viros quatuor occidit, cum quodam insigni milite dicto de Polegnac de Vasconia, ex furtivo tamen concubitu oriundo. Rel. de St. Denis, 189.

† Nothing like this clemency was expected. The Parisians went every day to the Grève, in hopes of seeing them hung. Multis diebus incolæ Parisienses ad communem plateam ad hoc aptam convenerunt. Id., 192.

reverse; they did not always know the proper physical remedies, but they knew very well how to soothe and *charm* the patient, and bring him into a state of aptitude to be cured. Medicine was practised in Christian style at the very holy-water vase in the churches.* The practitioner often began by confessing the patient, and thus becoming acquainted with his life and habits. Then the communion was administered to him, which helped to re-establish the harmony of his disturbed spirits. When the patient had renounced passion and evil habits, and cast off the old man, then some remedy was sought for his malady; this was usually some absurd nostrum; but with a subject so well prepared, every treatment was successful. The use of these preliminary measures was no longer known in the fourteenth century, and the physician applied himself directly to the body, which he tormented brutally. The king soon grew tired of the treatment he underwent, and dismissed his physicians in an interval of reason.

The courtiers recommended him to seek no other remedy than amusements and festivities, and to cure folly by folly. A fine opportunity presented itself in the marriage of one of the queen's German ladies, who was a widow. Widows' weddings were scenes of wild, extravagant mirth, in which people said and did all sorts of things. In order to outdo, if possible, all that had been done before on such occasions, the king and five knights disguised themselves as satyrs. The person who devised this obscene farce was a certain Hugues de Guisay, a bad man, one of that class of persons who become something by amusing the great, and trampling on the little. He dressed up his satyrs in false skins of linen, smeared with pitch and covered with tow, which made them look hairy as goats. Whilst the king, thus disguised, was teasing his young aunt, the very young wife of the old Duke of Berri, his brother, the Duke of Orléans, who had passed the evening elsewhere, came in with the Count of Bar, and the two thoughtless young men took it into their heads to set fire to the tow in order to frighten the ladies. The tow communicated the fire to the pitch, and the satyrs were instantly in a blaze. The linen was sewed close, and nothing could save them. It was horrible to see those living howling flames running about the hall. Fortunately, the young Duchess of Berri kept fast hold of the king, and covered him with her robe, so that no spark fell upon him. The others burned for half an hour, and lingered in agony three days, until they died.†

The danger would have been extreme for the princes if the king had not escaped: the people would have torn them to pieces. The

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris, t. i., pp. 15, 19.

† The inventor of the masquerade was among the burned, to the great delight of the people. He had always treated poor persons with the most cruel insolence. He used to beat them like dogs until they barked, trample on them and prick them with his spurs. When his body was carried through Paris, many shouted his own words after it: "Bark, dog!" Rel. de St. Denis, 202.

news of this event excited a general burst of indignation and pity throughout the town. The honest burgherhood of Paris shuddered to think that the king was left to fall into these disgraceful follies, and had run the risk, simple and innocent as he was, of being involved in that terrible visitation of God's wrath. They went in a body of more than 500 to the Hôtel St. Paul, and nothing could quiet them until they had seen their king under his royal canopy, where he thanked them and spoke some good words to them.

Such a shock could not fail to bring on a relapse. A violent one took place. He maintained that he was not married, and that he had no child. Another instance of his madness, and it was not the maddest, was his determination to be no longer himself, no Charles, no king. If he saw fleurs-de-lis on the window-panes or the walls, he made mouths at them, danced before them, broke and effaced them. "My name is George," he said; "my arms are a lion pierced with a sword."*

Women only had now any power over him, except the queen whom he could no longer endure. A woman had saved him from the fire; but the one who had most influence over him was his sister-in-law Valentina, Duchess of Orléans. He knew her quite well, and called her "dear sister." She had to visit him every day: he could not live without her; if she did not come to him he went in quest of her. That young woman, already forsaken by her husband, possessed a singular attraction for the poor madman; they were both unhappy. She alone could make him listen to her; and the madman obeyed her; she was become his reason.

No one, as far as I am aware, has fully explained the phenomenon of infatuation, that strange fascination which has something of love in it and is not love. It is not exercised exclusively by persons; places, too, evince this power, witness that lake from which it was said Charlemagne could not withdraw his eyes.† If nature, if the mute forests and the cold waters captivate and fascinate us, what will not woman do? What power will she not exercise over the suffering soul that turns to her for the charms of lonely conversations, and voluptuous compassion?

Sweet but dangerous medicament, that calms and perturbs! The people, which judges roughly and judges well, felt that this remedy was itself an evil. This Visconti, they said, comes from the country of poisons and magic arts, she has bewitched the king. And it might

* Non solum se uxoratum liberosque genuisse denegabat, imo suimet et tituli regni Franciæ oblitus, se non nominari Carolum, nec deferre lilia asserebat; et quoties arma sua vel reginæ exarata vasis aureis vel alicubi videbat, ea indignantissime delebat. Rel. de St. Denis, 207.—Arma propria et reginæ si in vitreis vel parietibus exarata vel depicta percepisset, inhoneste et displicenter saltando hæc delebat, asserens se Georgium vocari, et in armis leonem gladio transforatum se deferre. It was found necessary to block up all the entrances to the Hôtel St. Paul. Id., 292.

† The influence of Diana of Poitiers over Henry II. was in like manner ascribed to a talisman. Guilbert, Descr. de Fontainebleau, ii. 58.

be, indeed, that there was some enchantment in the fair Italian's words, some subtle poison in the glance of her southern eye.

A better remedy for the troubled soul, a wiser means of harmonising our moral faculties, is to betake oneself to the supreme peace, to seek refuge in God. The king devoted himself to St. Denis, to whom he presented a massive gold shrine. He had himself taken to Bretagne, upon the melancholy pilgrimage to Mont Saint Michel *in periculo maris*, and afterwards to the frightful volcanic mountains of Puy en Velay. He was also made to enact severe ordonnances against blasphemers and Jews.* This time at least the Jews were better treated than on former occasions, for the king in expelling them allowed them to carry away their property. Another ordonnance granted a confessor to the condemned culprit, so that if his body was killed his soul at least might be saved. Every kind of sport was forbidden except the useful exercise of the crossbow. A daughter of the king's was presented to the Virgin and made a nun from her birth; it being hoped that the innocent creature would expiate her father's sins and obtain his recovery.

Of all royal good works the most royal is peace. So thought St. Louis.* Kings exist here below only to the end that they may maintain God's peace. It was generally believed that the royal house of France was smitten for having brought war and schism into the Christian world. Peace, then, was the true remedy; peace of the Church between Rome and Avignon, by abdication on the part of both popes; peace of Christendom between France and England, by a good treaty between the two kings, and a brave crusade against the Turk. Such was the desire of all men; such were the aspirations uttered aloud in the sermons of the preachers and the harangues of the university; and that found a humbler expression in the tears and groans of countless sufferers, in the common prayer of families, and the petitions which mothers taught their little ones to put up at night to Heaven.

With what vivacity does Jean Gerson extol the blessed gift of peace in one of those moments when it was expected that both popes would forego their mutual hostility! His sermon is rather a hymn; the glowing preacher becomes a poet, and rhymes without intending it. No doubt his rhymes were repeated and sung by the deeply-affected crowd that heard them:

> "Allons, allons, sans attarder,
> Allons de paix le droit sentier.....
> Graces à Dieu, honneur et gloire,
> Quand il nous a donné victoire."

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* Ordon., viii. 130, May 7, 1397; vii. 675, Sept. 17, 1394.

† See his noble words on this subject in his instruction to his son: "Dear son, I rede thee that thou take pains to assuage to the best of thy power the wars and contests that shall happen in thy realm, or among thy men; for this is a thing very pleasing to Our Lord; and St. Martin has given us a very great example, for he went to put peace between the clerks who were in his arch-

"Let us lift up our hearts, O devout Christian people! Let us put aside all other care, and give this hour to considering the excellent gift of peace that is at hand. How often with great longings, for these thirty years, have we asked and sighed for peace! *Veniat pax!*"*

The kings were more easily reconciled than the popes. The English were averse to peace,† but their king desired it, and signed at any rate a truce for twenty-eight years. Richard II., hated by his own kindred, had need of the friendship of France. He married the French king's daughter,‡ who brought him the enormous dowry of eight hundred thousand crowns.§ But he gave up Brest and Cherbourg.

This happy treaty left the French noblesse free to do what they had long desired—namely, to make another crusade. War against the infidels was peace between Christians. There was now no need of going so far in quest of a crusade; it was coming to seek us. The Turks were advancing; they were hemming in Constantinople, and menacing Hungary. That rapid conqueror, Bajazet the Lightning (Hilderim), had sworn, it was said, to give his horse oats on the altar of St. Peter's, in Rome. A numerous nobility set out on this occasion, including the constable, four princes of the blood, several men of high repute, the Admiral of Vienne, and the Sires de Couci and de Boucicaut. The ambitious Duke of Bourgogne contrived that his son, the Duke of Nevers, a young man aged two-and-twenty, should be the leader of these old and experienced captains.|| A great number of young lords, who were then making their first campaign, indulged in an extravagant display of sumptuosity. Their banners, standards, and housings were blazing with gold, and their tents were of green satin. Their silver plate was carried after them in waggons, and boats freighted with choice wines floated down the Danube. The camp of these crusaders swarmed with women.

What was becoming of the affair of the schism during this time? Let us go back a little.

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bishopric, and at the time when he knew through Our Lord that he was to die; and it seemed to him that he put a good close to his life in thus doing."

* Nevertheless, Gerson still has his doubts. If the abdication takes place, it will be a gift of God, not a work of man; there are too many examples of human frailty: Ajax, Cato, Medea, the angels even who fell from heaven, and *especially St. Peter*, "qui à la voix d'une femelette renya Nostre Seigneur." Gerson, ed. le Du Pin, iv. 567.

† Respecting the previous negotiations since 1380, see among other documents the Voyage de Nicolas de Bosc, Bishop of Bayeux, printed in the Voyage Littéraire des deux Benedictins, partie seconde, 307—360.

‡ Isabella was seven years old. Richard declared that he had fallen in love with her from seeing her portrait. Rel. de St. Denis, 294.

§ Besides a great number of valuables. See two schedules of the jewels, gold and silver plate, robes, tapestries, and various matters for the person of Madame Isabeau, for her chamber, chapel, stable, pantry, fruitery, kitchen, &c. Nov., 396, July 23, 1400. Archives, Trésor des Chartes, J, 643.

|| Compare, for this crusade, our national historians, and the Hungarian and German writers cited by Von Hammer in his History of the Ottoman Empire.

For a long while the princes had found their profit in the division of the Church; the Duke of Anjou first, and then the Duke of Berri. The popes of Avignon, servile creatures of these princes, bestowed benefices only on their nominees. The priests wandered about starving. The members of the university, its most learned students, and its most eloquent doctors, were left to pine in oblivion in some garret of Paris.*

At length, however, when the Church was nearly ruined, and abuses became less lucrative, the princes began to lend an ear to the complaints of the university. That corporation, emboldened by the degradation of the popes, began to wield authority, and declared itself commissioned by divine right not only to teach but to correct and to censure, to censure *et doctrinaliter et judicialiter*, according to the language of the time.† It called on all its members to give their opinion touching the great question of the union of the Church. They all voted, from the highest to the lowest. A trunk was opened at the Mathurins, and into it the humblest of the *poor masters* of the Sorbonne, and the frowsiest of the *cappets* of Montaigu, cast his vote. Ten thousand votes were given, but the purport of them resolved itself into three proposals, viz., a compromise between the two popes, a surrender of their respective claims by both, and a general council to judge the affair. The second of these courses seemed the surest, and it was thought to be likewise the easiest, the more so as Clement VII. had just died. The king wrote to the cardinals to postpone the election. They kept his letters with the seals unbroken, and hastened to elect. The man on whom their choice fell, Peter de Luna, Benedict XIII., had promised, it is true, to do every thing for the union of the Church, and to resign, if needful.‡

To induce him to keep his word, the most solemn embassy ever received by a pope was sent to him. The dukes of Berri, Bourgogne, and Orléans, waited on him at Avignon, accompanied by a doctor sent by the University of Paris. The latter harangued the pope with great boldness, his text being, "Enlighten, O Lord, those who should guide us, and who are themselves in darkness and the shadow of death." The pope spoke remarkably well, replying with much presence of mind and eloquence, and protesting he desired nothing more strongly than union. He was an able man, but an Aragonese, hard-headed, obstinate, and astute. He trifled with the princes, and exhausted their patience, wearing them out with learned harangues, speeches, replies, and rejoinders, when all that was necessary, as he was told, was one little word: "Cession."§ Then

* We will analyse further on the tremendous pamphlet by Clemengis.

† See Du Boulay, Historia Universitatis, iv. 896.

‡ Consult on all this matter, but with some distrust, the narrative hostile to the pope, which is found in the Acts of the Council of Pisa. Concilia, ed. Labbe et Cossart, 1671, xi., part. 2, col. 2172, sqq.

§ In scriptis redigi non indigebat, cum solum *cessionem*, vel bisyllaba vocem, contineret. Rel. de St. Denis, 254.

when he saw them wearied, dispirited, and sick of ennui, he got rid of them by a clever stroke. The princes did not reside in the town of Avignon, but in Villeneuve, on the other side of the Rhone, and they crossed the bridge every day to confer with the pope. One morning they found the bridge burned, and there was no passing across the river except in a boat, tediously, and with danger. The pope declared that he would immediately rebuild the bridge;* but the princes lost patience, and left the Aragonese master of the field. The peace of the Church was adjourned for a long while.

The affairs of Turkey and England did not prosper any better.

In the midst of the festivities of Christmas night, 1396, all the princes being in the king's apartments, a knight entered the Hôtel St. Paul, booted and spurred.† He threw himself on his knees before the king, and said he was come on the part of the Duke de Nevers, who was prisoner with the Turks. The whole army had perished. Of so many thousand men, there remained only twenty-eight of the noblest rank, whom the Turks had reserved in order to put them to ransom.

There was nothing surprising in this; the mad presumption of the croises could not have failed to bring on such a disaster. They would not even believe that the Turks would wait to meet them. Bajazet was but six leagues off when Marshal Boucicaut gave orders to cut off the ears of the rascals who presumed to say that that infidel rabble would dare to encounter him.‡

The King of Hungary, who had learned the nature of that kind of war at his own expense, begged the croises at least to let his Hungarians occupy the vanguard, so that light troops might thus be opposed to light troops, and to keep themselves on the reserve. This was also the advice of the Sire de Couci; but the others would not hear of it. The vanguard was the post of honour for the knights; they rushed to it, charged, and at first bore down all before them. Behind the first corps they overthrew, they found others, which they scattered in like manner. The janissaries even were routed.§ Having in this way reached the top of a hill, they perceived a reserve of 40,000 men on the other side, and at the same time they saw the great wings of the Turkish army drawing in to enclose them. Then there was a moment of panic terror; the great mass of the croises broke their ranks; the knights alone stood fast; it was still possible for them to fall back on the Hungarians, who were close behind them, and were yet unbroken: but this would have been too humiliating after all their bravadoes, so they dashed at the Turks, and were almost all cut to pieces.

When the sultan saw the field of battle, and the immense slaugh-

* Quia vulgo ferebatur factum ex intentione papæ processisse in contemptum dominorum, multi aulici fuerunt qui persuadebant eisdem ut ab injuriis procederent ad vindictam. Ibid., 264.

† Froissart, xiii., c. 52, 53, p. 415.

‡ Rel. de St. Denis, 5.

§ Hammer, Hist. of the Ott. Empire, i. 333.

ter that had been made of his men, he sent for all the prisoners, and had them beheaded, or cut down, before his eyes; there were 10,000 of them.* He spared only the Duke of Nevers and twenty-four of the greatest lords, who were forced to be spectators of this horrible butchery.

When news of the event arrived, and it was known in what danger the Count of Nevers still was, the King of France and the Duke of Bourgogne hastened to send sumptuous presents to appease this cruel sultan, a gold comfit box, Norwegian falcons, Reims linen, and Arras tapestries, representing Alexander the Great. The 200,000 ducats he demanded for ransom were promptly collected. The sultan, on his part, also sent presents to the King of France, but there was insult and mockery in every one of them: they consisted of an iron mace, a woollen coat of arms, of the Turkish fashion, a drum, and bows, with strings made of human bowels.† That nothing should be wanting to the completeness of the insult, he sent for his prisoners on their departure, and addressed the Count of Nevers in these contemptuous terms:‡—"John, I know that thou art a great lord in thy own country, and the son of a great lord. Thou art young, and hast a long life before thee. It may be that thou art vexed and distressed at what has befallen thee in thy first chivalry, and that, in order to repair thy honour, thou wilt assemble a mighty army against me. I might, before setting thee free, make thee swear on thy faith and law that thou wilt not take up arms against me, neither thou nor thy men. But, no; I will not impose this oath either on them or thee. When thou art returned home, arm, if thou hast a mind, and come and attack me. And what I say to thee I say for all the Christians thou mayest bring with thee. I was born evermore to fight, and evermore to conquer."

Deep shame and universal mourning filled the realm. There were few noble families that had not lost some member. Nothing was heard in the churches but masses for the dead; nothing was seen but persons in black garments.

When the time of mourning for this calamity was past, a fresh one began. The son-in-law of Charles VI., Richard II., King of England, was, to every one's great amazement, overthrown in a few days by his cousin Bolingbroke, son of the Duke of Lancaster. Richard was the friend of France. His terrible catastrophe, and the usurpation of the house of Lancaster, prepared for us Henry V. and the battle of Agincourt.

We will speak elsewhere, and at full length, as to that ambitious

* Narrative of the Bavarian Schildberger, one of the prisoners who was spared at the request of the sultan's son. Hammer, Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman, p. 334.

† To these the Rel. de St. Denis adds: Equus habens abscissas ambas nares, ut diutius ad cursum habilis redderetur, 334.

‡ "The Amorath spoke to the Count of Nevers by the mouth of a Latin who interpreted.' Frois., xiv. 59.

house of Lancaster, and the secret arts by which, after missing the throne of Castile, it worked its way to that of England.* At present, let us say a few words only as to the catastrophe.

Violent and indiscreet as Richard was, his death was deeply lamented. He was the son of the Black Prince, born in Guienne, on the conquered soil, in the full flush of the victories of Créci and Poitiers. He had his father's courage, as he proved in the great insurrection of 1380, when he put down the people who had risen to exterminate the aristocracy. He could not easily submit to be ruled by those whom he had saved—the barons, the bishops, and his uncles, who furtively urged on the others. He entered into a contest with them for life or death; provoked by the *pitiless* parliament, that put his favourites to death, he became pitiless in his turn, put his uncle Gloucester to death, and banished the son of his other uncle, Lancaster. This was playing double or quits; but his violence seemed justified by the public supineness. He found an extraordinary alacrity on the part of friends to betray friends; there was an abundance of ready tools to denounce, swear, and forswear themselves; every one tried to wash himself clear in another's blood.† Richard grew sick of the disgusting spectacle, and conceived such a scorn for mankind, that he thought he could never sufficiently trample on that mud. He dared to declare seventeen counties guilty of treason, and forfeit to the crown, thus condemning a whole people, *en masse*, to put it to ransom in detail, discounting pardon, selling back their own property to the owners, and making brokerage of injustice. This audaciously mad act, surpassing all the mad freaks of Charles VI., ruined Richard II. The English licked his hands as long as he contented himself with shedding blood, but when he touched their wealth, when he laid his hands on their holiest of holies, property, then they declared for Lancaster's son.‡

The latter was encouraged sometimes by Orleans, sometimes by Bourgogne, who doubtless desired to see the precedent of a younger branch superseding the elder. Bolingbroke went over to England,

* See the historians of the time, Walsingham, Knyghton, and above all the records.

† Shakspeare does not at all exaggerate in the scene in which the father rushes away to denounce his son to the usurper, against whom he himself had just fought. This horribly comic scene but too accurately expresses the fickle *loyalty* of those times, when men were so prompt to attach themselves passionately to the strong. Perhaps, too, we may read in it the facility which men acquired, amidst such a confusion of oaths, of lying to themselves, and turning their hypocrisy into a ferocious fanaticism. In all this Shakspeare is as great a historian as Tacitus. But when Froissart portrays King Richard's very dog forsaking his master, and fawning on the victor, he is not less tragic than Shakspeare.

‡ The Church had in reality the chief share in this revolution. The house of Lancaster, which at first had supported Wycliffe and the Lollards, afterwards became reconciled with the bishops, and was successful through this means. Turner is the only historian who has rightly understood this. We will return to this subject.

hypocritically protesting that he desired nothing more than his paternal inheritance; but even had he been willing to content himself with that, he could not have done so. Every body sided with him, just as they did so often* with York and Warwick, and Edward IV. and William. Richard found himself alone; all forsook him; even his dog.† The Earl of Northumberland cajoled him with oaths, kissed him, and betrayed him. Carried to his rival on an old foundered horse, loaded with insults, but bearing all with fortitude, he submitted with dignity to the will of Heaven, and abdicated.‡ Lancaster was compelled by his partisans to reign, and obliged, for their safety, to let them kill Richard.§

The king's son-in-law had perished, and with him the English alliance, and the security of France. The crusade had failed, and

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* "Their English custom is, that when they have won the battle they kill no one, especially of the people, for they know that every one will be desirous of pleasing them, because they are the stronger." Commines, iii. 5.

† "King Richard had a greyhound called Math, beautiful beyond measure, who would not notice or follow any one but the king. Whenever the king rode abroad the greyhound was loosed by the person who had him in charge, and ran instantly to caress him by placing his two fore feet on his shoulders. It fell out that as the king and the Duke of Lancaster were conversing in the court of the castle, their horses being ready for them to mount, the greyhound was untied, but instead of running as usual to the king, he left him and leaped to the Duke of Lancaster's shoulders, paying him every court, and caressing him as he was formerly used to caress the king. The duke, not acquainted with this greyhound, asked the king the meaning of this fondness, saying: 'What does this mean?' 'Cousin,' replied the king, 'it means a great deal for you and very little for me.' 'How?' said the duke, 'pray explain it.' 'I understand by it,' answered the king, 'that this greyhound fondles and pays his court to you this day as King of England, which you will surely be, and I shall be deposed, for the natural instinct of the dog shows it to him. Keep him, therefore, by your side, for he will now leave me and follow you.' The Duke of Lancaster treasured up what the king had said, and paid attention to the greyhound, who would never more follow Richard of Bordeaux, but kept by the side of the Duke of Lancaster, as was witnessed by 30,000 men." Frois., iv. 112.

‡ See in Buchon's edition of Froissart, vol. xiv., the French poem on the deposition of Richard II. (p. 322—466) written by a French gentleman who was about his person.—See also the Alliterative Poem on the Deposition of King Richard II., published by Mr. Thomas Wright.—Richardi Maydiston de concordia inter Ricardum II. et civitatem London. 1838.—Richard's lamentation is very pathetic in *Jean de Vaurin:* "Ha, Monseigneur Jean Baptiste mon parrain, je l'ai tiré du gibet," etc. Bibl. Roy., MSS., 6756, t. iv., partie 2, fol. 246.

§ "They said to the king: 'Sire, as long as Richard of Bordeaux lives the country will never have peace.' 'I believe what you say may be true,' replied the king; but as for me, I will never put him to death. I have given him my word that no bodily harm shall befal him; and I will keep my promise until it shall appear that he enters into any plots against me!' 'Sire,' answered the knights, 'his death would be more to your advantage than his life; for so long as the French know he is alive, they will exert themselves to make war against you, in the hope of replacing him on the throne, on account of his having married the daughter of their king.' The King of England made no reply, but leaving them in conversation went to his falconers, and placing a falcon on his wrist, forgot all in feeding him." Frois., iv. 120.

the Turks were free to advance. Christendom seemed irremediably divided, the schism incurable. Thus peace, expected for a while, appeared to recede more and more. Its restoration in outward things was not possible, since it had no place in the minds of men; for never had these been less pacific, or more discordant through pride and violent passions.

It availed nothing to pray to God for peace, and for the king's health; such prayers were drowned in the uproar of invectives and maledictions. At the same time that God was applied to, trial was also made of the devil's efficacy; offerings were made to the one, and the other was propitiated by conjurations; Heaven and hell were implored together.

A very extraordinary man was brought from Languedoc, one who watched and fasted like a saint, not to make himself holy, but to acquire influence over the elements, and do what he would with the stars. His science was contained in a marvellous book, called Smagorad, the original of which had been given to Adam.* Our first father, he said, having mourned his son Abel for a hundred years, God sent him this book to console him, to raise him from his fall, and to give to regenerated man power over the stars.

The book, not proving as successful in the case of Charles VI. as in Adam's, recourse was had to two Gascons, hermits of the order of St. Augustine. They were lodged in the Bastille, near the Hôtel St. Paul, and were supplied with everything they asked for; among other things, pearls reduced to powder, of which they made a beverage for the king. This beverage, and the magic words with which they assisted its operation, did no lasting good; to excuse themselves for their failure, the two monks accused the king's barber and the Duke of Orleans' porter of counteracting their operations by wicked spells. The barber was said to have been seen busy about a gibbet, collecting materials for his incantations. The monks, however, could prove nothing, and they were sacrificed to the hostility of the Duke of Orleans and the clergy. They had caused great scandal. Everybody flocked to the Bastille to consult them, and to procure from them remedies for diseases and love potions. They were degraded at the Grève by the Bishop of Paris, then paraded through the town, beheaded and quartered, and their quarters nailed to the gates of Paris.†

The effect of these bad remedies was to aggravate the patient's disorder. After a gleam of reason, the poor king felt the approach of frenzy, and himself requested that his knife should be quickly taken away.‡ He suffered intense pain, and said, with tears in his

* This passage from the Religieux de St. Denis can only be explained by a reference to the authors who have treated of the Cabala. See the remarkably clear and explicit researches of M. Franck.

† Rel. de St. Denis, 326.

‡ Sequenti die, mente se alienari sentiens, jussit sibi cultellum amoveri et avunculo suo duci Burgundiæ præcepit ut sic omnes facerent curiales. Tot

eyes, that death were better. All the spectators wept, too, when they heard him cry out in the midst of his household: "If the man who is causing my sufferings is among you, I conjure him, in the Lord's name, to torment me no more, nor prolong my agony, but to end me at once, and let me die."

Alas! said the good folks, how is it that so good and affable a king* is thus smitten by God, and abandoned to the evil spirits? Yet he has never done any wickedness. He was not haughty; he saluted every body, high and low.† One might say whatever he would to him. He repulsed no one; he jousted in the tournaments with all persons indifferently. He dressed plainly, not like a king, but like a man. He was given to incontinence, it is true, and was fond of indulgence in women; but, after all, it could not be said that he ever gave pain to respectable families. When the queen would no longer share his bed, a little girl was put into it,‡ but she was well paid, and he never did her any hurt in his worst moments.

Ah! if he had had his wits the town and the realm would have been in far better plight. Every time he had a return of his senses he tried to do a little good, to remedy some mischief. He tried to bring the finances into order, and to revoke the gifts extorted from him when his mind was wandering. How could he have failed to

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angustiis pressus est illâ die, quòd sequenti luce, cum præfatum ducem et aulicos accersisset, eis lachrimabiliter fassus est, quòd mortem avidiùs appetabat quàm taliter cruciari, omnesque circumstantes movens ad lachrimas, pluries fertur dixisse: Amore Jesu Christi, si sint aliqui conscii hujus mali, oro ut me non torqueant ampliùs, sed citò diem ultimum faciant me signare. Religieux de St. Denis, MS. Baluze, folio 326.

* Le Religieux gives a remarkable proof of gentleness on the part of Charles VI.: Cum in itinere....adolescens.....dextrarium....urgeret calcaribus, ut eum ad superbiam excitaret, recalcitrando calce tibiam ejus graviter vulneravit et inde cruor fluxit largissimus. Inde.....circumstantes cum in actorem delicti animadvertere conarentur, id rex manu et verbis levibus, etc. Ibid., 736.

† Tantâ affabilitate præeminebat, ut etiam contemptibilibus personis ex improviso et nominatim salutationis dependeret affatum, et ad se ingredi volentibus vel occurrentibus passim mutuæ collocutionis aut offerret ultro commercium aut postulantibus non negaret....Quamvis beneficiorum et injuriarum valdè recolens, non tamen naturaliter neque magnis de causis sic ad iracundiam pronus fuit ut alicui contumelias aut improperia proferret. Carnis lubrico contra matrimonii honestatem dicitur laborâsse, ità tamen ut nemini scandalum fieret, nulli vis, nulli enormis infligeretur injuria. Prædecessorum morem etiam non observans, raro et cum displicentiâ habitu regali, epitogio scilicet et talari tunica utebatur, sed indifferenter, ut decuriones cæteri, holosericis indutus, et nunc Boemannum nunc Alemannum se fingens, etiam.....post unctionem susceptam hastiludia et joca militaria justo sæpiùs exercebat. Religieux, folio 141.

‡ Filia cujusdam mercatoris equorum....quæ quidem competenter fuit remunerata, quia sibi fuerunt data duo maneria pulchra cum suis omnibus pertinentiis, situata unum à Creteil, et aliud à Bagnolet, et ipsa vulgariter vocabatur palam et publicè *Parva Regina*, et secum diu stetit, suscepitque ab eo unam filiam, quam ipse rex matrimonialiter copulavit cuidam nuncupato Harpedenne, cui dedit dominium de Belleville in Pictavia, filiaque vocabatur domicella de Belleville.—I cannot recollect from what work I made this extract. It was either Le Religieux de St. Denis, or Dupuy, MS. Discours et Mémoires meslez, coté 488.

have a kind heart for Christians, he who had even dealt mercifully with the Jews when he banished them?

In whatever state of mind or body he happened to be he always felt pleasure in seeing his brave burghers. "My only trust," he said, "is in Juvenal, my provost of the merchants, and in my burghers of Paris." When other persons went to see him he looked at them with a shy and scared glance, but when it was the provost he would speak to him, and say: "Juvenal, let us not lose our time, let us make good thrift."*

We have remarked in the beginning of this history, in speaking of the *sluggard kings*, how much the people was naturally disposed to respect those mute and innocent figures which passed before it twice a year on their car drawn by oxen. The Mussulmans look on idiots as marked with God's seal, and often as sacred persons. There is an affecting belief in some cantons of Savoy that cretins bring luck to their families. The brute that obeys instinct alone, and in which individual reason is null, seems by that very fact to remain nearer to the divine reason. At the very least it is innocent.

It is not at all surprising if among all those haughty, violent, and bloody princes, the people took for the object of its predilection that poor creature, bowed like itself under the chastening hand of God. Through him, as well as through one more wise, God could cure the woes of the realm. He had not done much, but evidently he loved the people. He loved: immense word! The people well repaid his love. It always remained true to him, hoped in him pertinaciously, whatever was the lowness into which he was reduced, and would be saved by none but him. Nothing can be more touching and at the same time bolder than the words in which the great popular preacher Jean Gerson, braving at once the rival ambitions of the princes who were each impatiently looking forward to becoming the dead man's successor, addresses him and says, *Rex in sempiternum vive!* O my king, live for ever!

This universal attachment of the people to Charles VI. was shown in one of those unfortunate attempts that were made to cure him. Two sorcerers offered the bailiff of Dijon to discover whence his malady proceeded. In the heart of a neighbouring forest they erected a great iron circle on twelve iron columns; twelve iron chains were attached to the circumference. But it was necessary to find twelve men, priests, nobles, and burghers, who would enter the dread circle and let themselves be bound in those chains. Eleven were easily found, and the bailiff himself made the twelfth, who thus devoted themselves, at the risk perhaps of being carried off body and soul by the devil.†

The people of Paris were always desirous of seeing their king. When he was not too insane, and no unpleasant consequences were

* Juvenal des Ursins, 777.

† Ob regis incolumitatem procurandam, die dicta circulum intraverunt. Rel. de St. Denis, 413.

apprehended, he was taken to the churches. Or else he went to be present in his prostrate and afflicted condition at the representations of the Mysteries then played by the Brethren of the Passion in the Rue St. Denis. These Mysteries, half pious, half burlesque, were considered acts of faith. Those who found no amusement in them would nevertheless have attended them for the sake of edification. In several churches vespers were celebrated at an earlier hour than usual in order to allow time for going to the Mysteries.

But it was not always possible to take the king abroad. On such occasions, in his seclusion in the Hôtel St. Paul, or in the library of the Louvre, collected by Charles V., they put figures into his hands to amuse him. Motionless in written books, these figures assumed motion, and became playing cards.* As the king played cards, every one would do so too. At first they were painted, but that being too costly, the plan of printing them was thought of.† What was particularly liked in that sort of game was that it hindered thought, and bestowed oblivion. Who would have imagined that out of it would spring the instrument which multiplies thought, and eternises it—that from that play of fools would issue the all-powerful vehicle of wisdom?

However this game may have been calculated to amuse and to beguile the weary hours, still there was something that would at times be likely to suggest thought in the kings, queens, and knaves, and the promiscuous, rapid evolutions of their perpetual ball. The poor madman, by continually gazing on them, might come at last to make them the objects of his dreams;—the madman? why not the wise man? Were there not striking images of the times in the cards? Was it not a fine stroke of the cards, and one of the most sudden too, to see Bajazet *the Lightning*, the victor of Nicopolis, and all but master of Constantinople, thrust into an iron cage?‡ Was it not one to see the son-in-law of the King of France, the magnificent Richard II., supplanted in a few days by the exile Bolingbroke? That king who but lately was equivalent to ten millions of men, what was he now? Less than a man, a painted image of a man, a king of diamonds.

In one of the farces of the bazoche performed on the royal Marble

* Playing cards were known before the time of Charles VI., but were not much used. We find them first mentioned in the *Renart Contrefait*, the anonymous author of which tells us he began his poem in 1328, and finished it in 1341. M. Peignot has given a curious bibliography of all the authors who have treated this subject. Peignot, Recherches sur les danses des morts et sur les cartes à jouer.—Some refer the origin of playing cards to Germany, others to Spain or Provence. M. Remusat remarks that our oldest playing cards are like those of the Chinese. Abel Rem. Mém. Acad., 2e série, viii. 418.

† Philippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, paid 1500 gold pieces in 1430 for a pack of *painted* cards. In 1441 the Venetian card-makers presented a memorial complaining of the injury done them by the *printed* cards of foreign merchants. Ibid., 247, 218.

‡ Von Hammer will not admit it was a cage but a grated litter. The one is very much like the other.

Table by the petty clerks of the palace, the tenses of the Latin verb *regno*, *regnavi*, *regnabo*, figured as dramatis personæ; a pedantic comedy, but one the meaning of which it was hard to mistake.

In the ordonnance in which Charles VI. licenses those who played the Mysteries of the Passion he calls them "his loved and dear brethren."* What indeed could be more appropriate? Himself a sorry actor, a poor jongleur in the historic Mystery, he went to see his brethren, saints, angels, and devils, boggle through the representation of the Passion. He was not merely a spectator, but was himself a spectacle. The people came to behold in him the Passion of royalty. King and people both gazed on each other, and were touched with mutual pity. The king saw the people miserable, ragged, and in beggary. The people saw the king still poorer on the throne, poor in mind, poor in friends, forsaken by his family and his wife, self-widowed and surviving himself, laughing the dismal laugh of insanity, an old child with neither father nor mother to take care of him.

The mockery would not have been complete, the tragedy would have been less comic, if he had ceased to reign. The marvellous strangeness of the case is that he did reign during momentary intervals. Neglected and filthy as his person was, his hand still signed, and seemed all powerful. The gravest personages, the wisest heads in the council, waited on him between two fits, to take advantage of a lucid interval, to watch for the feeble gleams of a dimmed intellect, and to elicit the dubious oracles that dropped from his imbecile mouth.

He was still the King of France, the first Christian king, the head of Christendom. The principal states of Italy, Milan, Florence, and Genoa, called themselves his clients. Genoa knew no way of escaping from Visconti but by bestowing herself on Charles VI. Thus derisive fortune amused herself with laying a fresh burden on that weak hand which could carry nothing.

It was a curious spectacle to see the conferences between Charles VI. and the Emperor Wenceslas, who had come to France on the affairs of the Church. [1398.] The one was mad, the other almost always drunk. It was necessary to take the emperor when he was fasting; but that was not always the king's lucid moment.

Charles VI. having, however, had three sound days, the opportunity was seized to make him sign an ordonnance, which, in conformity with the wish of the university, suspended the authority of Benedict XIII. in the realm of France. Marshal Boucicaut was sent to Avignon to arrest his person. The old pontiff defended himself in the castle of Avignon like a real captain. [1398—1399.] Having no wood

* Ordonn., viii. 555, Dec. 1402. In a letter of much earlier date, Charles VI. assigns "Forty francs to certain chaplains and clerks of the Sainte Chapelle of our Palace in Paris, who played before us on Easter day last the plays of the Resurrection of Our Lord. April 5, 1390. Bibl. Royale, MSS., cabinet des titres.

left for his kitchen, he burned the beams of his palace one by one. The French themselves were ashamed of this ludicrous war. The partisans of the other pope were not more submissive to him. The Romans were in arms against Boniface, as the French were against Benedict.

Here then are the papacy, the empire, and royalty grappling with and abusing each other; the emperor drunk, the king an idiot, seizing the spiritual power, and suspending the pope, whilst the pope lays hold on temporal weapons, and dons the cuirass. The human gods are in delirium, forbid men to obey them, and proclaim themselves mad.

This was certain and real, but in no manner of way likely; it was contrary to all reason, and fitted to make men believe by preference in the wildest lies. No comedy, no mystery would thenceforth seem startling. The greatest madman was not he who forgot absurd realities for reasonable fictions. These mysteries, moreover, helped the illusion by their prodigious duration; some of them were divided into forty days. So lengthened a representation became for the assiduous spectator an artificial life, which made him forget the actual one; he might often be brought to doubt on which side was the dream, and on which reality.*

* "Did we every night dream the same thing, it would, perhaps, affect us as much as the objects we daily see; and if an artisan was sure of dreaming every night, for twelve consecutive hours, that he was a king, I believe he would be almost as happy as a king who should dream every night, for twelve consecutive hours, that he was an artisan." Pascal, Pensées.

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

CHAPTER I.

The Duke of Orleans—The Duke of Burgundy—Murder of the Duke of Orleans. 1400—1407.

THERE are in man two hostile persons that wage mutual war at our expense, until death puts an end to the strife. We have seen these two enemies, pride and desire, contending together in this poor king's soul; at first the one prevailed, then the other; then, that soul vanished in the course of the long combat, and the combatants had no longer where to fight out their quarrel. Ceasing in the king's person, the war breaks out in the realm. The two principles proceed to act through two men and two factions, until this war shall have produced its frenzied act, assassination; until the two men, having been slain by one another, the two factions, in order to kill each other, agree to kill France.

When we have said thus much, we have, in reality, said all. If, however, the reader would know the names of these two men, the man of pleasure is the Duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the man of pride, of brutal and sanguinary pride, is Jean Sans-Peur, Duke of Burgundy.

The two men and the two parties are to come into collision in Paris. There are two parties, two parishes; we have already named them, the parish of the court, and that of the butchers; St. Paul with its folly, St. Jacques with its brutality. The scene of the history tells the tale of that history beforehand.

Louis of Orleans, that young man who died so prematurely, who was so loved, and ever deplored, what had he done to merit such regret? He was wept by the women, and that was easily accounted for; he was handsome, engaging, and gracious;* but he was no less regretted by the Church and wept by the saints; and yet, he was a great sinner. In his stormy youth, he had terribly tormented the people; he was cursed by the people, wept by the people. Living, he cost them many tears; but how many more when dead!

Had you asked of France, "Was that young man indeed worthy

* See Le Religieux, an. 1405, and his portraiture of the Duke of Orleans, an. 1407. *MS. Baluze*, fol. 553. Also the laments and other pieces on the death of Louis of Orleans. Bibl. Roy., MSS. Colbert, 2403, Regius, 9681—5.

of so much love?" she would have replied: "I loved him."* It is not for the sake of its good qualities alone, that one loves an endeared object; he who loves, loves the whole being, faults and all. Louis of Orleans was a favourite, such as he was, a mixture of good and evil. France never forgot, that in his very vices she had seen the germ of the engaging and brilliant wit of the *renaissance*, light and volatile; not very strict in its morality, but graceful and pleasing. His character survived him in his son Charles of Orleans, the exile and the poet;† in his bastard, Dunois; and his grandson the good and clement Louis XII.

This temper, praise it or blame it as you will, is not that of a time, of an age, it is that of France herself. Coming forth from the stiffness of the Gothic middle ages, she beheld herself, for the first time, as she really is, full of quick mobility, elegant trifling, and graceful fancy; she beheld herself, and adored. Orleans was her youngest and most petted child; the one who might do what he would, spoil or break what he pleased. The mother scolded, but she smiled; she loved that handsome head, that turned the heads of women; she loved that bold wit that disconcerted the doctors. It was such a pleasure to see the old gray beards of the university, confused and cut short in their ponderous harangues by his lively sallies.‡ Nor was he for this the less a favourite with the learned, the clerks and the priests, or the less bounteous and charitable to the poor. The Church confessed a weakness for this amiable prince, and overlooked many things for his sake; she could not find it in her heart to be stern to that spoilt child of nature and of grace.

From whom did Louis derive those gifts which he brought with him into the world? From whom but from a woman; from his charming mother, apparently, of whom even her husband, the staid and cold Charles V., could not help saying: "She is the sun of the realm."§ A woman implanted grace in him, and the women in general cultivated it. And what should we be without them? They give us life, (that is not much), but they also give us the life of the soul. How many things do we learn of them, as sons, lovers, or friends! It is through them, and for them, that the French mind is become the most brilliant, and, what is better, the most rational in Europe. The French people never liked any teaching so well as that derived from the conversation of women; by chatting with those amiable doctors who knew nothing, it learned every thing.‖

* "If any one should importune me to give a reason why I loved him, I feel it could be no otherwise expressed than by making answer: 'Because it was he, because it was I.'" Montaigne, Essays, i., ch. 27.

† Louis of Orleans was a poet too, if it be true that he celebrated *in verse* the secret charms of the Duchess of Burgundy. Barante, iii. 99.

‡ See further on the reply he made them in 1405. Nevertheless, he usually spoke to them with mildness: Ipsum vidi elegantiorem respondendo....quam fuerant proponendo....mitissime alloqui, et si uspiam errassent, leniter admonere. Relig. de St. Denis, MS., 553 verso.

§ Art de verifier les Dates, regne de Charles V., sub finem.

‖ The education of a young knight by the women is the invariable subject of

We do not possess the gallery in which young Louis had the hazardous coxcombry to have the portraits of his mistresses painted. We are but ill acquainted with the women of those times. I see three of them, however, who were more or less closely connected with the Duke of Orleans; all of them Italians, by the father's or the mother's side. The first breath of the *renaissance* was already beginning to be wafted from Italy; and the north, warmed by that perfumed wind of the south, thought it perceived, as the poet says, "An odour of Paradise."*

Of these Italian dames, one was Valentina Visconti, who was the wife of the Duke of Orleans, and his sorrowing widow; his death killed her. Another of them, Isabella of Bavaria (a Visconti by the mother's side), was his sister-in-law, his friend, perhaps something more. With the third of them, of much humbler rank, the chaste and learned Christina,† he had no other intercourse than the encouragements he bestowed on her engaging genius.‡

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the romances, or romantic stories of the fifteenth century. The stories of Saintré, of Fleuranges, and of Jacques de Lalaing, are little else. The man always takes the humbler part in them; it seems a pleasure to him to play the child. In the romances of the fifteenth century woman is the teacher and not man, which is quite the reverse of the Nouvelle Héloïse, and far more graceful. It is usually a young lady, but older than himself; a lady in the second period of youth; above all, a great lady, of high rank and inaccessible, who takes pleasure in cultivating the little page, and gradually advancing him. Is she a mother, a sister, a guardian angel? A little of all; at all events she is a woman. Ay, but then a lady of such high degree; what merit it would require, what efforts, what long years of sighing!—The lessons she gives him are no jesting lessons; nothing can be more serious, and at the same time even pedantic. The very pedantry and austerity of her counsels, the greatness of the difficulties to be overcome, produce a piquant contrast, and add value to the love. At the end all fades away. In this case, as in all things, the end is nothing; the road is every thing; what remains is an accomplished knight, the very incarnation of merit and grace. See l'Histoire du Petit Jehan de Saintré, 3 vol. in—12, 1724; Le Panégyric du Chevalier sans reproche (la Tremouille), 1527, &c. &c.

* "Quand la doss aura venta
Deves vestre pais
M'es veiaire que senta
Odor de paradis."

"When the sweet breeze blows
From your country,
It seems to me that I inhale
The odour of Paradise."

Bernard de Ventadour. Poésies originales des Troubadours; Raynouard, iii. 84.

† We are indebted to M. Thomassy for being enabled at last to appreciate the long neglected merit of this writer. Essai sur les ecrits politiques de Christine de Pisan, 1838. M. de Sismondi treats her rather hardly. Gabriel Naudé, that great searcher and discoverer, once thought of bringing forth her MSS. from the dust in which they lay buried. Naudæi Epistolæ, xlix. 369. Christine de Pisan seems to have begun the series of poor and industrious *femmes de lettres*, who maintained their families by the labours of their pen.

‡ She dedicated her Debat des Deux Amants, and other works, to the Duke of Orleans. She intimates that she never saw him but once, and that was when she had to solicit his patronage: "And I saw him with my own eyes, having occasion to solicit the aid of his good word, whereof, through his grace, I was not disappointed. I was in his presence more than an hour, wherein I took great pleasure in seeing his countenance, and how suitably he despatched business, each thing in order; and myself, when my turn came, was called by him, and what I requested was done." She says again of the Duke of Orleans: "He does not care to hear dishonour spoken of others' wives, after the example of

Italy, the *renaissance*, art, the irruption of fancy, there was in all this matter to captivate and to offend. That daylight of the sixteenth century, which broke forth abruptly on the very close of the fourteenth, must have scared and irritated the darkness. Was not art a culpable counterfeiting of nature? Was not the latter sufficiently dangerous and seductive, without employing a diabolical skill to reproduce it for the perdition of souls? That perfidious Italy, the land of poisons and of mischief, was it not, also, the land of these devils' miracles?

Such was the language of the people openly expressed; add to this, the rancorous silence of the schoolmen, who saw clearly that they must gradually give up their ground. They were backed by the multitude of those narrow-minds, that are perpetually asking, What's the use of it? What's the use of a picture by Giotto, a miniature by Froissart, a ballad by Christine?

Minds of this sort always form a great populace, but, in those days, they had on their side a potent auxiliary in the public poverty, which saw in the cost of art and luxury only a guilty prodigality.

All these discontents, these rankling animosities, public or secret, called for some envious man to be their leader. Nature seemed to have made the Duke of Burgundy, Jean Sans-Peur, expressly to hate the Duke of Orleans. He had few physical advantages, little comeliness of appearance, little stature, little facility.* His habitual silence concealed a violent temper. Inheriting a great power, he attempted great things, and failed so much the more wofully. His captivity at Nicopolis cost the realm dear. Nurtured in bitterness and envy, it galled him sorely to see before him that well-favoured and brilliant figure, that was always to eclipse himself. Before their rivalry had broken out, before secret outrages had engendered new hatreds in their bosoms, he seemed to be already the predestined Cain of that Abel.

Equity constrains us to remark, in the very first place, that the history of those times has been written almost exclusively by the enemies of the Duke of Orleans. This ought to put us on our guard. Those who killed him bodily will, doubtless, have done all in their power to kill him in history likewise.

Monstrelet was the subject and servant of the house of Burgundy;†

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the sage (and he said these notable words: When ill is told me of any one, I consider whether he who tells it me has any particular hatred to him of whom he speaks) nor to hear any one maligned, and he does not lightly believe evil reports." Christ. de Pisan, Collection Petitot, v. 393.

* The Religieux de St. Denis subjoins, however, that though he spoke little he possessed talent; his eyes were intelligent: Vivacis ingenii et oculum habens perspicacem. Fol. 601. There is a very old portrait of him in the museum of Versailles and in the Château d'Eu. He is at prayers, looks aged, his flesh is flaccid, and he has an air of vulgar good-nature. Christine (v. 357) calls him, in 1404, "Prince de toute bonté salvable, juste, saige, benigne, douls, et de toute bonne meurs."

† M. Dacier has not succeeded in the preface to his edition of Monstrelet in

the Bourgeois de Paris was a furious Burgundian. Paris was generally hostile to the Duke of Orleans, and this for a reason easily accounted for; the Duke of Orleans was incessantly asking for money, and the Duke of Burgundy was forbidding to pay.

This hostility of Paris was not without influence on the most impartial of the historians of that time, the Religieux de St. Denis. He could not help repeating the clamours of that great neighbouring city. The monk may, likewise, have yielded to the clamours of the clergy, whom the Duke of Orleans endeavoured indirectly to subject to taxation.*

It must not be forgotten that the Duke of Orleans, possessing nothing, or next to nothing, out of the realm, derived all his resources from France, and chiefly from Paris. The Duke of Burgundy, on the contrary, was at once a French and a foreign prince; he had possessions both in the kingdom and in the empire; he received much money from Flanders, and his demands on Burgundy were rather for men-at-arms.†

Let us go back to the foundation of this house of Burgundy. Our kings having almost destroyed the only military power existing in France, viz., feudalism, endeavoured in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to form an artificial feudalism. They placed their great fiefs in the hands of the princes, their kinsmen. Charles V. formed a great feudal establishment, whilst his elder brother, the governor of Languedoc, was looking towards Provençe and Italy, he gave Burgundy as an appanage to his younger brother, so as to act in the direction of the Empire and the Low Countries. He made for the latter the immense sacrifice of restoring to the Flemings Lille and Douai, French Flanders,‡ the barrier of the realm on the north, to enable that brother to marry their future sovereign, the heiress of the counties of Flanders, Artois, Réthel, Nevers, and Franche-Comté. He hoped that in this alliance France would absorb Flanders; that the nations being united under one rule, their interests would gradually coalesce. It did not turn out so; the distinction remained deeply traced, the manners different, the barrier of language immovable. The French and Walloon tongue did not

establishing the impartiality of that chronicler. Monstrelet omits or abridges what is unfavourable to the house of Burgundy, or favourable to the other party. This is the more striking, as he is generally fatiguingly prolix. "Plus baveux qu'un pot à moutarde," as that rogue Rabelais says.

* V., 1402, and the projects of the Orleans party, 1411.

† According to the testimony of Charles-le-Téméraire. Gachard, documents inédits; Bruxelles, 1833, p. 219.

‡ It is curious to observe how Philip the Bold had the address to preserve to himself that important possession, of which Charles V. appears to have thought he made but a temporary surrender, in order to gain the Flemings and facilitate his brother's marriage. The latter managed under the minority of Charles to have it determined that he should be left Lille, &c., for his own life, and that of his first heir male. He knew well that such lengthened possession would at last become a permanent right of property. See Preuves de l'Hist. de Bourgogne de D. Plancher, Jan. 16, 1386.

gain an inch of ground from the Flemish.* Rich Flanders did not become an appendage to poor Burgundy;† on the contrary, the Flemish interest preponderated. And what was that? An interest hostile to France, the alliance with England, at first commercial, afterwards political.

We have elsewhere stated how Flanders and England had long been connected together. If the princes of France and of Flanders were politically wedded to each other, there had been always a commercial wedlock between the peoples of Flanders and of England. Edward III. was unable to make his son Count of Flanders; Charles V. succeeded better for his brother, but that brother, thoroughly French as he was, only obtained favour in the eyes of the Flemings by submitting to the indispensable relations between Flanders and England. This produced the wealth of the country, and of its sovereign. The English, however, who, since the time of Edward III., had induced many cloth-weavers from Flanders‡ to settle among them, no longer found it necessary to treat the Flemings with so much consideration. They often pillaged their merchants, and backed the outlaws of Flanders in their piracies. The famous Pierre Dubois, one of the leaders of the revolution of Flanders in 1382, became a pirate, and was the terror of the Straits. In 1387, he captured a Flemish fleet, which used to go annually to Rochelle, to purchase the wines of the south of France.§ These piracies threatened ruin to Flanders and its count, unless the latter became the master, or the ally of England. Having in vain endeavoured to become the former (1386), nothing was left him, but to take the latter course, and to establish, if he could, a King of England, who should guarantee that alliance. In this he succeeded in 1399, contrary to the interests of France.

This power of Burgundy, thus divided between the interests of France and of the foreigner, continued not the less to grow and spread. Philip the Bold completed his Burgundies by the purchase of Charolais in 1390, and his Low Countries by marrying his son to the heiress of Hainault and Holland. [1385.] Thus the sovereign of Flanders, till then pent in between Holland and Hainault, was about to seize two great posts; Holland would give him ports on the ocean, windows opening on England, as it were, and with Hainault he got fortresses, Mons and Valenciennes, gates of France.

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* This appears from the important memoir of M. Raoux, who proves by a series of evidences that the line of demarcation between the two languages has been the same since the eleventh century. There has been no change even in the towns of which the French have had possession for a century and half. Mem. de l'Académie de Bruxelles, iv. 412—40.

† "My Burgundy has no money; it savours of France." Sayings of Charles-le-Téméraire. Gachard, Documents inédits, 219.

‡ See, p. 155, the strange allurements offered them by the English.

§ Meyeri Annales Flandriæ, fol. 208, and Atmeyer, Histoire des relations commerciales et politiques des Pays Bas avec le Nord, d'après les documens inédits. MS.

Here was a great and formidable power; formidable by its extent, and by the wealth of its possessions, but much more so by its position, and by its connexions. In contact with every thing, having a hold on every thing; there was nothing in France to set against such a might. The house of Anjou had melted away, in its fruitless attempts on Italy; the Duke de Berri, even while governor of Languedoc, was not established there in good earnest; he was but the King of Bourges. The Duke of Orleans, the king's brother, had obtained for himself the apanage of Orleans; then a good part of Perigord and Angoumois; then the counties of Valois, Blois, and Beaumont; and then, again, that of Dreux. Through his wife he had a position in the Alps, Asti. These were certainly great establishments, but dispersed; they did not constitute a great power; they formed no compact mass to set against the enormous and continually increasing mass of the possessions of the Duke of Burgundy.

Philip the Bold had had, to his own great profit, the principal part in the administration of the realm during the minority of Charles VI., and considerably beyond that time, until the king was one-and-twenty. He had lost some time during the government of the Marmousets, La Rivière, Clisson, and Montaigu. The insanity of Charles VI. had the effect of a second minority; but it was become impossible not to give a share in the government to the Duke of Orleans, the king's brother, who was thirty years of age in 1401. That prince, who was probably destined to be the heir of the disordered king and his unhealthy children, had to all appearance as much interest in the welfare of the realm as the Duke of Burgundy; who, continually extending his dominions towards the Empire and the Low Countries, was becoming more and more a foreign prince. Nevertheless, the light freaks of the Duke of Orleans, his passions and his indiscretions, were injurious to him; the very vivacity of his mind, and his brilliant qualities, made him be regarded with misgivings. His uncle, who was already advanced in years, and solid without brilliancy (the sort of character best fitted for establishing a firm groundwork), inspired more confidence. Besides, he was rich abroad; it was thought that the master of rich Flanders would draw less money from France.

The revolution of England, in 1399, was a critical and decisive moment between the uncle and the nephew; both had caressed the dangerous Lancaster during his abode at the castle of Bicêtre. The Duke of Orleans made him his brother-in-arms, and thought himself secure of him; but Lancaster, with much sense, preferred the alliance of the Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders. The latter displayed extreme prudence under these circumstances; he had need of it. Richard had married his grand-niece, and was the son-in-law of the King of France, and our ally. The Duke of Burgundy would have ruined himself in the kingdom, had he contributed ostensibly to a revolution which was so prejudicial to us; he did not allow Lancaster to pass through his dominions, and he even gave orders to arrest him

at Boulogne, where it was not his intention to appear. Lancaster took his way through Bretagne, the duke of which was the friend and ally of the Duke of Burgundy. They gave him some men-at-arms to accompany him, and their man, Pierre de Craon,* the murderer of Clisson, the mortal enemy of the Duke of Orleans. This was but feeble assistance, but what they added to it in money cannot be guessed. Now money was what Lancaster wanted above all things. There was no lack of men to receive it in England.

This was not all. The Duke of Bretagne dying soon after, his widow, who had seen Lancaster on his route, declared that she would marry him. This widow was the daughter of the terrible enemy of our kings, Charles the Bad. Nothing was more dangerous than this marriage; the Duke of Burgundy dissuaded the widow from it, as was his duty, but he had the good fortune not to be hearkened to. The marriage took place, to the great advantage of the Duke of Burgundy, who, despite the Duke of Orleans, and old Clisson, went and assumed the guardianship of the young Duke of Bretagne and of his dominions, and built in Nantes itself his *castle of Burgundy*.†

Thus grew up around the realm a vast circle of suspicious alliances. The master of Franche-Comté, Burgundy, and the Low Countries, found himself master, likewise, of Bretagne and the friend of the new King of England, and of the King of Navarre. The house of Lancaster was allied with the bastard house of Transtamare in Castile, whilst that of Burgundy subsequently allied itself with the not less bastard house of Portugal. Burgundy, Bretagne, Navarre, and Lancaster, all the younger branches were thus allied with each other, and with the bastard branches of Portugal and Castile.

Against this conspiracy of state craft the Duke of Orleans stood forth as champion of the old right. He took up that cause throughout all Christendom, declaring for Wenseslas against Robert, for the pope against the university, for the young widow of Richard against Henry IV. After having provoked a duel between seven Frenchmen and seven Englishmen, he threw down the gauntlet to his former brother in arms to avenge the death of Richard II.‡ He charged him, moreover, with having, in regard to the widow, Isabella

* Penury, perhaps, drove Craon to this monstrous act of ingratitude. He had owed the pardon of his first crime to the prayers of young Isabella of France, wife of Richard II. See note p. 302. Archives, Trésor des Chartes, J., 37.

† Besides this, he took with him the duke and his two brothers. Religieux de St. Denis. MS., fol. 395. When the young Duke of Bretagne returned home, he was given, not only the county of Evreux, but also the royal city of St. Malo, one of the most precious jewels in the crown of France. This did not prevent his remaining half English; his brother, Arthur, held the county of Richmond from the King of England.

‡ Letter of the English ambassador against the Duke of Orleans, &c. The King of England, then duke, having returned to England, to demand justice, was persecuted by King Richard, who died in the act of persecuting, *having previously resigned his realm to the said duke.* It is no new thing that a king, like a pope, may resume his dominions. 24th of September, 1404. Archives, Trésor des Chartes, J., 645.

of France, broken through everyconsideration due by a man of honour "to widows and maiden ladies,"* and demanded a meeting of him at the frontiers, where they might each fight at the head of 100 knights.

Lancaster replied with English haughtiness, that he knew no instance in which his predecessors had been thus defied by men of lower estate; adding, in the hypocritical language of the ecclesiastical party which had placed him on the throne, that what a prince does "he should do to the honour of God, and for the weal of all Christendom, or of his own realm, and not for vain glory or for any temporal longing."†

Henry IV. had good reasons to refuse the fight; he had quite enough to do at home, he saw nothing but enemies around him, and his new throne was tottering. The Duke of Burgundy did him the great service of prolonging the truce with France.

These affairs between England and Bretagne were in themselves an indirect war between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, a war which was about to become direct and rancorous. The nephew endeavouring to assail his uncle in the Low Countries, and the uncle attacking and ruining the nephew in France and at Paris.

The Duke of Orleans, beaten by his able rival in the affair of Bretagne, did a great thing against him; a thing so great, that the house of Burgundy could not but, thenceforth, desire his destruction. He formed for himself an establishment amidst the possessions of that house amongst the little states which it possessed or coveted. He purchased Luxembourg, lodging himself like a thorn in the side of the Burgundian between him and the Empire, close to Liége, in such a manner as to encourage the petty princes of the country; the Duke of Gueldres for instance. The Duke of Orleans paid that duke for doing what he had always done, namely, pillaging the Low Countries.

Louis of Orleans having enlisted that condottiere in the service of the king, brought him to Paris with his bands; whilst, at the same time, he procured Welsh from the garrisons of Guienne.‡ The Duke of Burgundy advanced against him with speed, receiving a reinforcement from the Bishop of Liége, and a multitude of adventurers from Hainault, Brabant, and Germany. The Duke of Orleans on his side, recruited his forces with Clisson's Bretons, Scotchmen, and Normans. Paris was frightened almost to death, but nothing took place as yet. The two rivals scanned each other's strength, saw that it was considerable, and submitted to be reconciled.

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* Monstrelet, t. i., p. 107.

† Ibid, t. i., p. 98. As for Isabella of France, he recriminated very sarcastically, "Would to God that you had never been guilty of rigour, cruelty, or villany towards any dame or damsel more than we have been guilty towards her. We believe that you would be the better for the same." Ibid., p. 114.

‡ Quædam acephalica vilis concis et inepta Walensium.....Sub pretextu non persoluti stipendii. Ex Normannia, Britannia, cæterisque regni partibus fere quinque millia hominum robustorum. Relig. de St. Denis, 389.

The Duke of Burgundy had no need of a battle to ruin his nephew; he had only to let him take his own course; for it was an unpopular one that led him to his ruin. The Duke of Orleans wanted war and demanded money of the people, and even of the clergy. The Duke of Burgundy wished for peace (it was important to the interests of Flemish commerce). Being wealthy too, he obtained popularity by an easy means, that of prohibiting the payment of taxes. If we may believe a tradition preserved by Meyer, a Flemish historian, usually very partial to the house of Burgundy, the princes of that family, exasperated by the gallantries of the Duke of Orleans towards the wife of the young Duke of Burgundy, devised a vast system of covert attacks against their enemy; everywhere representing him to the people as the sole author of the taxes with which they were sorely burdened; marking him out for public hatred and with long and patient industry, preparing by calumny for assassination.*

One means alone could have enabled the Duke of Orleans to escape from this unpopularity, a glorious war against the English; but money was requisite to this end; the Church possessed it. The Duke of Orleans commanded a general loan, from which the clergy were not to be exempt.† But the Duke of Burgundy sided with the clergy, and encouraged them to refuse the loan. An ordonnance imposing a general tax proved likewise fruitless. The Duke of Burgundy declared, that the ordonnance lied when it said, *with the consent of the princes;* for that neither he nor the Duke of Berri had consented thereto; that if the king's coffers were empty, it was not with the blood of his people that they should be filled;

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* Meyer does not name this author, who informs us only in the passage quoted that he had frequently seen Charles VII., and conversed familiarly with him. He alleges that Jean Sans-Peur wished to kill the Duke of Orleans in his father's lifetime; and that when he succeeded him, he asked his advisers what was the best means of compassing his end with the least danger. Not being able to make him change his purpose, they advised him to wait until he should have ruined his enemy in the estimation of the people. "Id autem hoc modo efficere posset, si Parisiis præcipue et similiter in aliis quibusque regni nobilioribus civitatibus, per biennium vel triennium ante per impositas personas ubique disseminari faceret: 'Se maxime regnicolis compati et condolere, quod tot tributis, et variis, et multiplicibus vectigalibus premerentur. Seque totis eniti conatibus ut, regno ad antiquas suas libertates atque immunitates, restituto, omnibus hujus modi molestissimis gravissimisque exactionibus populus levaretur; sed ne sui optimi ac piissimi voti et affectus quem ad regnum et regnicolas gerebat, fructum assequeretur, ipsius Aurelianensis duces vires et conatus semper obstitisse et continuo obstare, qui omnium hujus modi imponendorum et in dies excrescentium novorum tributorum atque vectigalium author et defensor maximus existeret ac semper extitisset.' Hoc igitur rumore per omnes pene civitates et provincias regni aures mentesque popalarium occupante, tanta invidia apud plebem (quæ hujus modi gravamina vectigalium atque exactionum altius sentit atque suspirat) conflata fuit adversus præfatum Aurelianensium ducem, tantus vero amor, gratia atque favor omnium duci Burgundionum accesserunt, ut...." Meyer, 224 verso.

† Decrevit à prelatis regni, accommodati titulo pecunias extorquere. Rel. 392.

that the leeches ought to be made to disgorge; that as for him, he would have all men know, that had he sanctioned this new exaction, he would have pocketed 200,000 crowns for his own share.*

It may be guessed whether or not such words were favourably received by the people. The Duke of Burgundy had every one on his side, until they called him in, and set him to work, and then he was placed in a predicament of no ordinary perplexity. After having declaimed so loudly against taxes, he could hardly levy any himself, and accordingly, he was forced to have recourse to a strange expedient. He sent parliamentary commissioners into all the towns of the realm to examine into contracts between private persons, and to impose arbitrary fines for such as they should find usurious or fraudulent.† All those, "who should have sold too dear by half," were to be punished. This absurd and impracticable inquisition produced no great harvest.

The Duke of Orleans recovered his influence. He had entered into a strict league with Pope Benedict XIII. That pope, having at last escaped from the troops that were besieging him in Avignon, the duke procured from the king an ordonnance putting the realm again under the unlimited authority of the pope, to the furious displeasure of the university. Furthermore, the duke having entered into a close confederacy with his sister-in-law, Isabella, brought her into the council, and thus secured his own preponderance. In this way, he appeared master both of the Church and of the state; that is to say, thenceforth every thing that was unpopular was laid at his door.

After all, it cannot be denied, that the Orleans party was the only one that acted for France, and against the English; the only one that felt how requisite it was to take advantage of the agitation of that country,‡ and that attempted foreign expeditions. I see the Bretons of that party put a fleet to sea in 1403 and defeat the English.§ Subsequently, aid was sent to the Welch chieftains with whom the king entered into alliance.‖ I see the constable D'Albret, the Duke of Orleans' retainer, wage a successful war in Guienne;¶ an embassy is sent to Castile to ask for the aid of a fleet against the English; Normandy is closed against them, by an advantageous compromise, and Cherbourg and Evreux are taken out of the suspected hands of

* Compatiendo regnicolis.....Affirmans quod si.....consensisset, inde ducenta millia scuta auri sibi promissa percepisset. Rel. de St. Denis, 392.

† Qui de usurariis dolosisque contractibus et specialiter de illis qui ultra medietatem justi pretii aliquid vendidissent inquirerent, et ab eis secundum demerita pecunias extorquerent. Ibid.

‡ It was the time of the rebellion of the Percies. Walsingham, 367.

§ It was Clisson's Bretons, led by Guillaume Duchatel. Id., 411.

‖ Rymer, iv., 65, 69, 70 (terria edito).

¶ The Count de Clermont, then very young, was the nominal leader of that army. Prima malas vestitus lanugine. Rel. de St. Denis, 434.

the King of Navarre, in consideration of compensation made him elsewhere.*

In 1404, in consequence of the injury sustained by the whole realm through the incursions of the English, a great armament was ordained, and a heavy tax imposed. The whole money was placed in the tower of the palace whence it was not to be taken without the consent of the princes. The Duke of Orleans did not wait for that consent, but broke open the tower by night and took away the money.† This was a violent, unjustifiable act, a sort of robbery; nevertheless, when we reflect that the Duke of Burgundy had just abandoned the Count of St. Pol to the vengeance of the English;‡ when we reflect that the Duke of Berri had frustrated the invasion of 1386, and that he again prevented the king from fighting in 1415, we see clearly, that these princes would never have employed the money against the enemies of the realm.

The armament was formed at Brest, and the fleet was prepared. It was to sail for Wales under the command of the Count de la Marche, a prince of the house of Bourbon, who was approved of by both parties. But that prince did what the Duke of Berri had done before; he would not stir a foot from Paris, but remained there from August to November,§ for the festivities of the double marriage between the princes of the house of Burgundy and the king's children. It was alleged that the wind was contrary, and in fact we see plainly, that it blew from England. The English were informed of every thing by traitors; they had agents here in their pay, the captain of Paris among others.‖ It was, moreover, the interest of the new Duke of Burgundy, Jean Sans-Peur, not to begin by displeasing the Flemings by closing England against them; on the contrary, he concluded a commercial truce with the English.¶

The able and fortunate founder of the power of the house of Burgundy, died in the midst of the crisis (1404), immediately after he had put one of his sons in possession of Brabant. He had reaped all the fruits of his selfish policy;** he had constantly availed him-

* Rel. de St. Denis, 422.

† Hora suspecta, cum armatis viris. Id., 419. The same historian says elsewhere that he was the bearer of an order from the king. 596 verso.

‡ The Count of St. Pol had taken up arms on behalf of his daughter, the daughter-in-law of the Duke of Burgundy. Ibid., fol. 414, 446.

§ Usque ad medium novembris. Id., 438.

‖ The Religieux seems, nevertheless, to think he was innocent; the Parliament judged him to be so. He was a Norman, and strongly supported by the nobles of Normandy. Id., 424. "And the English said, there was nothing so secret in the king's counsel but they knew it straightway after." Juvenal, 162.

¶ In 1403 the Duke of Burgundy, not daring to negotiate with the English, left the towns of Flanders to treat with them. Rymer, iv., 38. He afterwards obtained the king's authority to conclude a commercial truce. This was renewed by his widow and his successor. 29th Aug. 1403; 19th June, 1404. Archives, Trésor des Chartes, J., 573.

** See the excellent judgment pronounced by Le Laboureur, on the character of Philip the Bold. Introd. à l'Hist. de Charles VI., p. 96.

self of the resources of France, its armies, its money; and, with all this, he died popular; leaving his son, Jean Sans-Peur a great party in the kingdom.

Philip the Bold was a man of staid and regular habits in his domestic life; he had no other woman than his wife, the rich and puissant heiress of Flanders and of so many provinces, and who aided him in maintaining them. He was always on good terms with the clergy, whose part he was ever forward to take in the royal council; at the same time, he was not liberal of gifts to the churches.*

He is not charged with any act of violence. Was he privy to the murder of Clisson, and to the poisoning of the Bishop of Laon? The thing is possible, but by no means proved.

This crafty statesman made on all occasions a display of royal pomp, which may have been regarded as prodigality, but which was doubtless a means to his ends. Divine worship was celebrated in his household with more pomp than in that of any king; the choir was, above all, numerous and excellent. On public occasions and feast days, he made it a point to dazzle the multitude, and he scattered money about. When he repaired to Lelinghen to receive Isabella of France, the widow of Richard II., after she had been turned out of England by Henry IV., he displayed an incredible magnificence, ill befitting so melancholy an occasion, but which was doubtless intended to produce an imposing effect upon the minds of his friends, the English. After all, this parade cost him nothing, for he made it a ground for obtaining from the King of France an enormous pension of 36,000 livres.† It was just the same at the marriage of his second son; he gave all the lords of the Low Countries, who were present at it, robes of green velvet and white satin, and distributed 10,000 crowns' worth of jewellery among them. He had provided beforehand for this expenditure, by obtaining an order on the treasury of France for the sum of 140,000 francs.‡

His son's ransom, far from being costly to him, gave him an opportunity of levying enormous sums. Independently of all he drew from Burgundy, Flanders, &c., he appropriated to himself, in the king's name, 80,000 livres. We see the same son, almost immediately after his return, again drawing 12,000 livres from Charles VI., in the following year.§ This house, with all its wealth, did not despise the smallest gains.

The Duke of Burgundy was not fond of paying; his treasurers discharged nothing, not even the daily expenses of his household.‖ Though he left at his death an enormous and incalculable mass of

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* Quamvis earum (ecclesiarum) largus non extiterit ditator. Rel. de St. Denis, 420.

† D. Plancher, Hist. de Bourgogne, iii. 179.

‡ Id., iii. 183 ; note 24, p. 573. § Ibid., 22 Dec. 1400; Preuves, 198.

‖ Cum pro quotidianis expensis repetebantur pecuniæ....velut damnabile crimen reputabatur. Rel. de St. Denis, 420.

furniture, jewels, and other articles of value, there was reason to fear they would not be enough to pay his numerous creditors. Rather than encumber the real property, his widow resolved to renounce her succession to the personal property.

Surrender and renunciation were no easy matters in the middle ages; the insolvent debtor made a sorry figure. He was compelled to degrade himself from the rank of knighthood by taking off his belt with his own hand. It was the law in some towns, that "he should clap his buttocks on the stone,"* in presence of the judge, and amidst the shouts of derision of the multitude. The surrender made by the debtor was shameful; the manner in which the widow was forced to make renunciation was odious and cruel. She had to lay the keys on the body of the deceased, as if to tell him, that she gave him back his house, that she renounced all communion with him; she denied her marriage.† There was scarcely a poor woman who could undergo so heartbreaking a disgrace, though she parted with her last shift.

The Duchess of Burgundy did not shrink from the act; she was a woman of manly audacity, and went bravely through the ceremony.‡ She was descended, like Charles the Bad, from Jeanne of Navarre, that violent Spanish woman, and from Philip the Fair.§ Margaret, Jeanne's grand-daughter, had, with no less violence, founded the house of Burgundy. It is said, that when her son, the Count of Flanders, hesitated to accept Philip the Bold for his son-in-law, she showed him her nipple, and told him, that if he did not give his consent, she would cut off the breast that had suckled him.‖ This marriage, as we have seen, put a whole empire into the hands of the house of Burgundy. Margaret II., the grand-daughter of Philip the Bold's other wife, and the worthy mother of Jean Sans-Peur, preferred performing this solemn act of bankruptcy, to parting with one inch of land from the possessions of her house; she knew her own times, an age of iron and lead. Her sons lost nothing by the act; they were neither the less honoured nor the less popular. Such a degree of audacity inspired fear; men knew what they had to dread from those princes; the people is always on the side of those who make themselves feared.

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* Glossaire de Laurière, i. 206. Michelet, Origines du Droit cherchées dans les formules, etc., p. 395.

† Gloss. de Laurière, t. i., p. 42. The act of renunciation by a widow is, in fact, not without some analogy with the renegation of marriage, by which the law of Castile allowed the noble woman, who had married a commoner, to resume her nobility, on the death of her husband. She had to go to the church, with a halbert on her shoulder, and there, touching the grave of the deceased with the point of the weapon, she said to him, "Villain, keep thy villany, that I may resume my nobility." Michelet, Origines du Droit, t. ii., p. 293.

‡ "And demanded an instrument thereof of a notary public, who was there present." Monstrelet, i. 142.

§ See *ante* pp. 40, 42, 112.

‖ Gollut, Mémoires Historiques des Bourgonignons de la Franche-Comté, 1592, p. 546.

The death of Philip the Bold seemed to leave the Duke of Orleans master of the Council: he took advantage of this to obtain possession of the places that covered Paris on the north, Coucy, Ham, and Soissons. Thus, with these and La Fère, Châlon, Château-Thierry, Orleans, and Dreux, he possessed a belt, fortresses round Paris. The Duke of Burgundy, it is true, had taken the important post of Etampes on the south.*

The Duke of Orleans obtained from his pope an order to the new Duke of Burgundy, forbidding him to meddle with the affairs of the realm.† To give that prohibition any significance, he who availed himself of it needed to be the stronger party. He could not hinder Jean Sans-Peur from entering into the council; and not only him, but three others too, who were but one with him, his brothers, the dukes of Limbourg and Nevers, and his cousin, the Duke of Bretagne. Jean Sans-Peur, following his father's policy, began by declaring against the *taille*, which the Duke of Orleans was enforcing for the purpose of continuing the war, and he signified that he would prevent his subjects from paying it. Paris, thus encouraged, had also no inclination to pay. It was in vain that the criers who proclaimed the tax announced, at the same time, that that of the past year had been well employed, and that several strong places had been recovered in Limousin.‡ The people of Paris cared nothing about Limousin or the realm, and would not pay. The prisons were filled, and the public places were covered with furniture to be sold by auction. Such was the exasperation, that it was necessary to publish a proclamation by sound of trumpet, forbidding any man to carry either sword or knife.§

Every thing tends to show that the taxes were not excessive, whatever contemporary writers say of them. France was again become rich through peace; workmen earned high wages in the towns; the exchequer found it more easy to levy six francs per hearth than it had been to levy one franc fifty years before.‖ But this

* He had obtained it in 1400 from the Duke de Berri. D. Plancher, Hist. de Bourg., iii., Preuves, p. 194. † Meyer, 220.

‡ Ut de tallia jam collecta populus non murmuraret, quia inde multa oppida hostium in Lemovicino et alibi capta fuerant isto anno. Rel. de St. Denis, 440.

§ Ne quis ensem vel cultellum, nisi ad usum prandii secum ferret. Ibid.

‖ This appears from a multitude of special facts. M. Sismondi, a historian whose opinion is of great weight as to every thing connected with political economy, and who, moreover, can never be suspected of forgetting the cause of the people, has taken the same view of this matter as we have done. "Agriculture was not destroyed in France, though every thing seemed to have been done that was likely to annihilate it. On the contrary, the farm buildings burned in the last expeditions of the English had been rebuilt, the vines had been replanted, and the fields were covered with crops. Arts and manufactures were not abandoned; on the contrary, they appear to have employed a greater number of arms in the towns, if we may judge from the statutes of the trade corporations, which multiplied in all the provinces, and for which new royal sanctions were sought every year. The wealth so barbarously wrested from those who had produced it, was soon created anew by others, and evidently in

money was levied with a violence, a precipitation, and a capricious inequality that were more hurtful than the tax itself.

Whether the people had money or not, they were most averse to part with any. They were told that the queen sent away to Germany all that was not squandered by the Duke of Orleans. Six horse-loads of gold, it was said, which the Bavarian woman was sending home, had been stopped at Metz.* Men of the most rational character gave ready ear to these reports; the grave historian of the time believes that the preceding tax had produced the monstrous sum of 800,000 gold crowns,† and that the duke and the queen had consumed the whole. In order to estimate the value of these assertions, and to appreciate the ignorance and malevolence with which men argued respecting the resources of the kingdom, we have but to consider the fine plan proposed by the Duke of Burgundy's party for the reform of the finances. "There are in the kingdom," said they, "*seventeen hundred thousand* towns, boroughs, and villages; from these let us subtract seven hundred thousand which are ruined, and let the rest be rated at twenty crowns only a year, this will make twenty millions of crowns. After duly paying the troops, the expenses of the king's household, the collectors and receivers, and even reserving something for the repair of the fortresses, there will remain three millions in the king's coffers." This computation of 1,700,000 belfries is precisely that on which the facetious writer of the satire "Ménippée" relies.‡

Nothing better served the purposes of the Burgundian party than the sermon of an Augustine monk against the queen and the duke. Yet the queen was present, notwithstanding which the holy man only spoke with so much the more violence, and probably without well knowing whom he served by that violence. Factions have no better tools than those fanatics who smite conscientiously. In his harangue he inveighed promiscuously against the prodigalities of the court, abuses, innovations in general, dancing, the fashions, fringes, and long sleeves.§ He said, before the queen's face, that her court was the abode of Dame Venus, &c.‖

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still greater abundance, for the produce of the tallages and imposts, far from diminishing, became considerably increased. The king raised six francs per hearth in the year more easily than he could have raised one franc fifty years before." Sismondi, Hist. de Français, xii. 173.

* Cum regina ex illis sex equos oneratos auro monetato in Alemaniam mitteret, hoc in prædam venit Metensium (of the people of Metz) qui a conductoribus didicerunt quod alias finantiam similem in Alemaniam conduxerant, unde mirati sunt multi, cum sic vellet depauperare Franciam ut Alemanos ditaret. Rel. de St. Denis, 440.

† Mihi pluries de summa sciscitanti responsum est, quod octies ad centum millia scuta auri venerat, quam tamen propriis deputaverunt usibus. Id., 439.

‡ Relig., 468 verso. Satyre Ménippée. Ratisb., 1709, i. 15.

§ Loricatis, fimbriatis et manicatis vestibus. Rel., 449 verso.

‖ Domina Venus. Id., 4480. This monk, who preached against the Duke of Orleans, had dedicated to him a book, which had not, perhaps, been sufficiently paid for. Mem. Acad., xv. 795—808.

The matter was reported to the king, who, far from being angry, desired himself also to hear the preacher. The latter went still further in the king's presence. He said that the tallages had been of no use; that the king himself was clad in the blood and tears of the people; that the duke (he gave him no other appellation) was accursed, and that doubtless God would make the kingdom pass into the hands of strangers.*

The Duke of Orleans, thus violently assailed, made no effort to right himself in public opinion. He was accused of prodigality, and he became but the more prodigal; there was too little money for war, but there was enough for festivities and amusements. Having been so long kept aloof from the business of government by his uncles, under pretext of his youth, he remained a youth in reality; he had passed his thirtieth year, and was but so much the more eager in the indulgence of his wild passions. At that age of action, the man whom circumstances hinder from acting, falls back violently on his departing youth, and the caprices natural to another season of life; but he reverts to them with a fancy grown far more fastidious and insatiable; seizing on every thing with avidity, satisfied with nothing; revelling first in voluptuous pleasure, but that is soon exhausted; then coveting in pleasure the racy zest of secret sin; and then, in scorn of secresy, the audacious delights of scandalous publicity.

The *little queen* of Charles VI. was not enough for him; he liked only *les grandes dames*, that is to say, adventures, elopements, and all the mad tragedies of love. Thus he brought home the Lady de Canny, and kept her in the face of all the world, until she had a son by him.† This was the famous Dunois.

Was he the paramour of the two Bavarians, Margaret, the wife of Jean Sans-Peur, and Queen Isabella, his own brother's wife? The thing is not improbable. Certain it is that he appeared very closely united with Isabella at the council board and in public affairs. So intimate an alliance between a young man of notorious gallantry, and a young woman who was virtually a widow in her husband's lifetime, was any thing but edifying.

Master of the queen, he seemed to desire to be master also of the kingdom. He took advantage of one of his brother's relapses to obtain from him the government of Normandy. That province, the richest of all, had been coveted by the late Duke of Burgundy. The Duke of Orleans, who could extract no more money from Paris, would there have found fresh resources. From Normandy, too, he could best have directed the efforts of the captains of his party against England. The expedition of the Comte de la Marche, prepared at Brest, had ended in nothing; it would perhaps have been successful had it started from Honfleur or Dieppe. The Normans, no doubt privily encouraged by the Burgundian party, gave their new gover-

* Te induere de substantia, lacrimis et gemitibus miserrimæ plebis, Mem. Acad. 449 v. Timebat quin Deus regnum transferret ad extraneos. Id., 450.
† Id., 554. Monstrelet, i. 216.

nor a very bad reception. He endeavoured in vain to disarm Rouen.* It was exceedingly imprudent thus to irritate that powerful commune. The captains of the towns and fortresses kept their places against him, until such time as fresh orders should come from the king.

The attempt of the Duke of Orleans on Normandy excited great distrust against him in the mind of Charles VI. when he had an interval of reason. His pride was also appealed to. He was told in what a shameful state of neglect he was left by his wife and his brother.† He was told that his servants were no longer paid, that his children were neglected, and that there were no means forthcoming to defray the expenses of his household. He asked the dauphin, was this so? the child said, yes, and that for the last three months the queen had been fondling and kissing him, that he might not tell.‡

In this way Charles VI. was prevailed on to send for the Duke of Burgundy, who, under pretext of doing homage for Flanders, arrived with a retinue that was more like an army. He brought with him the whole multitude of his vassals, and six thousand men-at-arms. The queen and the Duke of Orleans fled to Melun. The royal children were to have followed them the next day; but the Duke of Burgundy arrived in time to stop them.§

He had need of the young dauphin.‖ In the king's absence, he

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* "The men of Rouen replied mockingly: 'We will carry our arms to the castle; that is to say, we will go thither armed, and armed we will return.'" Rel. de St. Denis, 453.

† "It was great pity of the king's malady which held him long. And when he ate it was very gluttonously and wolfishly. They could not make him undress, and he was all full of lice and vermin, and filth. He had a little lump of iron, which he put secretly close to his skin. Nothing was known of this, and his poor flesh was all rotten, and no one durst approach him to remedy the thing. There was, however, a physician, who said it was necessary to remedy it, or that he was in danger, and there was no cure for his disorder, as it seemed to him; and he recommended to provide some ten or twelve disguised fellows, who should be blackened, and clad with some protection underneath, lest he should wound them. This was done, and the fellows entered his chamber, very terrible to see. When he saw them, he was greatly astonished, and they laid hold on him at once, one of them carrying a complete suit of new garments, shirt, *gippan*, robe, hose, and boots. They took him, he meanwhile saying many words, stripped him, and put the new garments upon him. It was a great pity to see him, for his body was all eaten with lice and filth. And in this way, too, they found the said piece of iron. As often as they wished to clean him, they were obliged to do it in the same manner. Juvenal des Ursins, 177.

‡ He evinced much gratitude to a lady who took care of the dauphin, and made amends for his mother's neglect. He gave her the golden beaker from which he had drunk. Vas aureum quo vinum hauserat. Le Relig., 453 v.

§ Monstrelet, i. 163. The register of the Parliament, contrary to custom, gives a detailed narrative of this fact. Archives. Registres du Parlement, Conseil, xii., 222, Aug. 19, 1405.

‖ He lodged with the dauphin, in order to be the more sure of him. Monstrelet, i. 165.

made him preside over a council composed of the princes and the ordinary councillors, and to which, moreover, contrary to all precedent, the rector and a great many doctors of the university had been summoned.* In that assembly Maître Jean de Nyelle, a doctor of Artois, and follower of the Duke of Burgundy, delivered a long harangue on the abuses which his master desired to see reformed. He ended by accusing the Duke of Orleans of neglecting the war against the English, demonstrating the justice of that war, and asserting that it could be well sustained by means of the annual subsidies, the general taxes, and the loan recently imposed on the wealthy and the prelates.

We cannot be astonished at such a speech when we see that even then the Duke of Burgundy, as Count of Flanders,† had just treated with the English, and that moreover he had set the example of paying nothing on account of the war. The Orleans party was at that very moment recovering eighteen small fortresses, to which it afterwards added sixty in Guienne. The Comte d'Armagnac offered them battle under the walls of Bordeaux.‡ The Sire de Savoisy made a prosperous expedition against the English.§ Succours were sent to the Welsh.‖ The leaders of these expeditions, Albret, Armagnac, Savoisy, Rieux, and Duchâtel, were all of the Orleans party.

The exasperation of Paris against the taxes, and the jealousy of the princes towards the Duke of Orleans, for a moment rendered Jean Sans-Peur master of every thing. The King of Navarre, the King of Sicily, and the Duke of Berri declared that all the Duke of Burgundy had done was well done. The clergy and the university preached to the same effect. Then the princes went one by one to Melun and requested the Duke of Orleans to assemble no more troops, and to let the queen return to her good town. The old Duke of Berri declared, in his anger, to his nephew, that there was not one of the princes but regarded him as a public enemy; to which the Duke of Orleans merely replied "Whoso has a good cause, let him hold it fast!"¶

He replied likewise to the embassy from the university, the rector and the doctors, who came and harangued him on the blessings of peace. He harangued in his turn in the vulgar tongue, but

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* Nec ibi defuerunt cum consiliariis regis rector almæ Universitatis parisiensis, atque in utroque jure multi doctores et magistri. Relig., 455 v.

† See *supra*. Archives, Trésor des Chartes, J., 578.

‡ The Comte d'Armagnac took at first *eighteen* small fortresses, according to Le Religieux. MS., 469 verso. Burdegalensem adiit civitatem, ipsis mandans quod si exire audebant.....The Constable d'Albret, and the Comte d'Armagnac, employing arms and money alternately, had *sixty* forts, or fortified villages, surrendered to them. Ib., 471 verso.

§ Ibid., 560.

‖ Ibid., 461 verso.

¶ Qui bonam causam habet, eam bene custodiat. Ibid., 460. The Burgundians displayed on the pennons of their lances the words *ich houd*, I hold, in contrast with the Orleanists, whose motto was *je l'envie*, I desire it. Monstrelet, i. 176.

in their own style, meeting syllogism with syllogism and citation with citation; and he concluded with the following words, which seem scarcely to have admitted any possible reply: "The university knows not that the king being ill and the dauphin a minor, it belongs to the king's brother alone to govern the kingdom. And how should it know this? The university is not French; it is a medley of men of all nations;* these strangers have no business to interfere in our affairs. Doctors, return to your schools. Every one to his trade. You would not call in soldiers to advise on matters of faith."† Then he added in a lighter tone: "Who has commissioned you to negotiate peace between me and my cousin of Burgundy? There is neither hatred nor discord between us."‡

The Duke of Burgundy counted on the Parisians, having completely won their good will by the excellent discipline of his troops, which took nothing without paying for it. The burghers were authorised to put themselves in a state of defence, and to reconstruct the iron chains that used to bar the streets; more than 600 of these were forged in eight days. But when he wished to lead the Parisians further, and to make them follow him against the Duke of Orleans they flatly refused. This refusal rendered a reconciliation more easy between the two princes, and they agreed to an accomodation. Both parties had reason to fear a scarcity of provisions. The Duke of Orleans returned to Paris, shook hands with the Duke of Burgundy,§ and consented to the reforms he had proposed. A few officers dismissed, and some reductions of pay, was the whole amount of the reform; but the discord between the princes remained the same as before. The Duke of Orleans, mild and insinuating, found means to regain the good will of his uncle Berri, and of almost the whole council, and gradually recovered his former power. A new agreement was soon tried between the rivals, but it was as useless as the former one. There was but one chance of peace, namely, in case the English by their piracies and ravages round Calais should drive the Duke of Burgundy, as Count of Flanders, to act seriously against them, and to come to an amicable arrangement with the Duke of Orleans. For a while there seemed a likelihood that the enemies of France would render her that service. In 1405, the English seeing that Philip the Bold was dead, thought it a good opportunity to attack the widow and the young duke, and made an attempt to seize the harbour of Sluys. Nor was this a

* Bulæus, Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis, v. 120.

† In casu fidei ad consilium milites non evocaretis. Relig., 460.

‡ Sibi enim cum eo nullam simultatem esse aut discordiam. Bulæus, l.c. Monstrelet alleges that the Duke of Orleans appealed to the university as umpire, i. 174. What is more certain is, that he applied to the Parliament. Si requeroit la cour qu'elle ne souffrist ledict dauphin estre transporté. Archives, Reg. du Parl., Conseil, xii. 222.

§ Cum amplexu pacifico datis dextris. Rel., 467. According to the chronicle followed by M. de Barante, they even slept in the same bed. Bibl. Roy. Chronique, 10,297.

private piratical venture, but an authorised expedition made with a royal fleet, led by the Duke of Clarence, Henry IVth's own son.* The time was just when the new Count of Flanders had renewed the commercial truces with the English.†

Now then the princes were of one mind to act against the enemy. The Duke of Burgundy undertook to besiege Calais, whilst the Duke of Orleans was to carry the war into Guienne. Calais and Bordeaux were certainly the two points proper to be attacked; but the whole united forces of the realm would not have been too much for either enterprise; to attempt them both simultaneously was certain failure.

Calais could scarcely be taken except in winter, and by a *coup de main;* this fact was afterwards acknowledged by the great Guise.‡ The Duke of Burgundy gave the enemy long warning by his interminable preparations; he collected a considerable body of troops, an immense quantity of munitions, and 1200 cannons,§ small ones indeed. He took time enough to construct a wooden town to enclose the one he was besieging, and while he was so doing, the English victualled the place, armed it, and rendered it impregnable.

The Duke of Orleans succeeded no better. He began the campaign too late, as usual, setting out on his march when he ought to have been returning. Yet he was plainly warned that he would find nothing left in the country, neither provisions nor fodder, and that winter was at hand: he replied carelessly that there would be the more glory in vanquishing both the English and winter.

The Gascons who had solicited his aid, changed their minds and gave him no support.‖ Having but a little army of 5000 men, he could not venture to attack Bordeaux; but wishing at least to seize its approaches, he tried Blaye first and then Bourg. The siege wore on into the bad season; provisions failed, and a fleet coming with a supply from Rochelle was captured at sea by the English. The famishing troops disbanded. The duke persisted in the unlucky siege without hope, plunging into every extravagance to stifle the voice of his own reason,¶ gambling away the pay of his troops, and not daring to return.

He knew well what awaited him in Paris. The Duke of Burgundy was there already, stirring up the people against him, point-

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* Meyer, 222 v.

† Promise of the Duchess of Burgundy, and of the Duke John, her son, who engage to follow the king's instructions for regulating the commerce of the Flemings with the English, June 19, 1404. Archives, Trésor des Chartes, J., 573.

‡ The Duke of Burgundy, on the contrary, was discouraged by the winter.

§ See the curious work (still MS.) by M. Lacabane, on the History of Artillery in the Middle Ages.

‖ Ferebatur capitaneos ad custodiam Aquitaniæ deputatos dominum ducem Aurelianensem antea sollicitasse, ut....aggrediendo armis patriam Burdegalensem....Iter arripuit, quamvis minime ignoraret agilitatem Vasconum, et quantis astuciis Francos reiteratis vicibus deceperunt ab antiquo. Relig., 489, 490.

¶ Ibid, 495.

ing him out as a friend to the English, and accusing him of having diverted, to the purposes of his fine Guienne expedition, the money with which Calais might have been taken.* Paris was in a state of great excitement, so, too, were the university, and even the clergy. The Duke of Orléans had lately offended the bishop and the Church of Paris: on his departure for Guienne he had gone to St. Denis, to kiss the bones of the patron saint of France; those in Paris who claimed to be possessors of the real relics of the saint, did not forgive the duke for having thus decided against them.

By degrees Paris became unanimous against the Duke of Orleans. The people of the university nourished a deep hatred against him, a hatred after the manner of doctors and priests. In the first place he was the friend of their enemy, the pope, he bestowed benefices on others than university men, he starved them. Another crime was, that, in opposition to the university of Paris, he supported those of Orleans, Angers, Montpellier, and Toulouse, which were all favourable to the Pope of Avignon.† He maintained, as we have seen, that the university of Paris was not French, and that being composed, in great part, of foreigners, it could not meddle in the affairs of the realm. These were tremendous faults in the estimation of our doctors. Perhaps, after all, they might have forgiven him even these enormities; but what was a far more serious offence against men of letters, one absolutely unpardonable and inexplicable, he laughed at and despised them.

The university of Paris, already superannuated, as regarded learning and instruction, had attained the apogee of its power. It was become, so to speak, authority embodied. For more than a century past, that old first-born daughter of the kings, an equivocal figure in priestly garb,‡ and, like other old damsels, shrewish and choleric, had carried matters with a high hand in the paternal mansion. The king, too, had spoiled her, having need of her aid against the templars and the popes. In the great schism, she took upon her to exercise the right of choice for Christendom, and chose Clement VII.; then she humiliated her own pope.

The university was an unsafe instrument for the king, and one that often wounded him. Upon the least provocation, it would tell him to his face, that the daughter of the kings, injured in her privileges, would go, like a wandering sheep,§ and seek another fold. The classes were closed, and the students dispersed, to the great loss

* Monstrelet says that the king's name was surreptitiously used to prohibit the captains of Picardy and the Boulenois from aiding the Duke of Burgundy, i. 192. The duke claimed damages. See Compte des dépenses faites par le Duc de Bourgogne pour le siége de Calais, a document of extreme importance as regards the history of artillery and of the *materiel* of war in general. Archives, Trésor des Chartes, J., 922.

† Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Parisiensis, v. 56.

‡ For five hundred years was debated the indeterminable question whether the university was an ecclesiastical or a lay corporation. See Bulæus *passim*.

§ Quasi ovem errabundam. Relig., 551.

of Paris. Immediately all haste was made to bring them back, to finish the *secession*, and to recall the *gens togata* from Mount Aventine.

The university did not content itself with these negative means. Ere long, uniting with the lower classes, it gave its orders to the Hôtel St. Paul, and treated the king almost as ill as it had treated the pope. In that miserable eclipse of the papacy, the empire and the monarchy, the university of Paris sat enthroned, ferula in hand, and believed herself queen of the world.

There was, indeed, some reason in this absurdity. Before the invention of printing, before the sway of the press under which we live, the only medium of publicity was the oral instruction dispensed by the universities: now the first and most influential of all these bodies was that of Paris.

An immense power it was, almost without control. And in what hands was it placed? In the hands of a people of doctors soured by penury, and in whom, moreover, hatred, envy, and all uncharitableness, had been sedulously cultivated by a polemical and disputatious education. When these men attained to power, they were sure, ere long, to manifest how much controversial learning sears and indurates the moral sense; how, when transferred from ratiocination into actual life, it continues to abstract; how it deals with life as an abstraction, and theorises murder, just like any other negation.

The university had early taken the field against the Duke of Orleans. In 1402, she declared sinners, and favourers of schism, all who were enemies to the retractation of obedience, and friends to the pope. The prince, thus clearly pointed at, demanded reparation; but the invective was reiterated the same evening by Courtecuisse, one of the most celebrated doctors and preachers.

Two years afterwards, the university seized an opportunity to smite the Sire de Savoisy, one of the principal servants of the Duke of Orleans and the queen. That nobleman, who had conducted some successful expeditions against the English, was surrounded by a purely military household of insolent servants, and very ill-disciplined pages. One of the latter clapped spurs to his horse, and dashed right through a procession of the university; the students struck him; Savoisy's people took his part, and chased the students into St. Catherine's, shooting after them at random through the doors of the church, to the great terror of the priest, who was at that moment celebrating mass. Several students were wounded. Savoisy in vain begged pardon of the university, and offered to give up the guilty parties.* He was doomed to perpetuate the memory of his humiliation, by founding a chapel, with a yearly endowment of 100 livres; and to see his own mansion, one of the handsomest of that day, demolished from top to bottom. The admirable

* He even declared that he was ready to hang the offender with his own hand: Quod delinquentem ipsemet manu propria libenter daret suspendio. Relig., 430.

paintings with which it was adorned, were powerless to charm the wrath of the schoolmen.* The demolition was effected with great ostentation, to the sound of trumpets proclaiming the triumph of the university.†

That body had suspended its lectures, and prohibited preaching until it obtained this signal reparation. It adopted the same means when, upon the escape of Benedict XIII. from Avignon, the Duke of Orleans caused the retractation of obedience to be revoked by the king, and the pope ordered a tenth to be levied from the clergy, a measure by which the Duke of Orleans would no doubt have been a gainer. A council, assembled at Paris, durst not come to any decision. The university, by the mouth of Jean Petit, one of its doctors, inveighed violently against the pope,‡ his partisans, and the university of Toulouse, which supported him; that of Paris exacted from the king an order to the parliament to have the letter burned which the Toulousans had written on that occasion. So great was the dismay, that the very same Savoisy who had recently been maltreated by the university, undertook to carry the king's order to the parliament.§ That man, dauntless in presence of the English, crouched before the popular power, whose strength and fury he had so feelingly experienced.

We may conceive what was the insolence of the students after victories like these; they believed themselves decidedly masters of the ground in Paris. Two of them, a Breton and a Norman, committed some theft.‖ The provost, Messire de Tignonville, a friend of the Duke of Orleans, clearly foreseeing that if he sent them before their ecclesiastical judges, they would be found to be the most innocent persons in the world, treated them as deprived of the benefit of clergy, put them to the torture, forced them to confess, and then sent them to the gibbet. Thereupon the university and the clergy in general were all in uproar.

The prince, who could not abandon the provost, told the university men that they might take down the bodies and inter them, and that no more should be said of the matter. But this was not what they wanted; they required that the provost should found two chapels, that he should be declared incapable of any public office, and that he should with his own hands take down the two clerks from the gibbet and bury them, after having kissed the putrid corpses on the mouth.¶

The whole body of the clergy backed the university. Not only were the classes closed, but the pulpits were silenced, and that, too, in

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* The king could only save a gallery painted in fresco, which was built on the town walls, and he was made to pay its value. Rel. de St. Den., 430 v.

† Cum lituis et instrumentis musicis. Ibid.

‡ Contra tricas et ludificationes Benedicti. Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris., 120, 132.

§ Rel. de St. Den., 477 v.

‖ Latrocinia perpetrata. Ibid., 550.

¶ Post oris osculum. Ibid., 550 v.

the holy season of Christmas, all through Advent, Lent, and even during the festival of Easter.* The very same course had been already adopted in the preceding year to hinder the payment of the tenth. Thus did the clergy avenge itself at the cost of the souls committed to its charge, and refuse the people the bread of the word in the time of the most sacred festivals, and during the pinching severities of winter, when souls have so much need of comfort and support. The multitude went to the churches, and found no consolation there.† Winter and spring passed away thus silently and dismally.

The Duke of Orleans had much to fear, for the people laid the blame of all their wrongs on him. His party was losing strength. He received a fresh blow by the death of his friend Clisson. Old as he was, so long as he lived, Clisson kept the Duke of Burgundy in awe.

Some time previously, as the duke and the queen were walking together in St. Germain, a tremendous storm burst upon them; the duke took shelter in the queen's litter, but the frightened horses were near upsetting them into the river. The queen was terrified, the duke's conscience was touched, and he declared his desire to pay his creditors, doubtless not knowing himself how much he owed. More than eight hundred creditors came forward;‡ the duke's people paid nothing, and sent them all away empty-handed.

During that melancholy winter of 1407 the duke and the queen thought to regain popularity by ordaining, in the king's name, the suspension of the right of seizure, an abuse which, above all others, excited the loudest outcries. The *maîtres d'hôtel* of the king, the princes, and the grandees seized in market and house whatever was suitable for their masters' tables, whatever they themselves took a fancy to, or could carry away; furniture, linen—nothing came amiss to them. The duke's servants and the queen's had plundered unsparingly; it was in vain they suspended the exercise of this odious right;§ the people was too much incensed against them, and gave them no thanks for this tardy forbearance.

Every thing turned against them. The queen, though long separated from her husband, was nevertheless pregnant, and looked forward with eager desire to the birth of her child. She was delivered of a son, but it was still-born. It was mourned by its mother‖ with

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* Solemni tempore Natalis Domini, Quadragesimæ et Resurrectionis ejus. Ibid., 551.

† On the other hand the *ménétriers*, or popular musicians, seem to have increased in number. Their corporation acquired importance, and obtained a confirmation of its statutes. Bibl. Roy., Portef. Fontanieu, 107--180, 24th April, 1407.

‡ Plus quam DCCC. viri ex diversis regni partibus convenientes dicta die. Ibid., 452 v., anno 1405.

§ They suspended it for four years. Ordonn., ix. 250, Sept. 7, 1407.

‖ In tantis immatura mors materna viscera conturbavit, totumque tempus purgationis regina continuavit in lamentis. Relig. de St. Denis, 551 v.

more than the grief commonly felt for an infant of that age, when one has already several other children living; mourned, shall we say, as a pledge of love?

The Duke of Orleans himself was confined by illness in his château called Beauté. That undulous bend of the Marne, and its wooded isles,* which on one side look towards the pretty hills of Nogent, and on the other towards the monastic shades of St. Maur,† have always possessed an inexplicable charm of melancholy loveliness. In those islands, overlooking the beautiful and dangerous river, rose formerly a Merovingian villa, a palace of Fredegonde;‡ and there in later times was the dear retreat in which Charles VII. vainly thought to secure his treasure, the good and fair Agnes.§ This château of Agnes Sorel was that of Louis of Orleans, where he spent the month of November, 1407, in ill health. It was the end of autumn, the season of the first frosts, and of the fall of the leaf.

Every life has its autumn, its season of the sere and yellow leaf; would to Heaven that this were identical with the season of maturity! but it is commonly earlier, and comes long before the age of ripeness. It is that point, often not far advanced in a man's life, when he sees obstacles thickening all round him, when his efforts become unavailing, hope narrows its span, and the shades of the future gradually enlarge with the decline of day. Then for the first time the thought strikes one, that death is a remedy—that it comes to the aid of baffled destinies.

Louis of Orleans was now aged six-and-thirty; but for many years past he had had moments of serious reflection amidst all the turbulence of his passions, and his licentious amours.‖ He had made a will in his own handwriting, of a very Christian and pious tenour, full of charity and penitence. Therein he ordered, in the first place, that his creditors should be paid, and then bequeathed legacies to churches, colleges, and hospitals, and abundant alms to the poor. He commended his children to the protection of his enemy, the Duke of Burgundy himself; he felt his need of expiation, and de-

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* "Marne l'enceint.....
Et belle tour qui garde les détrois,
Où l'en se puet retraire à sauveté;
Pour tous ces poins li doulz prince courtois
Donna ce nom à ce lieu de Beauté."
Eustache Deschamps, ed. de M. Crapelet, p. 14.

† St. Maur was then a large fortified abbey.

‡ Gregorius Turonensis, vi. 2. It was out of the Marne that a fisherman drew the corpse of Chilperic's young son, drowned by his stepmother. Ibid., viii. 10.

§ She died young, and as it was supposed by poison. This castle of Agnes in an island, reminds us of Fair Rosamond's labyrinth. See the pretty ballad in Anecdotes and Traditions illustrative of early English History, by W. Thoms, 1839, p. 104.

‖ Ad multa vitia præceps fuit, quæ tamen horruit cum ad virilem ætatem pervenisset. Relig., 554 v.

sired that he should be carried to the grave on a hurdle covered with ashes.*

At the period at which we have arrived he had a presentiment, but too true, of his approaching end. He went frequently to the Celestines; he liked that convent; in his childhood his good *gouvernante* used to take him thither to hear divine service.† Later in life he often visited there the wise Philippe de Maizières, an old counsellor of Charles V., who had retired within the walls.‡ He sometimes even resided in the convent, living with the monks, and in their way, and taking part in the sacred offices both day and night. On one of these occasions, as he was proceeding by night to attend matins, and was passing through the dormitory, he saw, or thought he saw, Death.§ This vision was corroborated by another. He believed himself in presence of God, and on the point of hearing His sentence pronounced upon him. It was a solemn and significant fact, that he was thus warned of his end in the very place where his childhood had begun. The prior of the convent, to whom he communicated what had befallen him, was also of opinion that he ought indeed to think of his soul, and prepare for imminent death.

An apparition that occurred to him soon after in the château de Beauté was no less sinister. He there received a strange visit—one from Jean Sans-Peur. It must have come upon him very unexpectedly, since a new cause of quarrel had lately been added to the old grudge between them. The people of Liége having expelled

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* His will was found, written entirely with his own hand four years before his death. It displayed his taste for, and intimate acquaintance with, the Holy Scriptures and sacred things. During his life he had been the most magnificent of princes in his gifts to the churches: his last wishes were still more liberal. After the order to pay his debts, which was enjoined in the most express manner, began a marvellous detail of all the endowments he ordained, and of the prayers and funeral services which he prescribed for his memory, with minute directions as to all the ceremonies to be observed. He appropriated funds to the building of a chapel in each church of Sainte Croix d'Orleans, Notre Dame de Chartres, St. Eustache, and St. Paul de Paris. Furthermore, as he had a particular reverence for the religious order of the Celestines, he founded a chapel in each of their churches in France, to the number of thirteen, not to mention the wealth he bequeathed to their house in Paris. It was his wish to be buried there in the garb of the order, to be carried humbly to the grave on a hurdle strewed with ashes, and that his marble statue should also represent him in that garb. The poor and the hospitals were not forgotten in his bounty; and his love for letters was shown in the endowment of six bursarships in the college of the Ave Maria. Lastly, his kindly, trustful, and unrancorous nature was manifested in his commending his children to the care of his uncle, Duke Philip, at the very time when their quarrel was at the highest. Hist. des Célestins, par Le P. Beurrier. M. de Barante, iii. 95, 3e edit. See the original document inserted at full length, by Godefroy, in the Appendix to Juvenal des Ursins, 631—646.

† Christine de Pisan, Mem. Acad., xvii. 520.

‡ Jean Petit alleges that they conspired together. See his speech against the Duke of Orleans in Monstrelet.

§ Such was the tradition of the convent. The monks had this vision painted in their chapel, beside the altar. The picture represented Death armed with his scythe, and pointing out this legend to the Duke of Orleans: Juvenes ac senes rapio. Millin, Antiquités Nationales, Description des Célestins, i. 82.

their bishop, a young man of eight-and-twenty, who wished to be a bishop without becoming a priest,* had elected another, with the support of the Duke of Orleans and the Pope of Avignon. Now the expelled bishop was no other than the brother-in-law of the Duke of Burgundy. Had the Duke of Orleans, master of Luxemburg, likewise extended his influence over Liége, his rival would have had permanent war at home, in Brabant, and Flanders, and have lost his hold on France. The apprehension of this danger must have exasperated his resentment to the highest pitch.†

He had long manifested violent purposes. When the two rivals confronted each other in 1405, under the walls of Paris, Louis of Orleans having taken a knotted stick for his emblem, Jean Sans-Peur took a jack-plane for his.‡ How was the stick to be *planed?* The worst might be feared.

The Duke of Berri, full of uneasiness, thought he had gained a great point with his nephew when he persuaded him to go and see the invalid. Whether it was to deceive his uncle, or from a feeling of rancorous curiosity, Jean constrained himself to compliance. The Duke of Orleans was better; the old uncle took his two nephews with him to hear mass, and made them partake of the same host; he then gave them a grand banquet to celebrate their reconciliation, and made them embrace. Louis d'Orleans did so with all his heart, as there is every reason to believe; he had confessed the day before, and had manifested feelings of contrition and purposed amendment.§ He invited his cousin to dinner with him on the following Sunday, little thinking that that day would never come for him.

There is still to be seen at this day, at the corner of the Vielle Rue du Temple and the Rue des Francs Bourgeois, a turret of the fifteenth century, of light and elegant construction, contrasting strongly with the ugly house awkwardly attached to it on either side. This turret closed on that side the extensive site of the Hôtel Barbette, occupied in 1407 by Queen Isabella, and in 1550 by Diana of Poitiers.

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* Urgebantur ut aut sacris initiaretur, aut certe episcopatum abdicaret. Zanfliet is the more to be trusted in this instance, because his partiality for the bishop is everywhere manifest. Corn. Zanfliet, Leodiensis monachi chronicon, ap. Martene, Amplissima Collectio, v. 360. See also Catalogus episcoporum Leodiensium auctore Placentio, ann. 1403—1408, and Chapeauville's Collection.

† In anticipation of an approaching war he had secured the alliance of the Duke of Lorraine (D. Plancher, Hist. de Bourgogne, iii. 254, April 6, 1407), and had taken Marshal de Boucicault into his service. Boucicault promised to serve against all persons except the king and his children, "in memory of the fact that the Duke of Burgundy had saved his life when he was taken captive by the Turks." Bibl. Roy., fonds Baluze, MS. 9484, 2; July 18, 1407.

‡ It was said after the death of the Duke of Orleans: Baculum nodosum factum esse planum. Meyer, 226 v. Mottoes: Mgr. d'Orleans, *Je suis mareschal de grant renommée, Il en appert bien, jay forge levée.* Mgr. de Bourgogne, *Je suis charbonnier d' estrange contrée, Jay assez charbon pour faire fumée.* Bibl. Roy. MSS., Colbert 2403, Regius 9681—5.

§ In bono statu erat, quia modicum antea devote confessus fuerat. Relig., 593.

The Hôtel Barbette, situated without the walls of Philip Augustus, between the two jurisdictions of the town and the Temple, and equally free from both, had long been relieved by its position from the annoyances to which dwellings in the town were subject, such as curfew, closing of the gates, &c. Being afterwards brought within Charles Vth's walls, it nevertheless remained, in that unfrequented quarter, exempt from the prying observation of the honest, scandal-loving burghers of Paris.*

This hôtel, built by the financier Etienne Barbette,† master of the mint, under Philip the Fair, was pillaged in the great sedition, in which the enraged people chased the king into the Temple (1306). Eighty years afterwards it belonged to another *parvenu*, the Grand Master Montaigu, one of the Marmousets who governed the kingdom. They lodged Charles VI. there on the eve of his departure for Bretagne, when, in spite of his uncles, they succeeded in bringing him out of Paris, and making him seek vengeance on those who had attempted Clisson's life. Montaigu, who, like Clisson, was a friend to the Duke of Orleans, paid his court to the queen, by surrendering to her that convenient dwelling.‡ She was not fond of the Hôtel St. Paul where her husband lived; his presence was irksome to her when he was mad, and still more so when he was in his senses.

She had sedulously embellished that favourite abode, enlarged it, and extended it to the Rue de la Perle. The gardens were the more completely shut in and sequestered, inasmuch as they were flanked all along the Vielle Rue du Temple by a line of houses that looked only into the street, and had no prospect behind, except at most, the wall of the mysterious hôtel.

The queen was put to bed there on the 10th of November. The two princes took the communion together on the 20th; on the 22nd they dined with the Duke de Berri, embraced, and mutually swore fraternal friendship. Yet ever since the 17th, the Duke of Burgundy had had every thing in readiness to kill his sworn brother; he had laid an ambush for him near the Hôtel Barbette, and the assassins were on the watch.

As far back as the Feast of St. John, that is to say for months previously, Jean Sans-Peur was looking out for a house for this murderous purpose. A clerk of the university, who was in his service, commissioned a house-agent to procure him one,§ in which he intended, he said, to store wine, corn, and other commodities, which the students and the clerks received from their native places, and

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* Houses thus situated were not in good repute, as we see from the complaints which the canons of St. Mery made against the places of ill-fame lying along the verge of the old walls of Philip Augustus. They obtained an ordonnance from Henry VI., King of France and England, to purge the quarter of these haunts of vice.

† Sauval, i. 68.

‡ Mémoires de Bonamy, dans les Mém. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, xxi. 519.

§ Ibid., 222.

which they had the privilege of selling free of duty. The agent procured and conveyed to him on the 17th of November, the house known by the sign of Our Lady, Vielle Rue du Temple, opposite the Hôtel de Rieux et de la Bretonnerie. The Duke of Burgundy sent into the house by night some men of his, among others, a mortal enemy to the Duke of Orleans, one Raoul d'Auquetonville, a Norman, and ex-general of finance, whom the duke had dismissed for malversation.* Raoul engaged to kill him, and one of the king's valets-de-chambre promised for money to betray him into the hands of the assassins.

The day after the reconciliation dinner, Wednesday, November 23, 1407, Louis d'Orleans visited the queen as usual, supped with her, and exerted all his gaiety to beguile the poor mother's sorrow.† The king, valet-de-chambre arrived in haste with a message from the king, who, he said, wanted to speak with his brother.‡ The duke, who had six hundred knights or esquires in Paris, had nevertheless brought but a small escort with him, wishing, doubtless, to be as quiet as possible in making those visits which were too much talked of. He even left some of his followers in the Hôtel Barbette, intending perhaps to return thither when he should have quitted the king. It was but eight o'clock, an early hour for the courtiers, but late for that retired quarter, especially in November. He had with him but two esquires mounted on one horse, a page, and some valets to light the way. He proceeded along the Vielle Rue du Temple, behind his escort, dressed in a plain cloak of black damask, humming a song and playing with his glove like a man who wished to be gay. We know these details through the testimony of two eye-witnesses, a valet of the Hôtel de Rieux, and a poor woman who lodged in a chamber belonging to the same hôtel. Jaquette, wife of Jacques Griffart, shoemaker, deposed that being at her window, which was high above the street, looking out for her husband's return, and taking in a napkin that was hung out to dry, she saw a gentleman pass by on horseback, and a moment afterwards, as she was putting her child to bed,§ she heard shouts of "*A mort! a mort!*" (Kill, kill.) She ran to the window with her infant in her arms, and saw the same gentleman on his knees in the street, without a hat, and seven or eight men in masks standing round him and striking him with axes and swords; he put his arm before him, saying some words like, "What is this? Whence comes this?" He fell, but still they continued cutting and thrusting just as before. The woman seeing all this, shouted murder as loud as she could. A man who saw her at the window, said to her, "Hold your tongue, bad woman." Then she saw by the light of the torches a tall man, with a red hat slouched over his eyes, come out of the

* Mémoires de Bonamy, dans les Mém. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, 222.
† Dolorem.....studuit mitigare....cæna jocunda peracta. Relig., 551 v.
‡ Monstrelet. § Mém. Acad., xxi. 526.

house with the sign of Our Lady. This man said to the others, "Put out all the lights and let us begone, he is quite dead." Some one gave him another blow with a club, but he never stirred. Near him lay a young man, who, dying as he was, raised himself and cried out, "*Ah! monseigneur, mon maître!*"* It was the page who had not quitted him, and who had thrown himself between him and the assailants. This page was a German, and had perhaps been given to Louis d'Orleans by Isabella of Bavaria.

Since the unsuccessful attempt on Clisson's life, it was known that one should not believe too easily that a man was killed; so according to another deposition, the tall man in the red hat approached with a lighted wisp of straw and looked down on the ground to see if the job had been fairly done.† There was no doubt about the

* Mém. Acad., xxi. 526. "The other eye-witness, the servant of a nephew of the Marshal de Rieux, deposes thus: Yesterday evening, about eight.... being at the door of one of the rooms.... which looks on the Vielle Rue du Temple.....he heard a great clashing of swords and other arms in the street.....and they said these words: "*A mort, à mort!*" He then went up into his master's chamber, which was above the said room, to see what it was.....and there he found at the window, his master, the page, and his master's barber, looking into the street, and the deponent also looked through one of the windows, and saw by the light of a torch blazing on the pavement, that right before the house with the sign of Our Lady, there were several companions on foot, as it were twelve or fourteen, none of whom he knew, armed some with naked swords, some with axes, some with *becs de faucon*, and wooden clubs with iron spikes at the end, and with these they thrust and cut at some persons who were in the company, crying out "*A mort, à mort.*" And deponent saith truly, that then, wishing to know who were the said companions, he went and opened the wicket of the gate issuing on the said Vielle Rue de Temple.....And when he had opened the wicket some one thrust a *bec de faucon* between it and the gate, wherefore, deponent fearing lest he should be hurt by the *bec de faucon*, closed the wicket and went back to his master's chamber, through one of the windows of which he saw other companions on horseback in the street, and there was seen issuing from the aforesaid house five or six companions, all mounted, and the moment they were come out, a man on foot, near them, struck with a wooden club a man who was stretched on the pavement, dressed in a *houpelande* of black damask, trimmed with marten fur; and when he had struck the blow he mounted on horseback, and joined the others. And immediately after the blow with the club was struck, deponent saw all the companions who were on horseback depart and fly as fast as they could, without light, straight to the entrance of the Rue des Blancs Manteaux, into which they plunged, and went he knows not whither. The moment they were gone, deponent being still at the window, saw a great smoke issue from the upper windows of the house with the sign of Our Lady, and heard many of the neighbours shouting "Fire, fire." And then deponent, his master, and the persons before-named, all went into the street, and deponent saw by the light of one or two torches, the late Monseigneur d'Orléans stretched dead on the pavement, his belly upwards, and he had no hand on his left arm....and about two fathoms distant from the late Monseigneur d'Orleans lay another companion, named Jacob, who was of the court of the late M. le Duc d'Orléans, who complained very sorely as if he would die." Deposition du varlet Raoul Prieur, Mém. Acad., xxi. 529.

† Cadaver ignominiose traxit ad vicinum fætidissimum lutum, ubi cum face straminis ardente scelus adimpletum vidit; inde lætus, tanquam de re bene gesta, ad hospitium ducis Burgundiæ rediit. Relig., 553. See in the Preuves de Felibien the narrative in the Registres du Parlement, Conseil, xiii.

matter; the dead man was cut to pieces; his right arm was severed in two places, at the elbow and the wrist; his left hand was cut off and cast to a distance by the violence of the blow; his head was cleft from the eye to the ear, and from one ear to the other; the skull was open, and the brains scattered over the pavement.*

Next morning the mutilated remains were carried, amidst general consternation and terror,† to the neighbouring church of the Blancs Manteaux. It was not until later in the day, that the severed hand and the brains were picked up out of the mire. The princes went and sprinkled the corpse with holy water, and on Friday it was buried in the Church of the Celestines, in the chapel which Louis of Orleans himself had built.‡ The corners of the pall were borne by his uncle, the old Duke of Berri, and his cousins, the King of Sicily, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Duke of Bourbon; then came the lords, the knights, and a countless multitude of people. Every body wept, enemies as well as friends.§ At such times there are no more

* Lesquelles plaies estoient telles et si énormes que le test estoit fendu, et que toute la cervelle en sailloit....Item que son bras destre estoit rompu tant que le maistre os sailloit dehors au droit du coude. Information du Sire du Tignonville, prevôt de Paris, Mém. Acad., xxi. 533.

† This terror is but too apparent in the few words inserted next day in the registers of the Parliament. Preuves de Felibien, ii. 549. The parliament menseem to have understood, with the sagacity of fear, that such a deed could only have been committed by a very powerful man. They say nothing favourable to the deceased: "This prince, who was so great a lord, and to whom, failing a governor of this realm, the government naturally belonged, in so brief a moment ended his days very horribly and *shamefully* (honteusement), and as for who did the deed, 'Scietur autem postea,'" Subsequently it is discovered that the Duke of Burgundy was the murderer, and the Parliament inserts in its registers the following lines, in which blame is pretty equally divided between the two parties. "xxiii. Novembris, MCCCCVII., inhumaniter fuit trucidatus et interfectus, D. Ludovicus Franciæ, dux Aurelianensis et frater regis, multum *astutus* et magni intellectus, sed nimis in carnalibus lubricus, de nocte hora ix. per ducem Burgundiæ, aut suo præcepto, ut confessus est, in vico prope portam de Barbette. Unde infinita mala processerunt, quæ diu nimis durabunt. Registres du Parl., Liber consiliorum; an extract printed in the Mélanges Curieux de Labbe, ii. 702-3.

‡ The Celestines were founded by Pierre de Morone (Celestine V.), that simple-minded man, who was deprived of his popedom by Boniface VIII. Out of hatred to Boniface, Philip the Fair honoured the Celestines, brought them into France, and settled them in the forest of Compiègne (1308). The order became very popular in France; all the important men of the times of Charles V. and Charles VI. were intimately connected with it. Montaigu was a great benefactor of the Celestines of Marcoussis. Archives, L., 1539-40.

§ Monstrelet, a servant of the house of Burgundy, who wrote in Cambrai (en la noble cité de Cambrai, i. 48), and certainly, many years after the event, assures us that the people rejoiced at the duke's death. The Religieux de St. Denis, usually so well informed, living so near the events, and who seems to have committed them to writing from time to time, as they occurred, says nothing of the sort. He assures us that the murderer himself appeared afflicted (folio 553), though he does not, indeed, believe in the sincerity of his grief. For my part, I do believe in it; this contradiction appears to me in accordance with nature. The apologist of the Duke of Orleans says that the Duke of Burgundy wept and sobbed: Singultibus et lacrymis. Ibid., 593.

enemies, every one then becomes partial to the deceased. What! so young, but lately so full of life, and now gone! Beauty, chivalric grace, light of knowledge, glowing and persuasive eloquence; yesterday all this, to-day nothing.*

Nothing? More perhaps. He that seemed yesterday a mere individual, is now seen to have had in him more than one existence, to have been in fact a multiple, infinitely varied being!† Wondrous virtue of death! The only revealer of life! The living man is seen by each beholder only in one aspect, according as he is serviceable or irksome. But let him die, and then he is seen under a thousand new aspects, and all the various links by which he was connected with the world are distinguished. Thus, when you tear the ivy from its supporting oak, you discover underneath innumerable vivacious fibres, which you will never be able to force from the bark to which they have grown; they will remain broken, but remain they will.

Every man is a humanity, a universal history. And yet that being, in whom subsisted an infinite generality, was at the same time a special individual, a person, a unique, irreparable being, whose place nothing can supply. Nothing similar existed before, or will be afterwards; God will not repeat his work. There will come others certainly; the world in its unwearied course will bring to life other persons, better perhaps, but like, never, never.

He whom we are considering had no doubt his vices; but it is partly for that reason that we deplore him; he belonged but so much the more to poor human kind; he resembled us so much the more; he was himself, and he was one of us. In him we deplore ourselves and the deep evil of our nature.

Death is said to beautify those it smites and to exaggerate their virtues; but in general it is much rather life that did them injustice. Death, that pious and irreproachable witness, teaches us in truth and charity, that in every man there is commonly more good than evil. The prodigalities of the Duke of Orleans were notorious, his alms now came to men's knowledge. People had talked of his gallantries; they were not sufficiently aware that his happily gifted nature had always preserved, even amidst his frivolous amours, the love that lifts up toward Heaven. The cell to which he was fond of retiring was found in the monastery of the Celestines.‡ When his

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* "Et lui qui estoit le plus grant de ce royaume après le roy et ses enfans, est en si petit de temps si chétif. *Et qui cecedit, stabili non erat ille gradu. Agnosco nullam homini fiduciam, nisi in Deo; et si parum videatur illucescat clarius.....Parcat sibi Deus.*" Archives, Registres du Parlement, Plaidoiries, Matinées, vi. 7.

† Henry III. cried out, as he looked on the corpse of the Duc de Guise, "My God, how tall he is! He seems still taller dead than alive." (Relation de Miron, Coll. Mem. Petitot, xlv.) He said better than he thought; this was true in a very different sense.

‡ According to the apologist of the Duke of Orleans (Rel. de St. Denis, 594), he read his breviary every day: Horas canonicas dicebat. He had his cell,

will was opened, it was seen that in the hottest of his quarrels his placable soul was always trustful and affectionate towards his greatest enemies.

All this pleads for mercy. Who would refuse to pardon, when this man, stripped of all the good things of life, and made once more poor and naked, is brought into the Church and awaits its judgment? All pray for him, all excuse him, explaining his faults by their own, and condemning themselves .... Pardon him, Lord, and smite us rather.

No one had more just cause of complaint against the Duke of Orleans than his wife, Valentine; she had always loved him, and he was always in love with others. She excused him, nevertheless, as long as it was in her power. She adopted her husband's bastard, reared him with her own children, loved him as much, or more, than them; and often, seeing how much talent and high spirit he possessed, she would clasp him in her arms, exclaiming, "Ah, thou wast stolen from me! It is thou that art made to be thy father's avenger!"*

Justice never came for the widow; she had not that consolation, nor had she that of erecting to the dead man the humble tomb, raised "three fingers above the ground," which he asked for in his will.† She could not even place under his head "the rough rock" he desired for a pillow. Louis of Orleans, proscribed in death, waited a hundred years for a tomb.

In the early ages of Christianity, in the time when faith was lively,

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says Sauval, in the dormitory of the Celestines, and it is still there entire. He fasted, watched with the monks, and attended matins like them during Advent and Lent. He gave them the great illuminated Bible in vellum, which had belonged to his father, Charles V., and which is to be seen in their library, signed Charles V. and Louis, Duke of Orleans. He gave them also another great Bible in five volumes folio, written on vellum, which has always been used and is still used for reading in the refectory. Sauval, i. 460.

* Qu'il lui avoit été emblé, et qu'il n'y avoit a peine des enfans qui fust si bien taillé de venger la mort de son père qu'il estoit. Juvenal des Ursins, 197.

† "Considering the words of the prophet: 'Ego sum vermis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis;' I will and ordain that the semblance of my face and hands be made on my tomb in the likeness of death, and let my said semblance be clad in the garb of the said Celestine monks, having under the head, in lieu of a pillow, a rough stone fashioned like a rock, and at the feet, instead of lions.....another rough rock.....And I will that my said tomb be but three fingers high above the ground, and that it be made of black marble and white alabaster.....and that I hold in my hands a book, whereon shall be written the psalm: 'Quicumque vult salvus esse'.... Round my tomb let there be written the Pater, the Ave, and the Credo." Testament of Louis d'Orléans, printed by Godefroy, in the Appendix to Juvenal des Ursins, 633.

"CY GIST LOYS DUC DORLEANS.
LEQUEL SUR TOUS DUCZ TERRIENS
FUT LE PLUS NOBLE EN SON VIVANT
MAIS UNG QUI VOULT ALLER DEVANT
PAR ENVYE LE FEIST MOURIR."

Epistaphe de feu Loys, Duc d'Orléans. Bibl. Roy. MSS., Colbert, 2403, Regius 9681, 5.

sorrows were patient; death seemed a brief divorce; it parted but to join again. An indication of this faith in the soul, individually and collectively, is, that down to the twelfth century, the body, the mortal remains, seem to have claimed less importance; as yet they called for no sumptuous tomb; hidden in a corner of the church, they were covered with a plain flag,* quite enough to mark their site at the resurrection: "*Hinc surrectura.*"†

In the times of which we are writing the history, there had already occurred a change, not much acknowledged, but so much the more profound. There was the same outward devotion, but faith was less lively; in the depth of men's hearts, unknown to them, hope was growing faint. Sorrow was no longer to be easily beguiled by promises of the future; it replied to pious consolations in the words of Valentine, "Rien ne m'est plus, plus ne m'est rien:"‡ "There is nothing left me, nothing."

If any thing did remain to it, it was to deck the sad remains of what it had loved, to glorify them, to convert the tomb into a chapel, a church, of which the departed should be the god.

Vain amusements of sorrow, that cannot long arrest it! However deep be the sepulchre, it nevertheless feels through it the potent attractions of death, and obeys them. The widow of the Duke of Orleans lived as long as her mourning robe lasted.

In truth, the words of union, *You are one flesh*, are no vain sound; they endure for the survivor. Let them, then, have their last effect and consummation. Until then he goes daily to that grave, and throws himself blindly against it, interrogating and calling it to account. It cannot answer; though he shatter it, it can tell him no more. In vain, persisting in doubt, and angrily denying death, he tears away the hateful stone; in vain, when nature can endure no more, he dares to lift the shroud, and exhibiting to the light a spectacle it would fain not behold, strives with the worms for possession of some shapeless and fearful thing, which, nevertheless, was once Ines de Castro.§

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* I have pointed this out elsewhere.

† This inscription, the finest, perhaps, that was ever seen on a Christian tomb, was placed by my friend M. Fourey (librarian of the Ecole Polytechnique) on that of his mother.

‡ Valentine's motto was to be seen in her chapel in the house of the Cordeliers of Blois. Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 711.

§ Lopez speaks only of the removal of the body: "Como foi trellada Dona Enez," etc. Collecçao de livros ineditos, 1816, iv. 113. M. Ferdinand Denis, in his interesting Chronicles of Spain and Portugal, i. 157, quotes the principal text (that of Faria y Souza) which supports the tradition: "The king repaired to the church of Santa Clara, where he had the body of the woman he loved exhumed. He ordered that his Inez should be adorned with the royal ornaments, and that she should be placed on a throne, whither his subjects should come and kiss the bones that had been so beautiful a hand." M. Corvalho, a learned Portuguese, declared that he saw, some years ago, the body of Inez in good preservation: "Only the skin had assumed the hue of vellum rendered brown by age." Ibid., i. 163. In 1835, M. Taylor found nothing left but bones

CHAPTER II.

Struggle between the two Parties—The Cabochians—Reforms essayed in Church and State. 1408—1414.

THE stranger who visits the silent Verona, and the graves of the La Scala family, discovers in a corner a clumsy tomb, without a name.* To all appearance it is that of the *assassinated*.† Beside it rises a sumptuous monument with three tiers of statues, and above this monument, over the heads of saints and prophets, you behold the figure of a cavalier in marble. This is the statue of the assassin. Can Signore de la Scala killed his brother in the street in broad day, and succeeded him. The deed, it appears, caused neither astonishment nor tumult.‡ The murderer reigned quietly for sixteen years, and then, feeling his end approach, put his affairs in order, had another of his brothers, whom he kept prisoner, strangled, and left the lordship of Verona to his bastard, as every good father of a family leaves his property to his son.

Things did not take this course in France upon the death of the Duke of Orleans. France did not so easily make up her mind to the event. If he had no stone tomb,§ he had one in men's hearts. The whole country felt the blow, and deeply, convulsively did it tell upon the state, upon domestic life, and upon each individual in his inmost soul. A dispute, and a war of thirty years began, and cost the life of millions of men. This is sad, but we must nevertheless congratulate France and human nature on the result.

"Yet, after all, it was but the death of one man," is the cool re-

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scattered over the flags of the convent of Alcobaça, and he piously committed them to earth. Voyage pittor. en Espagne et en Portugal, livre xiii.—I find likewise in the Chronicles translated by M. F. Denis (i. 78) a curious fact, which is no less characteristic than the history of Inez, of the poetic materialism of those times: it is the story of the good vassal who would not surrender his castle to the new king, before making himself certain of the death of his master, Sancho II. He goes to Toledo, where Sancho died in exile, lifts the stone, recognises the dead man, and fulfils his feudal oath by replacing in his right hand the keys of the castle, with which his master had formerly intrusted him.

* In terra, e meze sepolte, son prima tre arche di marmo nostrale, quali non si sa per qual di questa casa servissero, poichè non hanno iscrizione alcuna, ben hanno l'arme sopra i coperchi, e *nel mezo di uno si vede la scala con aquila sopra.*

E' n su la scala porta il santo uccello.

Dante, Parad., xvii. 72. Maffei, Verona Illustrata, parte terza, 78.

† If my memory does not deceive me, there are near that place, in Verona, several others, the names of which are commemorative of this event: Via dell' ammazato, Via delle quatro spade, Volto barbaro, &c. My conjecture seems to be supported by the following passage: Sepultus.... *exigua cum pompa* tantum, cum cives vererentur ne offenderent fratrem. Torelly Saraynæ Veronensis, Hist. Veronæ, lib. ii. Thesaur., Antiquit. Ital. Grævii et Burmanni, t. ix., parte septima, col. 71.

‡ Cæde hac a civibus et populo percepta, quilibet quietus remansit.....Approbata fuit ejus mens....Exclamârunt omnes: Vivat Dominus noster. Ibid.

§ He had none until one was erected to his memory by Louis XII.

mark made by the chronicler of the house of Burgundy.* But the death of one man is an immense event, when it is effected by a crime; it is a terrible fact, to which society can never resign itself.

That death was to engender war, and a war of opinion. All questions, political, moral, and religious, were brought under discussion on this occasion.† The great controversies that agitate modern times were set in motion in France by the sense of justice, the emotions of nature, and the promptings of gentle and holy pity.

What was the first field of this great strife? The same from which the crime had sprung, the heart of the murderer. On the next morning, when all the relations of the deceased went to the Blancs Manteaux to see the body and sprinkle it with holy water, the Duke of Burgundy himself characterised the deed with truth: "Never was a more wicked and treacherous murder committed in this realm." In the funeral procession on Friday, he held one of the corners of the pall, and wept like the rest."‡

More than the rest, no doubt, and not less sincerely. There was no hypocrisy in his tears. Such is human nature. Doubtless, the murderer would then have given his own life to recall the dead man to existence. But this was beyond his power. He was doomed for ever to bear that burden, for ever to support that pall.

When it was clearly established that the assassins had fled towards the Rue Maucouseil, where the Duke of Burgundy's mansion was situated, and when the Provost of Paris declared himself confident that he could discover the criminals, if he were allowed to search the houses of the princes; the Duke of Burgundy was alarmed, and taking the Duke of Berri and the King of Sicily aside, he said to them, with a face ghastly pale: "It was I; the devil tempted me."§ They started back; the Duke of Berri burst into tears, and uttered but one sentence: "I have lost both my nephews."

The Duke of Burgundy went away despairing and overwhelmed with disgrace. A reaction then took place in his mind, and pride smothered his remorse. He recollected that he was powerful, and that there was no one competent to be his judge. He hardened himself; and since, after all, the deed was done, and the mischief irreparable, he resolved to make a merit of his crime, and, if possible, to convert it into a heroic act. He dared to go to the council, but found the door shut, and the Duke of Berri stopped him there, saying mildly, that his presence would not be regarded with pleasure; to which

* Pour la mort d'un seul homme. Monstrelet, i. 210.

† These great questions seem to have been already debated in France, on the occasion of the tragic end of Richard II. See Lettre de Charles VI. aux Anglais, Oct. 2, 1402. Bibl. Roy. MSS., Fontanieu, 105, 6; Brienne, xxxiv. 227.

‡ See note 3, page 352.

§ Se fecisse instigante Diabolo. Relig., 554. Further on the apologist of the Duke of Orleans relates this speech as avowed by the Duke of Burgundy himself: Tunc dixit quod Diabolus ad id ipsum tentaverat, et nunc sine verecundia sibimet contradicendo dicit quod optime fecit. Id., 593.

the culprit replied, with the brazen front he had resolved to wear: "I shall stay away, with all my heart, sir; let no one be accused of the death of the Duke of Orleans; what has been done, was done by my orders."

But with all this fine show of boldness, the Duke of Burgundy was ill at ease. He returned to his hotel, mounted his horse, galloped away, and never stopped till he arrived in Flanders. As soon as his flight was known, he was pursued by 120 knights of the house of Orleans. But they could not overtake him; at one o'clock he had already reached Bapaume. In memory of the peril he had thus escaped, he ordered that the bells of the town should thenceforth be rung every day at that hour. The peal was long called the Duke of Burgundy's angelus.

He had escaped from his enemies, not from himself. Immediately on his arrival in Lille he convoked his barons and his priests, and they proved to him, beyond dispute, that he had only done his duty, and had saved the king and the realm. He took courage again, assembled the estates of Flanders, Artois, Lille, and Douai, and made them reiterate the same assurances.* He had them repeated in conversation, from the pulpits, and in writing; and these writings were profusely distributed, so much did he feel the need of making his subjects participators in his guilt, of hearing from their lips the approving sentence he could no longer receive from his own conscience, and of drowning the voice of his heart under that of the people.

Among other rumours he caused to be sent abroad, it was everywhere said that the Duke of Orleans had long been laying snares for him, and that he had but forestalled him.† He made the brave

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* "He had it publicly set forth to them, how he had caused Louis, Duke of Orleans, to be slain in Paris; and he then made the cause why he had done so to be divulged in goodly articles, and commanded that a copy thereof in writing should be delivered to all who should wish to have it; for which fact he begged they would be pleased to aid him in all necessities that might befal him. Thereto it was replied by the Flemings, that they would most willingly aid him...." The Flemings were the more favourable to him at that moment, because he had just procured for them a truce with England. Monstrelet, i. 207, 231.

† The Duke of Burgundy might have maintained this assertion were reliance to be placed on Le Laboureur's bad translation of Le Religieux. He makes him say absurdly (p. 624): "Ces flamèches de division causèrent un embrasement de haine et d'inimitié qu'on ne put esteindre, et qui fit decouvrir beaucoup d'apparence de *conspirations* sur la vie l'un de l'autre." There is not a word about *conspirations* in the text; it says: "In necem mutuam diu visi fuerunt *publice* aspirare." Folio 552. This atrocious recrimination on the murderer's part is nowhere, I believe, explicitly promulgated except in a Belgian chronicle, which I have already quoted. It assumes, in utter defiance of all probability, that the Duke of Orleans applied to his mortal enemy, Raoul d'Auquetonville, and urged him to kill the Duke of Burgundy: "Avint ce nonobstant, par commune voix et renommée, si comme on disoit, que ledit Dorliens avoit marchandé ou voloit marchander à Raoulet d'Actonville de tuer le duc de Bourgogne, lequel fait fu découvert par ledit Raoulet au duc de Bourgogne." Chronique MS., 801 D., Bibl. de Bourgogne, à Bruxelles, folio 222.

Flemings believe this gross falsehood; doubtless, he would gladly himself have been able to believe it.

Meanwhile the emotion excited by the tragical event did not at all subside in Paris. Those even who regarded the Duke of Orleans as the author of so many taxes, and who, perhaps, had secretly rejoiced at his death, could not behold unmoved his widow and his children, who came to demand justice. The poor widow, Madame Valentine, brought with her her second son, her daughter, and Madame Isabella of France, now betrothed to the young Duke of Orleans, having herself been, at the age of fifteen, the widow of another murdered man, Richard II. of England. The King of Sicily, the dukes of Berri and Bourbon, the Count of Clermont, and the constable, went to meet her. Her litter was covered with black cloth, and drawn by four white horses. The duchess, her children, and her retinue, were all in deep mourning. The sad procession entered Paris on the 10th of December, in the severest and most dismal winter that had been known for many centuries.*

Having alighted at the Hôtel St. Paul, she threw herself, in tears, on her knees before the king, who likewise wept. Two days afterwards, she reappeared before the king and the council, preferring a formal complaint and demanding justice. The speeches of the advocates who spoke for her, those of the preachers who pronounced funeral orations upon the Duke of Orleans, and the letter published some years afterwards by his son, are full of poignantly affecting things.

"Vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra."

"Thou mayst address the adverse party, O king, in the words spoken by the Lord to Cain, after he had killed his brother. . . . . Yes, truly, the earth cries, and blood calls for blood; for he could not be a natural man, or of pure blood, who should not have compassion on so cruel a death.

"And thou, O King Charles of good memory, wert thou living now, what wouldst thou say? What tears could appease thee? Who could hinder thee from doing justice for such a death? Alas! how hast thou loved and honoured, and with what care hast thou reared the tree, on which grew the fruit that gave thy son his

* The cold was so great in the beginning of the year 1408, that the parliament did not sit. "It could not do business; the registrar even, though he had fire in a small stove to keep his ink from freezing in the inkhorn, found the ink freeze in his pen every two or three words, so that he could not write." . . . . This statement is three or four times longer than that of the death of the Duke of Orleans. The ice prevented the mills from working, and there was a dearth. When the frost ceased the bridges were carried away. The registrar concludes with these words: "And this circumstance, with the killing of Monseigneur Loiz Duc d'Orleans, the king's brother (de quo supra mense Novembri), caused great wonder in this realm." It seems there was a recess of a month. "Feb. 1st.: Curia vacat, because none durst cross the river to go to the palace, by reason of its great force and impetuosity. For it is continually on the increase." Archives, Registres du Parlement, Conseil, xiii. 11; and Plaidoiries, Matinée, vi. 40.

death! Alas! King Charles, well mightst thou say with Jacob: '*Fera pessima devoravit filium meum*'—a most evil beast hath devoured my son.

"Alas! there is no man so poor, of such low estate in this world, whose father or brother should have been thus killed thus treacherously, but his relations and his friends would engage to pursue the homicide to the death. How, then, when the malefactor perseveres and hardens himself in his criminal intention? . . . . Weep, princes and nobles, for the way is opened to work your death treacherously and unawares; weep, men and women, elders and young people, the sweetness of peace and quiet is snatched from you, since the way is shown you to slay and wield the sword against princes, and thus you are in war, in wretchedness, and on the path to destruction."

The prophecy was but too well accomplished. He against whom this indictment had been received, he who was judged worthy of every penalty, of *amende honorable*, and imprisonment, spared his enemies the trouble of pursuing him, by coming back of his own accord, but as a master; there was no force to bring against him, except law arguments. He came back in defiance of the most express prohibitions, surrounded by men-at-arms, and had two lances fixed over the door of his dwelling, the one sharp, the other blunted,* to signify that he was ready for peace or war, that he would fight with the arms of courtesy, or to the death, just as his enemies chose. The princes had gone to Amiens to stop him. He gave them entertainments, treated them to excellent music, and continued his march to St. Denis, where he performed his devotions. There again he received a fresh prohibition from the princes;† but he entered Paris notwithstanding. There were found persons to cheer him, and shout: "*Nöel au bon duc!*"‡ The people believed he was going to suppress the taxes. The princes received him; and, shocking to relate, the queen constrained herself so far as to show him a fair countenance.

Every thing seemed to promise well for him; and yet, on entering the town where the deed had been committed, he could not help

* Et si logea en l'hostel d'un bourgeois, nommé Jacques de Haugart, auquel hostel ledit duc fit pendre pas dessus l'huis par dehors deux lances, dont l'une si avoit fer de guerre et l'autre si avoit fer de rochet; pourquoi fut dit de plusieurs nobles estant à icelle assemblée que ledit duc les y avoit fait mettre en significance que qui voudroit avoir à lui paix ou guerre, si le prensit. Monstrelet, i. 234.

† On the approach of the troops that were about to occupy Paris, the parliament with its usual wariness would not meddle with the affairs of the town, or with the precautions to be adopted on the occasion: Et si a esté touchié de requérir provision pour la ville de Paris où plusieurs gens d'armes doivent arriver. . . . Sur quoy n'a pas esté conclu, *quia ad curiam non pertineret multis obstantibus;* au moins ny pourroit remédier. Archives, Registres du Parlement, Conseil, xiii., 10 Févr. 1407 (1408), f. 13 v.

‡ So at least the Burgundian chronicler reports: Mesmement les petits enfans en plusieurs carrefours à haute voix crioient Noël. Monstrelet, i. 238.

trembling. He went straight to his mansion, and made all his troops encamp round it. But his mansion did not seem to him secure; nor could he quiet his imagination until he had built even there a chamber entirely constructed of cut stone, and as strong as a castle.* Whilst his masons were at work for the defence of his body, his theologians were doing all they could to case his soul in mail. He had already certificates from his Flemish doctors; but he wished for one from the university; he wanted a good formal justification, in presence of the king, the princes, and the people, who should be consenting parties thereto, at least by their silence. The whole world was to sweat, that he might be washed clear of the stain that lay upon him.

The Duke of Burgundy could not fail to find defenders among the university folk. His father and he had always been closely united with that corporation by a common feeling of enmity to the Duke of Orleans and his pope, Benedict XIII. They had patronised the principal doctors. Philip the Bold had given a benefice to the celebrated Jean Gerson;† his successor pensioned the Cordelier Jean Petit, both great adversaries to the pope.

In order, however, to maintain this thesis, that the pope's partisan had been justly put to death, a blind and violent logician was necessary, one capable of intrepidly following ratiocination in the teeth of reason, and corporate and party spirit in opposition to humanity and nature.

Such logic was not that of the great doctors of the university, Gerson, d'Ailly, and Clemengis. They chose rather to be inconsistent with themselves; in their utmost passion they were never carried away blindly. D'Ailly and Clemengis wrote against the pope; and then, when they feared they had shaken the Church itself, they turned round and stood by the papacy. Gerson assailed the Duke of Orleans for his exactions; and then he bewailed the amiable prince, and pronounced his funeral oration.

Below these illustrious doctors, whose good sense and good feelings were always a counterpoise to their dialectics, were the true schoolmen, the subtilisers, men whose violence gave them a false show of strength, the great men of their day, who have not been those of after times. These were generally younger than Gerson, who was himself the pupil of Pierre d'Ailly and Clemengis. These violent spirits were then the third generation in this polemical array, and their violence was the greater forasmuch as they were the latest in the field, and could make themselves conspicuous only by outdoing the violence of the others. Thus the Constituent was outstripped by the younger Legislative Assembly, and this by the still younger Convention.

These men were not unprincipled mercenaries, as they have been

* Fist faire....a puissance d'ouvriers, une forte chambre de pierre, bien taillée, en manière d'une tour. Monstrelet, 240.

† A canonry in Bruges, which Gerson soon resigned. Du Pin, Gersoniana.

called, but generally young doctors, esteemed for the strictness of their morals, their subtle understanding, and their fluency of speech. Some of them were monks, like the Cordelier Jean Petit, and the Carmelite Pavilly, the orator of the butchers, the declaimer of the Reign of Terror of 1413. The others were the leading men of the councils, and figured as prelates; such were, in the Council of Constance, Courcelles and Pierre Cauchon, who deposed Pope John XXIII., and pronounced sentence on the Maid of Orleans.

Jean Petit, the apologist of the Duke of Burgundy, was a Norman, with all the acerbity characteristic of that province, a mendicant monk of the poor and filthy family of St. Francis. These Cordeliers, who were all the bolder for possessing nothing but their cord and their sandals, loved to be foremost in the fray. In the fourteenth century they had been for the most part visionaries; mystics, sick and mad with the love of God; they were then the enemies of the university. But in proportion as mysticism gave way to the great controversy excited by the schism in the papacy, they became partisans of the university, and something more. The Cordelier Jean Petit had not the means of prosecuting his studies, and was assisted by the Duke of Burgundy, who enabled him to obtain his degrees, and granted him a pension.* No sooner was he made doctor than he became distinguished for his violence. The university nominated him as one of those of her members whom she sent as deputies to the two popes. When the assembly of the clergy of France in 1406 was irresolute, and did not venture to decide between the university of Paris, which attacked Pope Benedict, and that of Toulouse, which defended him, Jean Petit preached, with the burlesque fury of a street-preacher, "against the farcical tricks and legerdemain of Pierre de la Lune, called Benedict." In compliance with his demand the parliament caused the letter of the university of Toulouse to be burned. Then it was that the party of Benedict and the Duke of Orleans was regarded as vanquished, that shrewd men quitted it,† and its enemies became emboldened, and that, the silencing of the preachers having sufficiently irritated the people, it was thought safe at last to venture on despatching him who had long been held up to public odium as the author of the taxes, and the accomplice of the schism.

The university had recently extorted from the king an order for the personal arrest of the pope who refused to yield. That pope and his partisans had been judged and declared schismatics. Twice it was attempted to carry the order for the arrest into effect at the

* This pension was not gratuitous; Jean Petit himself tells us that he had made oath to the Duke of Burgundy: "I am bound to serve him by oath made to him three years ago.... He considering that I was very scantily beneficed, gave me every year a good and large pension, to help me to attend the schools; out of which pension I have found means to defray a great part of my expenses, and shall still find the same if it so pleases him of his grace." Monstrelet, i. 245.

† For example Savoisy. See *supra*, p. 344.

sword's point. The death of a prince who supported the pope seemed to the university men a natural result of that condemnation of the pope; it, too, was a bodily arrest and execution.

I have not the courage to quote the long harangue in which Jean Petit undertook to justify the murder. I must remark, however, that, odious as his speech appeared to many persons, no one considered it ridiculous. It is divided and subdivided according to the scholastic method, the only one then followed. He took for his text these words of the apostle: "Covetousness is the root of all evil." From this he deduced, *secundum artem*, a major in four parts, the application of which was to be made by the minor. The latter likewise consisted of four parts, for the purpose of showing that the Duke of Orleans, having fallen into the four kinds of covetousness, concupiscence, &c., had incurred the guilt of lese majesty in four degrees. He established, by the testimony of philosophers, the fathers of the Church, and Holy Writ, the principle, that it was not only allowable, but likewise honourable and meritorious, to kill a tyrant.* This he enforced by twelve reasons in honour of the twelve apostles, supported by numerous biblical examples.

With this horrid rubbish Monstrelet has thought fit to fill no fewer than eighty-three of his pages. To copy them would make one vomit. I must give their substance. The whole may be reduced to three points:

I. The Duke of Burgundy killed *for God's sake.*† So Judith, &c. The Duke of Orleans was not only the enemy of God's people, like Holofernes; he was the enemy of God, the devil's friend, a sor-

* It is not to be supposed that we shall find in Jean Petit's harangue any serious investigation of this alleged right of killing.

Who has a right *to kill?* That society itself possesses it (that it should at least always exercise it) is extremely questionable. God said: "Thou shalt not kill." Cain killed his brother, yet God did not kill him, but set a mark on his forehead. Must not society at least *kill for its own safety?* This doctrine leads us a long way. Cleon affirms in Thucydides that Athens ought for her own safety to kill a whole people, that of Lesbos.—Admitting that society has a right to kill, can an individual ever take upon him to kill for her, to make himself judge of murder, judge and executioner, both at once.—To kill *a tyrant.* But who has ever seen a tyrant? Who ever, in the modern world, has encountered that horrible beast of the antique city? It is an extinct being, quite as much so as certain fossils. What sovereign of modern times (except perhaps an Eccelino, an Ali, or a Djezzar) has at all come up to the notion of the tyrant of antiquity? that monster who annulled all law in a town, under whom nothing remained safe, neither property, nor family rights, nor chastity, nor life.—That confusion of terms and ideas into which the narrow genius of stoicism first fell, in its ignorance and contempt of history, produced the bloody blunders of Cleomenes and Brutus.—The misunderstanding increased in the middle ages: Nogaret, the king's man, comes to the conclusion that Boniface, the king's enemy, is a tyrant; being bound by *knightly* duty to defend the *republic* and the king, it was incumbent on him to arrest that tyrant. The provost Marcel was not slow to apply the same doctrine, but to the friends of kings. What they had sowed they reaped.

† The legists say that every act of slaying man, just or unjust, is homicide. But the theologians say that there are two kinds of homicide, &c.

cerer.* The she devil, Venus, had given him a talisman to make him beloved, &c.

II. The Duke of Burgundy killed *for the king's sake.* Like a good vassal, he saved his sovereign from the enterprises of a felon vassal.

III. He killed *on behalf of the public weal*, and like a good citizen. The Duke of Orleans was a tyrant. The tyrant should be slain, &c.†

But read the original, to see in all its hideousness this monstrous conjunction of contradictory principles and systems. The cruel dialectician scrapes together promiscuously, from all quarters, whatever could by any means be forced into an argument for the right of slaying; biblical, classical, or feudal tradition, nothing came amiss to him, provided there was something in it about killing.

What is most disgusting in this apology for murder, is not merely the atrocity of the principle. Machiavelli's "Prince," which is often not less atrocious, is nevertheless a fine book, elegant, cold, and keen as a polished blade of steel. The bloody harangues of our Terrorists, more furious than eloquent, had at least the merit of not invoking contradictory principles; they appealed only to the abstract principle of equality, and referred to no other histories than those of Rome and Greece; historics, indeed, which they little understood.

Milton, but for the sombre dignity of his language, would be ridiculous from his incoherence; he jumbles up together the Bible and Rome. As for Gabriel Naudé's "Coups d'État," it is the work of a pedant, who discriminates nothing, understands nothing, and relies on the *coups d'états of Romulus and Numa,* as precedents to justify the massacre of St. Bartholomew.‡

Jean Petit's speech would scarcely deserve more attention, were it, too, the individual work of the pedant, the crude abortion of a book-

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* M. Buchon says that the detail of the magic practices of the Duke of Orleans always omitted in the earlier editions of Monstrelet, is found only in MS. 8347. The king's MS. 10,319, written in the beginning of the fifteenth century, is preceded by an illuminated miniature, which represents a wolf endeavouring to cut in two a crown surmounted by a fleur-de-lis, whilst a lion scares him and drives him away. Below it are these four lines:

> "Par force le leu rompt et tire
> A ses dents et gris la couronne,
> Et le lion par très grand ire
> De sa pate grant coup lui donne."
>
> (Buchon, ed. de Monstr., i. 302).

† "He who slew him by good subtilty and wary lying in wait (*par bonne subtilité et cautelle en l'épiant*) to save the life of his king. . . . is guiltless of crime" (*il ne fait pas nefas*). Ibid., 281. This puts us in mind of the Lettres Provinciales.

‡ Science des Princes, on Considerations Politiques sur les Coups d'état par Gabriel Naudé, Parisien, 1673, 12mo. Naudé was Cardinal Mazarin's librarian, and dedicated his book to Cardinal de Bagni, his first master. He had the art to give importance to this little work by alleging in the preface that but twelve copies of it were printed. He has but one objection to urge against that fine *coup d'état*, the St. Bartholomew massacre, namely, that *it was only done by halves*, p. 339. The work after all is curious as a link between Machiavelli and Marat.

worm's brains, But no; we must not forget that Jean Petit was a most important doctor, and one who enjoyed the highest authority. This monstrous ugliness of confusion and incoherence, this chaos of things misunderstood, belongs to the age, not to the man. I see in it the grimacing visage of the middle ages in their decrepitude, the mask, half human, half brute, of expiring scholasticism.

After all, history can hardly show an object more revolting. We might laugh at this medley of equivoques, mistakes, travestied histories, and arguments that prove nothing; but whilst we laugh, we shudder. The ridiculous syllogisms have murder for their major term, and the conclusion recurs to the same point. History fares as it can. Spurious learning violates and abuses it like a tyrant, truncating and cutting up facts as it would do by men. It kills the Emperor Julian with the lance of the crusades, and stabs Cæsar with the biblical knife; so that the whole looks like an indiscriminate massacre of men and doctrines, ideas and facts.

Though there had even been the least common sense in this treatise on murder, though the crimes of the Duke of Orleans had been proved and he had deserved death, yet this would have been no justification for the treachery of the Duke of Burgundy. What! for offences of such old date, after a solemn reconciliation, after having eaten together and partaken of the same consecrated host! And to kill him by night, by ambush, when he was unarmed, was this like a gallant knight? A knight should have attacked him with equal arms and have killed him in a listed field. A prince, a great sovereign should make war with an army, and vanquish his enemy in battle: battles are the duels of kings.

Jean Petit's harangue was, after all, not so much an apology for the Duke of Burgundy as an indictment preferred against the Duke of Orleans. It was an outrage after death, as if the murderer again assailed his prostrate foe, to kill him a second time lest he should come to life again.

The murderer had no need of an apology. Whilst his doctor was perorating, he had in his pocket letters of remission that made him once more white as snow. In these letters the king declares that the duke has set forth to him how for his good and that of the realm "*he had caused to be put out of this world*" his brother the Duke of Orleans; but he (Burgundy) has learned that the king "on the report of some ill-wishers to him .... has taken displeasure thereat .... We make known that we have withdrawn and *do withdraw all displeasure* which we might have had towards him, &c."*

The university folk having so well backed the Duke of Burgundy, it was but just that he should do the like by them. The first thing he did was to terminate in their favour the affair about which the two jurisdictions, the civil and the ecclesiastical, had been at war for a

* Note de M. Buchon (Monstrelet, i. 325) d'après les cartons de Fontanieu, année 1407, Bibl. Roy.

year. The former was beaten. The university and the clergy went and took down the two thief-students whose skeletons still waved in the wind at Montfaucon. A whole people of priests, monks, clerks, and scholars carried the remains with frantic exultation through Paris to the front of Notre Dame, where they were given up to the clerical jurisdiction and laid at the bishop's feet.* The provost asked pardon of the rectors, doctors, and regents.† This triumph of two corpses, which was the interment of the royal jurisdiction, took place in the sunshine of a May day, sicklied over by the gleam of the torches carried by that black robed mob.‡

On the 14th of May, the very eve of the university's great victory, two messengers from Pope Benedict XIII. had the boldness to come to Paris and brave that choleric power. They brought with them menacing bulls, in which the supposed prostrate foe showed more signs of life than ever.§ It was an Aragonese gentleman (like his master Benedict XIII.) who ventured on this hazardous exploit.

A deputation from the university presented itself and loudly demanded justice. A great assembly took place at St. Paul in presence of the king, the Duke of Burgundy, and the princes. A violent sermon was there delivered by Courtecuisse, which was a counterpart to Jean Petit's oration. The one was a condemnation of the pope, as the other had been a condemnation of the prince, the pope's partisan.

The text was, "Let the evil be for him, let his iniquities fall upon him!" Had the pope been there, he would hardly have been safer than the Duke of Orleans; but as he was not present his bulls only were smitten. The chancellor condemned them in the name of the

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* Ce dit jour ont esté despenduz deux exécutez au gibet, qui se disoient clerks et escoliers de l'Université de Paris, et au despendre a eu, comme len dit, plus de XL *mille* personnes au gibet, et ont esté ramené en deux sarqueux, à grant compagnie et grans processions des églises et de l'Université, sonnans toutes les cloches des l'églises, jusques au parvis de N. D. entre x. et xi. heures, couvers de toile noire, et rendus à lévesque de Paris par certaine forme et manière et depuiz portez ou menez à Saint Maturin où ont esté inhumez, comme len dit, et ce fait par ordonnance royal." 16 Mai, 1408. Archives, Reg. du Parl., Plaidoiries, Matinée vi., fol. 90; et Conseil xiii. 26.

† "My lords," he said, ridiculing their power and their pertinacity, "besides the pardon you grant I am under another great obligation to you; for when you attacked me I felt assured that I should be deprived of my place; but I feared also that it might come into your heads to determine that I should marry, and I am very certain that if you had once declared such a resolution, I should have been obliged to marry whether I would or no. You have been graciously pleased to exempt me from this rigour, and I most humbly thank you for the same." Chronique, No. 10,297, quoted by M. de Barante, iii. 154, 3rd edition.

‡ Medio Maii.....cum ingenti luminari. Relig. de St. Denis, 551.

§ "There was presented on Monday, as it was said, a bull, whereby Pope Benedict, who is one of the contenders for the papacy, excommunicated the king and his relations and adherents. And what will come of this? May God look to it!" Archives, Registres du Parlement, Conseil xiii. 27.

assembly; the royal secretaries stuck their penknives into them, and tossed them to the rector who tore them into small pieces.*

It was not enough to stab a piece of parchment. An order was sent to Boucicaut to arrest the pope; and, meanwhile, the abbot of St. Denis and the Dean of St. Germain l'Auxerrois were seized as persons suspected of liking the pope. St. Denis being as we have seen on very bad terms with the Church of Paris, the abbot's arrest was popular. But the Dean of St. Germain l'Auxerrois was a member of the parliament, his arrest was an imprudent measure; the parliament did not forgive it. As the prisoners had every thing to fear at that moment of violent exasperation, they tried to appease the university by claiming the benefit of their dependence upon it, and requiring that some of its doctors should be added to the commission by which they were to be tried. They had reason to repent of this step. Those doctors, ignorant as they were of the laws, of men, and of business, could never agree with the judges.† They exhibited as much awkwardness as violence, and had numbers arrested at random. The prisoners in vain appealed to the parliament, and the Bishop of Paris; the princes even interfered for them; but the implacable pedants would not let them out of their clutches.

On Sunday, May 25, a professor of the university, named Pierre aux Bœufs (a Cordelier like Jean Petit), read before the people royal letters declaring that thenceforth obedience should not be rendered to the one pope or the other. This was called the Act of Neutrality. No hall or square could have contained the multitude that attended the reading; it took place at the *culture* de St. Martin des Champs. This ordonnance is not drawn up in the ordinary style of the laws. It is evidently a manifesto of the university, violent, acrimonious, and not devoid of eloquence: "Let them fall, let them perish, rather than the unity of the Church. Hearken no more to the words of the step-mother: *Cut the child in two and let it belong neither to me nor to her;* but to the voice of the good mother: *Give it to her whole, rather.*"

The matter did not end in words. A council held in the Sainte Chapelle decided how the Church was to be governed during the vacancy of the Holy See. Benedict could not be laid hands on; he escaped to Perpignan, situated between the kingdom of Aragon, his native country, and France, in which he waged war with his bulls against the council. But his two messengers were taken, and dragged through the streets in a strange accoutrement, dressed in paper tiaras and black dalmaticas marked with the arms of Pierre de Luna, and with labels attached to them, wherein they were declared traitors and the messengers of a traitor. Thus equipped they

* Alte elevatas et cum cultello incisas rectori projecerunt, qui tunc eas inverecunde in frusta dilaceravit minuta. Relig., 564.

† Theologi atque artistæ, in disputationibus magis quam processibus experti .... Unde inter eos atque in jure peritos pluries orta verbalis discordia. Ibid., 565.

were put into a scavenger's cart, and pilloried in the court of the palace, amidst the hootings of a mob that was becoming accustomed to despise the insignia of the pontificate.* The following Sunday the same scene was repeated in front of Notre Dame; a trinitarian monk, regent of theology, inveighed against them and the pope with furious violence and the lowest buffoonery, the whole in such filthy language, that a great part of this shower of mud fell back on the university.†

The pope of Rome and the pope of Avignon were both fugitives; their cardinals had all deserted. The queen also fled, taking with her the Duke of Burgundy's son-in-law, the Dauphin, from Paris. The dukes of Anjou (King of Sicily), Berri, and Bretagne, soon followed them. The Duke of Burgundy was about to be the only one of all the princes left in Paris, having, however, in his hands the king, the council, and the university. To let go his hold on the king and Paris was running a great risk; nevertheless, he could no longer postpone his return to the Low Countries. Whilst he was here making war on the pope and listening to the prolix harangues of the doctors, the party of Benedict and Orleans was strengthening its position in Liége, where the bishop, his cousin John of Bavaria, could hold out no longer.‡ The people of Liége had at their head a man of capacity and action, the Sire de Perweiss, father of the other pretender to the bishopric of Liége; he invited the aid of the Germans, and sent for English archers. Brabant was in danger. What would have been the consequence had Flanders taken part with Liége, had the people of Ghent remembered that those of Liége had sent them provisions before the battle of Roosebeke?

I will speak by and by of that curious people of Liége, of that extreme point of the Walloon race and tongue, in the midst of the Germanic populations, a little Belgian France, which has remained in so many respects similar to old France, whilst ours was changing. But all this cannot be despatched cursorily.

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* Religieux, 576, v. Au jour dui entre 10 et 11 heures les prélas et clergie de France assemblé au Palaiz sur le fait de l'Eglise, ont esté amenez maistre Sanceloup, nez du pais Darragon, et un chevaucheur du pape Benedict qui fu devers nez de Castelle, en 2 tumbereaux, chascun deulx vestuz dune tunique de toille peincte, où estoit en brief effigiée la manière de la présentation des maiaveses bulles dont est mention le 21 de May cidessus, et les armes du dict Benedict renversées et autres choses, et mittrez de papier leurs testes, où avoit escriptures du fait, depuis le Louvre où estoient prisonniers, avec plusieurs autres de ce royaume, prelas et autres gens déglise, qui avoient favorisé aux dicte bulles, comme len dit, jusques en la cour du Palaiz en molt grant compaignie de gens à trompes, et la ont esté eschafaudez publiquement et puiz remenez au dit Louvre par la manière dessus dicte. Archives, Registres du Parlement, Conseil xiii., folio 39, Août 1408.

† Quod anum sordidissimæ omassariæ osculari mallet quam os Petri. Relig., 576, 577.

‡ See the curious details given by Zanfliet respecting the faction of the *Haïroit*, ap. Martene Ampliss. coll. v. 365, 366. Le Religieux and Monstrelet are very copious and instructive. Placentius (Catalogus, &c.) is scanty in detail.

The Liégeois were 40,000 intrepid foot soldiers. But the duke could bring against them the whole chivalry of Picardy and the Low Countries, who rightly regarded this war as a matter of common concern to all the nobility. The towns, Liége, Ghent, and Paris, had no mutual understanding. The two latter did not acknowledge the same pope as the Liégeois. The Duke of Burgundy, who raised up the communes in France, crushed that of Liége in Belgium.

The Liégeois were a population of armourers and charcoal burners, brutal and untamable, whom their leaders could not manage. When the feudal banners appeared in the plain of Hasbain, the proverb was verified:

> "Qui passe dans le Hasbain
> A bataille le lendemain."

"Whoso enters the Hasbain has a battle to fight next day."

They posted themselves 40,000 strong in a space enclosed with waggons and cannons, and waited boldly. The Duke of Burgundy knowing that they were about to receive a reinforcement of 10,000 men and archers from England, ventured to attack them. The Liégeois had a little cavalry, a few knights; but they distrusted them, and would not let them stir. The duke's men not being able to force their position in front, turned their flank, threw them into a panic, and many thousand Liégeois surrendered themselves prisoners. The Duke of Burgundy, almost victor, now saw the 10,000 laggards of Tongres at last make their appearance on the field; and fearing lest they should snatch the victory out of his hands, he ordered a massacre of the prisoners. An immense butchery took place; the whole of that chivalry, rendered cruel by fear, fell without mercy on the disarmed multitude. The Duke of Burgundy alleges in a letter that 24,000 men of the enemy were left dead on the ground;* his own loss amounted but to some sixty or eighty knights or squires, not reckoning the common soldiers apparently. Nevertheless, this disproportion sufficiently indicates how feeble, in the infancy of fire-arms, were the offensive means available against those iron houses in which the knights were incased.

I have my doubts as to the aforesaid number of 24,000 men; it is precisely the same as that of the battle of Roosebeke gained by Philip the Bold. The son, no doubt, would not have it said that he had killed fewer than his father. Be this as it may, the story of the horrible cruelties committed by the Burgundian party, who were said to have burned in the Hasbain alone 400 parish churches, and in many cases, along with the parishioners; the vengeance wreaked by the Bishop of Liége, Jean Sans Pitié; his wholesale drownings in the Meuse; all this struck the imaginations of men, and raised the fallen character of the Duke of Burgundy. The fact is a sad one,

* Y ont esté occis....de vingt quatre à vingt six mille Liégeois, comme on peut le savoir par l'estimation de ceux qui ont vu les noms.....Nous avons bien perdu de soixante à quatre vingt chevaliers ou ecuyers. Lettre du Duc de Bourgogne. See M. de Barante, iii. 211.

but it well portrays the age. The battle was regarded as a judgment of God. It was known, besides, that the duke had personally exerted and exposed himself.* The people, like the female sex, love the strong. Ferrum est quod amant. The Duke of Burgundy received the surname of *Jean Sans Peur* (the fearless); without fear of man, and without fear of God.†

The queen and the princes had returned to Paris during the duke's absence,‡ and were proceeding against him. Cerisy, an eloquent preacher, delivered an affecting apology for the Duke of Orleans, which has for ever eclipsed the harangue of Jean Petit. The advocate of the widow and the orphans proposed that the Duke of Burgundy should make the *amende honorable*, ask pardon, and kiss the ground, and after making numerous expiatory endowments should go beyond sea for twenty years and deplore his crime. This was said on the 11th of September; on the 23rd, the duke gained the battle of Hasbain, and on the 24th of November he arrived in Paris. The multitude went forth to gaze with respect on the man who had just killed his 25,000; there were voices to cry *Noël!*

The queen and the princes had carried off the king to Chartres, and had it in their power to act in his name against the duke. This determined him to come to an amicable arrangement.§ The business was negotiated by the grand-master Montaigu, a servant of the queen and the house of Orleans, and the principal adviser of that party, who having been sent to the Duke of Burgundy, had conceived a great dread of him, and hardly felt his head secure on his shoulders. With the credulity of fear he arranged that wretched treaty which

* "There need not many words to declare how, galloping from place to place, on a little horse, he exhorted and animated the courage of his men, and how he bore himself to the last....He lost not a drop of blood that day, though he was often personally engaged." Monstrelet, ii. 17.

† He might have been named John the Pitiless with as much reason as his cousin the bishop. Monstrelet himself says: "When he was asked after the battle whether they should cease to slaughter any more of the Liégeois, he made answer that they should all die together, and that he would not have any of them admitted to ransom. Ibid., 18.

‡ Dimanche, 26 Août, 1408.....Entrèrent à Paris et vindrent de Meleun la royne et le dauphin accompagniés, environ 4 heures après disner, des ducs de Berri, de Bretoigne, de Bourbon, et plusieurs autres contes et seigneurs et grant multitude de gens darmes, et alèrent parmi la ville loger au Louvre.—Mardi, 28 Août.....Ce dict jour entra à Paris la Duchesse Dorléans qui a présent est, et la royne d'Angleterre, femme du dict duc, en une litière couverte de noir à 4 chevaux couverts de draps noirs pleins de dames et femmes, et de plusieurs ducs et contes et gens darmes. Archives, Reg. du Parl., Conseil, xiii. 140.—The princes agreed to confer a nominal power on the queen and the dauphin in this interval: Ce V^e jour (Sept. 5, 1408)f urent tous les seigneurs de céans au Louvre en la grant sale, où estoient en personnes la royne, le Duc de Guienne, &c. (Here follows a long list of names)....en la presence des quelz....fu publiée par la bouche de maistre Jeh. Jouvenel, advocat du roy, le puissance octroiée et commise par le roy à la royne et audit Mons. de Guienne sur le gouvernement du royaume, le roy empeschié ou absent. Ibid., 42.

§ On the return of the parliament the old chancellor drew an affecting picture of the desolation of the realm. Ibid., 49.

disgraced both parties. The chief article in it was, that the second son of the deceased should marry a daughter of the murderer's, with a dower of 150,000 gold francs: a large sum as a dower, but how small as the price of blood!

It was a loathsome scene, and so much the more revolting as a profanation of one of the most sacred churches in France. Notre Dame de Chartres and its countless statues of saints and doctors,* were constrained to witness a hollow truce, cemented by perjury. A great scaffold was erected, not in front of the church, in the usual place of punishment, but at the entrance to the choir. On it sat the king, the queen, and the princes. The Duke of Burgundy's advocate besought the king in the duke's name, that he would be pleased "Not to preserve at heart either anger or indignation, because of the deed he has committed and caused to be done on the person of Monseigneur d'Orléans, for the good of the realm and for yours."

Then the children of Orleans entered; the king made known to them the pardon he had granted, and requested them to approve of it. Burgundy's advocate spoke in these terms: "My lord of Orleans, and my lords his brothers, here is my lord of Burgundy, who entreats you to banish from your hearts all hatred and vengeance, and to be good friends with him." The duke added with his own lips; "My dear cousins, I entreat you to do so."

The young princes wept. According to the programme agreed on, the queen, the dauphin, and the lords of the blood royal, went up to them and interceded for the Duke of Burgundy; then the king thus addressed them from his throne: "My very dear son and my very dear nephew, consent to what we have done, and forgive." The Duke of Orleans and his brother then repeated, one after the other, the prescribed words.†

Montaigu, who had pre-arranged this treaty, by which the children acknowledged that their father had been killed for the good of the kingdom, had, in fact, betrayed his old master, the Duke of Orleans for the Duke of Burgundy. The latter, nevertheless, was mortally incensed against him. The duke had probably not foreseen the humiliating attitude he was to assume in the ceremony, and what it would cost him to say to the children of the man he had murdered: Forgive me.

Every body well knew the value to be attached to such a peace. The registrar of the parliament, on inserting an account of it in his book, subjoins these words in the margin: "Pax, pax, inquit propheta, et non est pax."‡

The reconciled foes returned to Paris, more hostile to each other than ever; but agreed on one point, viz., to sacrifice the too-conci-

* See M. Didron's articles in the Journal de l'Instruction Publique, and the great work M. de Salvandy has in preparation.

† Relig. de St. Denis, 615.

‡ Archives, Reg. du Parl., Conseil, xiii. 65.

liating Montaigu. The poor devil had, after all, sinned only through fear; but he was guilty of another crime besides: he was rich. People asked how that son of a Paris notary, illiterate, mean-looking, and small of stature, with his thinly-furnished beard, and his stuttering tongue,* how had he contrived to govern France so long? He must, for all that, have been a man of ability, to bring it about that the queen, the Duke of Orleans, and the dukes of Berri and Bourbon, should all stand in need of him, and call him their friend.

The one talent he wanted was, that of making himself little. Not to speak of his great landed estates, he had built an exquisite château at Marcoussis. In Paris the people pointed with envy to his splendid hôtel. The greatest lords had been suitors for his daughters. Recently, too, he had married his son to the daughter of the constable d'Albret, the king's cousin. He also made his brother Bishop of Paris, and on this occasion he was so imprudent as to entertain the princes, and to display an incredible quantity of gold and silver plate. The guests stared; their cupidity added fuel to their enmity. They thought it abominable that Montaigu should have so much gold plate when the king's was in pawn.

For a new man, Montaigu seemed to have his footing secure. He had made a great many friends in the time of the government of the Marmousets; and he had a good connexion by blood and by marriage. Brother to the Archbishop of Sens, he had just secured a strong popular position in Paris, by making his brother bishop there. The princes accordingly proceeded with great caution. They assembled privily at St. Victor's church,† bound themselves mutually to secrecy by oath, and conspired, three or four princes of the blood and the greatest lords of France, against the son of a notary. Montaigu was warned but he would not listen to the suggestions of fear. Had he not on his own side the king, the good Duke of Berri, and, above all, the queen, for sake of the memory of the Duke of Orleans? The queen did, indeed, exert herself a little in his favour; but no great force was needed to bring her round against him; she was promised that Montaigu's large estates should be given to the dauphin.‡ After all she was absent at Melun; so her eyes were spared the sad spectacle of the death of an old servant.

A thing occurred at Montaigu's death which rarely happens on the fall of favourites: the people broke into insurrection.§ The three bigreat powers of the town were interested in Montaigu; he was the clerhop's brother; he claimed clerical privileges, those, viz., of the was ory and the university; lastly, he appealed to the parliament. All the D no avail. The town was full of gentlemen in the service of ——uke of Burgundy. Pierre Desessarts, the new provost of

* Illite——
dine vestit ratum, statura pusillum, barba genas mentumque non grata plenitu-

† In ecc m, balbum adeoque impeditoris linguæ ut...Relig., 637.

‡ Bibl. R sia Sancti Victoris.....juramentis mutuo se astringentes. Ibid., 636.

§ Civitas m y. MSS., Dupuy, vol. 744. Fontanieu, 107—8, ann. 1409.
ota est et cives arma susceperunt. Relig., 637.

Paris, rode through the streets with a strong body of troops, crying out that he had hold of the traitors who had caused the king's malady; that he would give a good account of them, and that honest folks had only to go back to their business and their trades.*

At first Montaigu denied every thing; but he was in the clutches of a commission which forced from him a full avowal by means of torture. Without loss of time he was dragged to the market-place, on the 17th of October, less than a month after his fine entertainment. His sentence was not even read to him. Maimed as he was by the torture, ruptured, and with dislocated hands, he kissed the cross with all his heart, affirming to the last that he was not guilty, any more than the Duke of Orleans; except that he could not deny they had made bad use of the king's money, and spent too much. The bystanders wept; even those who had been sent by the princes to make sure of his being done to death returned all in tears.†

His death moved all men's pity, but still more their fears. What was the result of it? Just what might be expected from the dastardy of the times. All would be on the side of him who struck so hard; the death of the Duke of Orleans, that of Montaigu, and the massacre of Liége, were three grand strokes. The King of Navarre was already in alliance with the Duke of Burgundy,‡ whose assistance he needed against the Count of Armagnac. The Duke of Anjou became his ally for money, which he received as dower with a daughter of Burgundy, and then went and lost it in Italy. The queen likewise was won over by a marriage. The Duke of Burgundy went to see her at Melun, and promised to effect a match between her brother, Louis of Bavaria, and the daughter of his friend, the King of Navarre. It was moreover settled that the young dauphin should thenceforth preside at the council: fat Isabella§ stupidly imagined that she should govern her son, and through him the kingdom. She returned, therefore, to Paris, that is to say, she put herself in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy.

Thus every thing was taking the most desirable turn for him and his party. The university, omnipotent in the Council of Pisa, had availed itself of the deposition of the two popes to bestow the papacy on one of its old professors,‖ who, it was to be expected, would refuse nothing to the university and the Duke of Burgundy.

What more had the latter now to desire, except to redeem his

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* Mechanicis artibus et suis negociationibus vacarent. Relig. 637.

† Affirmasse quod tormentorum violentia (qua et manus dislocatas et se ruptum circa pudenda monstrabat) illa confessus fuerat, nec in aliquo culpabilem ducem Aurelianensem nec se etiam reddebat nisi in pecuniarum regiarum nimia consumptione. Ibid., 633.

‡ The Duke of Burgundy displayed remarkable activity this year, 1409. He sought alliances in the south and in the north. See the treaties with the King of Navarre, the Count of Foix, the Duke of Bavaria, and Edward de Bar. Bibl. Roy., MSS. Baluze, 9484, 2.

§ Mole carnis gravata nimium. Relig., 640.

‖ In sacra pagina excellentissimum professorem. Ibid., 628.

character if possible, and cast his past deeds into oblivion? There were two means of arriving at this consummation: the reformation of the state, and the expulsion of the English. He again took upon him to besiege Calais, and this time there was no Duke of Orleans in the way to frustrate the enterprise. He set to work just as he had done the first time, had a wooden town erected round the town, and accumulated great store of machines and artillery in the abbey of St. Omer. But the English found a carpenter, who, for the sum of 10,000 rose nobles, threw Greek fire into the duke's works, and burned in a moment what had cost him so long to prepare.

The measures of reform sped no better than the war. The duke began them in his own fashion, rudely. He restored the privileges of Paris, assigning it a provost of his own, the violent Desessarts. He convoked a general assembly of the nobles with the dauphin for president; thus making the dauphin himself one of his tools, and setting aside the old Duke of Berri.

Meanwhile, he took the finances in hand, superseding in the name of the king and the princes all the treasurers, and putting in their places burghers of Paris, wealthy, timid, and subservient men. All the receivers were to account to a high council, which he swayed through the Count of St. Pol. That council did an unheard-of thing: it suspended the chamber of accounts, arrested several of its members,* and, notwithstanding this, made use of its registers, and took cognizance of the marginal notes *Nimis habuit* or *Recuperetur*, which that wise and honest body applied to excessive payments. These notes were to be made the grounds for extracting money from those who had received, or even from their heirs.

This was alarming for many persons, and matter of suspicion for all; the more so as in all these measures was seen, behind the Duke of Burgundy, a violent headstrong man; Desessarts, the new provost of Paris, a needy man, eager to enrich himself and his family as Montaigu had done. He had led the latter to the gibbet, and was hastening thither himself.

Such was the state of Paris; beyond it a great tempest was gathering. The Duke of Orleans was but a child, a name; but that name was the natural rallying cry of all those who hated the Duke of Burgundy and the King of Navarre. First came the Count d'Armagnac, a foe to the latter from neighbourhood, and to the former in consequence of having been forced long before to give up the Charolais; then the Duke of Bretagne, the counts of Clermont and Alençon; lastly, the dukes of Berri and Bourbon, who, finding them-

* Et quia a longo tempore, D. Cameræ computorum ægre ferentes quod Rex manu prodiga pecunias multas etiam indignis consueverat largiri, dona in scriptis redigebant, addentes in margine *Recuperetur, Nimis habuit;* statutum est ut registrum præsidentibus traderetur, qui quod nimium fuerat ab ipsis aut eorum hæredibus usque ad ultimum quadrantem, cessante omni appellatione, extorquerent. Omnes etiam dominos Cameræ computorum deposuerunt, uno duntaxat excepto qui vices suppleret omnium, donec.... Relig., 639. See also Ordonn., ix. 468, sqq.

selves made of no account by the Duke of Burgundy, passed over to the other side. These princes leagued together "for the reform of the state and against the enemies of the realm."

It was likewise against the enemies of the realm that the Duke of Burgundy was levying troops and calling for money. He summoned the principal citizens of the towns of France to Paris, to obtain from them not a tax but a loan. The English, he said, were threatening to land. The citizens without hesitation replied flatly, that their towns were already too much burdened, and that the Duke of Burgundy had only to make use of the 300,000 gold crowns which it was said had been recovered. But this money had slipped away, no one knew how.*

Paris displayed no greater zeal than the other towns. The duke offered to restore it its arms and its military divisions of hundreds, sixties, fifties, &c.; but the Parisians thanked him, and declined the offer, not choosing to become the soldiers of the Duke of Burgundy. He failed likewise in appointing a captain of Paris, the town alledging that as it had had a prince of the blood (the Duke of Berri) for captain, it could not accept any one of lower rank to fill that office.

The duke having the princes against him, without having the towns in his favour, was obliged to fall back on his personal resources. He summoned his vassals, and a host of Brabanters fell on northern France and Paris, pillaging and destroying. Paris, now rendered sensible of the general evil by its own sufferings, vociferously demanded peace. Its usual mouthpiece, the university, with that undoubting assurance that belongs to those who have no knowledge of men and things, suggested a very simple method of setting all things right, viz., to exclude from the government the two party leaders, the dukes of Berri and Burgundy, send them away to their own dominions, and select out of the three estates men of worth and experience, who would govern admirably well. The Duke of Burgundy and the King of Navarre showed the more favour to this scheme, because it was impracticable. They made a great parade of disinterestedness, and were ready, they said, to serve the state gratuitously, and even at the sacrifice of their own property, or to retire altogether if the interests of the realm required it.

The university had not far to go to find the Duke of Berri; he was already at Bicètre with his troops. To a first embassy which summoned him to peace in the king's name, he had replied, that it was for the very purpose of conferring with the king that he was come. He received the deputies of the university most graciously, and approved of their advice, gaily responding: "If we must have

* And in the midst of this distress we find, among other outgoings, an order from Charles VII. for the payment of his huntsmen, conveyed in the most peremptory and rigorous terms. After the king's signature are the words: "Garde qu'en se n'ait faute." "Beware of failing in this." Bibl. Roy., MSS. Fontanieu, 107—8, ann. 1410, July 9. For a pair of breviaries given by the king to the Duchess of Burgundy, 600 crowns. Relig., 109, 110, ann. 1413.

members of the three estates to carry on the government, I am myself in that category, and I bespeak a place in the ranks of the nobility."

Winter and dearth, however, forced the princes to accept the expedient proposed by the university. It afforded a satisfaction to their petty vanity. The Duke of Burgundy consented to retire simultaneously with them. The council was to be composed of persons who should swear not to belong to either party. The dauphin was committed to the care of two lords nominated, the one by the Duke of Berri, the other by the Duke of Burgundy. [Peace of Bicètre, Nov. 1, 1410.]

The latter in reality remained master. He seemed to renounce Paris, but he kept fast hold of it. Desessarts, his provost, who should have retired from office, still retained it. The dauphin was surrounded almost exclusively by zealous Burgundians. His chancellor was Jean de Nyelle, a subject and servant of the Duke of Burgundy; his councillors were the Sire de Heilly, another vassal of the same prince, the Sire de Savoisy, who had recently joined his party, Antoine de Craon, of the family of him who had attempted Clisson's life, the Sire de Courcelles, a relation, no doubt, of the celebrated doctor, who was one of the judges of the Maid of Orleans, &c.

The Duke of Burgundy had retired in conformity with the treaty. He was not arming, and his adversaries were. The fault seemed to be on the side of the friends of the Duke of Orleans. The dauphin's council, the more to encourage a belief of its impartiality, associated with itself the parliament, some bishops, some doctors of the university, and several burghers of eminence, and in the name of that assembly it forbade the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy to enter Paris.

The prohibition was an absurdity: the last-named prince was in reality so fully present in Paris, that at that very moment he was bringing the alarmed town to decide on adopting as its captain a creature of his own, the Count of St. Pol.

The question of putting Paris in a state of defence came under consideration. A general tax was proposed, from which no one should be exempted, not even the clergy or the university. But their zeal for the Burgundian party did not carry them so far; at the word money they revolted. The chancellor of Notre Dame, speaking in the name of the two bodies, declared they could neither give nor lend; that they had much to do to live; that it was notorious, if the king's finances were not dilapidated, there would every month enter 200,000 gold crowns into his coffers; that the estates of the Church, long ago mortgaged, had nothing to do with taxes. Lastly, he even went so far as to say, that when a prince oppressed his subjects by unjust exactions, this was, according to ancient histories, a legitimate ground for deposing him.*

* Nec reges digne vocari, si exactionibus injustis opprimant populum suum, sed quod eos depositione dignos possint rationabiliter reputare, in annalibus antiquis possunt de multis legere. Relig., 675.

This extraordinary boldness of language sufficiently indicated that the clergy and the university would be no tractable tools for the Burgundian party. The new Captain of Paris looked lower down for his allies, and addressed himself to the butchers. It was a curious spectacle to see the Count of St. Pol, of the house of Luxemburg, the kinsman of the emperors and of the chivalric John of Bohemia, share his functions as Captain of Paris with Legoix* and other butchers; to see him arm these men, march in Paris shoulder to shoulder with this *royal militia*, and commit to their hands the service of the town and the duty of pursuing the Orleanists. He played a most hazardous game in thus allying himself. He thought he had fast hold of the butchers, but was it not rather they who were soon to have him in their grasp? The Count of St. Pol, and his master, the Duke of Burgundy, were putting a formidable machine in motion; but should they get one finger entangled in the wheels, there was great likelihood that the whole body, head and all, would follow.

After all, I know not whether it was possible for them to adopt any other course. Apart from all spirit of faction, Paris had great need of looking well to her own safety, in the midst of hostile bands coming to fight around her. Now, since the punishment of the Maillotins, and the disarming of the town, the only citizens who wielded steel and possessed that self-assurance which the handling of sharp weapons bestows, were the butchers. The others, as we have seen, had refused to resume their hundreds, for fear of being made to carry arms. The Count of St. Pol's gentlemen would not have been sufficient; they would even have been looked on with suspicion, had they not always been seen associated with a force which, though brutal and violent, was, after all, Parisian, and interested in defending Paris from pillage. Whatever fear was entertained of the butchers, the inhabitants were far more afraid of the countless plunderers who came to the very gates to reconnoitre, and who, if the town had not looked well to itself, might very possibly have carried it by a *coup de main*.†

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* Shortly afterwards we find the Duke of Burgundy attending the funeral of the butcher Legoix: "And they made him very honourable obsequies, as much as though he had been a great count." Juvenal des Ursins, 236.

† On the occasion of one of these alarms the king was lodged in the *Palais* (the parliament house), with a strong body of men-at-arms, to the great dismay of the registrar: "This day our lord the king, accompanied by a great number of princes, barons, knights, and men-at-arms, having come to lodge in the palace, and all the dwellings being filled with men-at-arms, both in the Cité and the cloister of Paris, and over the bridges in the direction of the Place Maubert, without distinction, save in the case of the lords hereabouts, in whose mansions it was ordered, as the provost of Paris said in the chamber, that no one should be lodged, and as it might happen in that case that the chamberlains of our lord the king might take possession of the *Tournelles* here, in which there are a multitude of documents pertaining to law-suits, which might perchance be ransacked, torn, and destroyed, to the inestimable loss of all of every condition in this realm:

It was a terrible thing for the peaceful and inoffensive townsfolk to look down from their belfries on the double tide of northern and southern marauders that beat against their walls. It was as though the extreme provinces of the kingdom, long sacrificed to the centre, were come to have their revenge. Flanders remembered her defeat at Roosebeke. Languedoc had not forgotten the Albigensian wars, still less the recent exactions of the dukes of Anjou and Berri. What the centre had gained by monarchical attraction, it paid back with usury. The north, the south, and the west let loose all their bandits upon it.

First arrived, for the defence of Paris against the southrons who came on behalf of the Duke of Orleans, the Brabant mercenaries of the Duke of Burgundy; and to defend it the better, they ravaged all the environs, and pillaged St. Denis. Another set of defenders were men of the communes of Flanders, intelligent persons, who knew the value of things, and pillaged in an orderly and business-like manner, making a clear sweep of every thing, and packing all up neatly, like good workmen. It was no use to talk to them of war; that was not what they had come for. Their count in vain besought them, hat in hand, to be pleased to fight a little; they paid no heed to his entreaties. When they had filled their carts, the worshipful seigneurs of Ghent and Bruges marched home again, in spite of all remonstrances.*

But the chief swarm of pillagers came from the needy provinces of the west and south. The country, seen from a distance, appeared blackened with those troops, whether of beggars or soldiers, it was hard to say; some on foot, some on horseback, or mounted on asses; both men and beasts horribly meagre and greedy, like the seven lean and hungry kine in Pharoah's dream.

Let us examine this mob, and see of what it consisted. First of all, there was a great number of Bretons. Families in Bretagne were numerous in the direct ratio of their poverty. It was a Breton idea that it was expedient to have as many children as possible, that is to say, so many soldiers who would amass wealth in foreign parts, and bring it home.† According to the genuine Breton customs, the father's house fell to the possession of the

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I, therefore, had the door of my chambers blocked up, so that none might enter therein, for: *In armigero vix potest vigere ratio.*" The registrar has sketched the figure of a soldier in the margin. Archives, Reg. du Parl., Conseil, xiii. 131. Sept. 16, 1410.

* Two thousand carts, according to Meyer, 12,000 according to Monstrelet, ii. 247. "He requested them very urgently that they would consent to serve eight days longer.... They began to shout out, '*Wap, wap*' (which means 'To arms, to arms').....set fire to all their quarters, and then crying out again altogether: '*Gau, gau!*' departed and took the way to their homes. ..The Duke of Burgundy....with his head uncovered before them, entreated them with clasped hands, most humbly calling them brothers, companions, and friends." Ibid.

† Sometimes fifty children by ten different women. Guillelm. Pictav. ap. Script. Fr., xi. 88. See also a note to page 76, vol. i., of this history.

youngest son;* the elder brothers were turned out of doors, and threw themselves into a boat, or mounted a sorry little horse; and such good speed did they make in the boat or on the back of the indestructible steed, that they returned to the manor in good ease, with clothes on their back and their purses respectably filled.

In Gascony, a different custom produced the same effects. The eldest son remained proudly in the castle on his rock, without any other vassal than himself, and helping himself with his own hands, like a simpleton. The younger brothers followed their noses merrily as far as any ground lay before them, notoriously good pedestrians, travelling on foot from inclination as long as they had no horse to ride, rich in a family sword, a fine-sounding name, and a tattered cloak; item, as noble as the king, that is to say, without fief like him,† but, nevertheless, levying quint and requint on the land, and toll on the wayfarer.

This old portrait of the Gascon is not the less true for being old; and I believe that, *mutatis mutandis*, some part of its applicability remains. Thus is he depicted in the chronicle of the good King Robert's days;‡ in the times of the Plantagenets;§ under Bernard d'Armagnac; and, lastly, under Henry IV. The excellent Baron de Feneste‖ is not merely a type of the irruption of southern intriguers under the reign of the Bearnese; less serious in appearance, less amusing, less *Gasconading*, that baron still exists. Then, now, and evermore, these men have chosen an excellent subject for the exercise of their peculiar talents, the simplicity and dulness of the men of the north. Accordingly, they were much addicted to emigration; not to become builders like the Limousins, nor to hawk and vend like the men of Auvergne; the Gascons sold only themselves. As soldiers, as domestics of princes, they served in order to become masters. Talk not to them of being workmen or merchants, say ministers or kings, if you will; that will suit them better. They will not be content, like Sancho, with a little bit of an island; they must have a kingdom, no less; that of Naples or Portugal, if possible; or, for want of a better, they will put up with Sweden,¶ like reasonable and moderate men. It is not every body that can win Paris for a mass, like *the miller of Barbaste's mill.***

Though essentially the character has not changed much, still we must not picture to ourselves the southrons of those days, such as

* Coutumier Général, iv. 408; Usance de Quevaise, art. 61; Usance de Rohan, art. 17, 22. Michelet, Origines du Droit, 63.

† The king is, nevertheless, the great *fieffeux;* he has nothing and he has every thing.

‡ See in vol. ii. those that accompanied Queen Constance.

§ Ibid., vols. ii. and iii. Under most of these princes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Poitevins and Gascons governed England.

‖ Aventures du Baron de Feneste (by d'Aubigné), 1620.

¶ The Portugal affair, though not well cleared up, is not the less probable.

** This was the pet name given by the Gascons to their countryman Henry IV.

we now see and comprehend them. Far other did they appear to our countrymen of the fifteenth century, when provincial contrasts were so strongly marked, and were still further exaggerated by mutual ignorance. The south was regarded with abhorrence by the north. The Provençal brutality, capricious and violent; the Gascon asperity, unfeeling and pitiless, doing mischief for mere sport; the hard and intractable mountaineers of Rouergue and the Cevennes, and the savage Bretons with their long hanging hair:—conceive all this presented in primitive dirt, with a jabbering of twenty languages, which those of the north took for Spanish or Moorish. To complete the confusion, there were mingled with the whole some bands of German and of Lombard soldiers.* This diversity of tongues was a terrible barrier between men, and one of the causes for which they hated each other, without knowing why. It rendered war more cruel than we can imagine it. There was no means by which any approach to a better mutual understanding could be made by the belligerents. The vanquished man who cannot speak, is without resource, the prisoner without means to soften the rigour of his master. The prostrate man would in vain appeal to him who is about to cut his throat; the one cries *quarter*, the other answers, *die*.

Independently of these antipathies of language and race, in one same race and language, the provinces hated each other. The Flemings, even of the Walloon tongue, detested the hot-headed Picards.† The Picards despised the regular habits of the Normans, which they deemed servile.‡ So much for the Langue d'oil. In this Langue d'oil the men of Poitou and Saintonge, hated in the north as southrons, nevertheless composed satires upon the people of the south, particularly the Gascons.§

At the extremity of this scale of hatreds, beyond Bordeaux and Toulouse, at the foot of the Pyrenees, remote from roads and navigable rivers, lies a little territory, the name of which has been a summary expression of all the hatreds of south and north. This tragic name is that of Armagnac.

A rugged land, productive, indeed, of wine, but exposed to the mountain hail-storms, often fertile, often desolated by the inclemency of the sky. The men of Armagnac and Fezenzac, though less poor than those of the Landes, were notwithstanding still more turbulent. Their counts early declared their determination to be dependant only on Sainte Marie d'Auch, and then for nearly two centuries they continually beat and pillaged the Archbishop of Auch. Assiduous persecu-

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* Monstrelet, ii. 169. † Ibid., 249, 253.

‡ I read in a letter of grace, that some Picards hearing mention of a sum of 800 francs exacted from the Normans by the Captain of Gisors, said: "If it was in Picardy they would pull down the houses of those who should consent to pay the money." Archives, Trésor des Chartes, registre 148, 214, ann. 1395.

§ D'Aubigné, the author of the Baron de Feneste, was born in Saintonge, and settled in Poitou.

tors of the churches, excommunicated from generation to generation, they lived for the most part like genuine sons of the devil.

When the terrible Simon de Montfort fell like a judgment of God on the south, they began to mend their ways, and did homage to him, and afterwards to the Count of Poitiers. St. Louis gave them a more severe lesson. One of them was shut up to reflect for two years in the Castle of Peronne. At last they came to understand that they would gain more by serving the King of France; the inheritance of Rhodez, so remote from Armagnac, was a further means of connecting them with the interests of the realm.

The Armagnacs then became, along with the Albrets, the King of France's captains for the south. Beating and beaten, always in arms, they led the Gascons everywhere, even into Italy. They formed a nimble and indefatigable infantry, the first that France possessed. They waged war with an impetuous violence unknown before, compelling all men to assume the white cross, and cutting off the hand or foot of those who refused to follow them.*

Our kings loaded them with bounties, and smothered them in gold.† They made them generals and constables; but this was mistaking their talents. These hunters of the Pyrenees and the Landes, these nimble-footed southrons, were better adapted for petty wars, than for commanding large armies. The counts of Armagnac were twice made prisoners in Lombardy. The Constable d'Armagnac commanded the army at Azincourt with ill success.

So far too much was done for them, and more was added. Our kings thought to attach these Armagnacs to themselves by marrying them to princesses of the blood. Behold then these rude Gascon captains cleaning themselves, beginning to look human, and becoming princes. A grand-daughter of St. Louis was bestowed upon them in marriage. One would suppose that this would have been enough to content them; but it is a curious and very characteristic fact, that no sooner had they attained the extraordinary honour of an alliance with the royal house, than they pretended to be superior to it in blood, and quietly manufactured for themselves a genealogy which connected them on the one side with the old dukes of Aquitaine, the legitimate sovereigns of the south, on the other with the Merovingians, the first conquerors of France. The Capets were, therefore, usurpers, who wrongfully detained the patrimony of the house of Armagnac.

For all they were become Frenchmen and princes, their natural diabolic strain would constantly show itself. One of them married his sister-in-law (in order to keep her dowry), another his own sister, by means of a forged dispensation. Bernard VII., Count of

* Vaissette, Hist. de Langued., iv. 282. Nevertheless, they always kept up relations with the English. The parliament prosecuted them on this ground in 1395. Archives, Reg. du Parl. Arrêts, xi., ann. 1395.

† This was the phrase used by Francis I. to Benvenuto Cellini.

Armagnac, who was almost king, and whose end was so bad, began by despoiling his relation, the Viscount de Fézénzaguet, and throwing him and his sons into a cistern, after putting out their eyes. This same Bernard subsequently declared himself a follower of the Duke of Orleans, made prosperous war on the English, and recovered from them sixty small fortresses. In reality he worked only for himself; and when the Duke of Orleans marched into Guienne, he did not support him. But as soon as the Duke of Orleans was dead, the Count of Armagnac put himself forward as his friend and avenger, boldly appropriated that important part, marched the whole south to the plunder of the north, and married his daughter to the young Duke of Orleans, giving her as a dowry his marauding bands, and the malediction of France.

What rendered these Armagnacs execrable was, besides their ferocity, the impious levity with which they treated priests, churches, and religion. It seemed like a late revenge of the Albigeois, or a foretaste of the Protestant wars. One might have thus interpreted their conduct, but it was not so; it was all the result of Gascon levity,* or of the brutality of the soldier. Probably, too, they imagined, in their strange Christianity, that it was a good deed to rob the saints of the Langue d'oil, and one for which those of the Langue d'oil would by no means bear them any grudge. They carried off the reliquaries without caring for the relics, turned the chalice into a goblet, and scattered the consecrated wafers. They gladly exchanged their ragged doublets for church vestments; made themselves a coat-of-arms out of a cope, and a bonnet out of a communion-cloth.†

Arrived before Paris, they took St. Denis for their centre of operations, and quartered themselves in the little town and the great abbey. The temptation was great. The monks had buried the saint's treasure for fear of accident, but they had not thought of taking the same precaution with regard to the gold and silver plate which the queen had intrusted to their care. One morning after mass, the Count d'Armagnac assembled the abbot and the monks in the refectory; explained to them that the princes had taken up arms only to deliver the king and to re-establish justice in the kingdom, and that every one ought to aid and assist so laudable an enterprise. "We are expecting money," he said, "but it does

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* This southern levity plainly appears in the proverbs, particularly in those of the Bearnese; many of them are very irreverent towards the nobility and the Church:

"*Habillat ù bastou*
Qu'aüra l'air du Barou."

"Dress up a stick and it will look like a baron."

"*Las sourcières et lous loubs-garous*
Aüs curés han mingu capous."

"The witches and the were-wolves find the parsons in capons," &c. &c. Collection de Proverbes Béarnais, MS. by MM. Picot and Badé of Pau.

† Cum de corporalibus benedictio sibi caputegia fecissent. Relig., 702.

not come; the queen, I am sure, will have no objection to lend us her plate to pay our troops; my lords and princes will give you a good and regular receipt for it, sealed with their seals." Having said this, without listening to the remonstrances of the monks, he had the door of the treasury opened, walked in with a hammer in his hand, and broke open the coffers. He did not even hesitate to say that if that was not enough, the saint's wealth would likewise be drawn on. The monks took the hint, and sent away from the abbey those of the community who were acquainted with the hiding-place.*

Men who took such liberties with the saints, could not be very devout followers of that other religion of France, royalty. That mad king whom the men of the north, and Paris in the utmost violence of its distractions, regarded but with love, moved the southrons only to laughter. When they seized a peasant and amused themselves by cutting off his ears or his nose, they used to say, "Go show thyself to thy idiot king."†

The scoffs, impieties, and atrocious cruelties of these men were of use to the Duke of Burgundy. The towns, which the marauders reduced to want and misery, turned against the Duke of Orleans. The peasants, driven to desperation, assumed the Burgundian cross, and often fell upon straggling parties of the soldiery. For all this, there was hardly any other military force in France than that of the Armagnacs. The Duke of Burgundy finding it impossible to drive them from Paris, which they beset on all sides, tried his last, his most dangerous resource, and called in the aid of the English.‡

Things were come to such a pass that the English were less abhorred by the Frenchmen of the north than were their southern countrymen. The Duke of Burgundy at first concluded a commercial truce with the English for the benefit of Flanders, and then he asked them for troops, offering to give one of his daughters in marriage to the eldest son of Henry IV.§ (September 1, 1411). What were the conditions? What part of France did he promise them? There is no evidence on this point. The Orleans party gave out that he did homage to the English for Flanders, and pledged himself to restore to them Guienne and Normandy.

The arrival of the English troops made the Armagnacs fall back from Paris to the Loire, to Bourges and Poitiers. They even lost the

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* The Parisians believed, nevertheless, and not without apparent reason, that the monks were favourable to the Orleans party. The rumour even ran in Paris, that the Duke of Orleans had caused himself to be crowned King of France in the abbey of St. Denis. Relig., 701.

† Ite ad regem vestrum insanum, inutilem et captivum. Ibid., 605.

‡ According to Le Religieux, who made inquiries on this subject, the Duke of Orleans entreated the King of England, for sake of the relationship between them, not to send troops to his adversary. Henry IV. replied, that he was afraid of exasperating the English (allies of the Flemings), and that he had accepted the Duke of Burgundy's offers. Ibid., 691.

§ Rymer, iv., part 1, p. 196, ed. 3. Sept. 1, 1411.

latter; but the princes stood their ground in Bourges, where they were besieged by the Duke of Burgundy, accompanied by the English, and by the king—whom he dragged about with him everywhere. The siege, nevertheless, was a long one. Want of provsions, the exhalations from the marshes and from the fields, which were strewed with dead, and the plague which spread from the camp through the kingdom, induced both parties to patch up a spurious peace, which was scarcely a truce (treaty of Bourges, July 15, 1412). The Duke of Burgundy promised what he could not fulfil, to oblige his men to restore to the princes their confiscated property. All that the Duke of Orleans gained by the treaty, was to have some reparation made to the memory of Montaigu, whose corpse was taken down from the gibbet at Montfaucon by the provost of Paris, and honourably interred.

Meanwhile, the Orleanists, seeing it was only with the help of the English that their adversary had overcome them, endeavoured to detach the latter by all means from the Duke of Burgundy. He on the other hand, was already tired of his allies, and had sent troops to oppose them in Guienne. The Count of Armagnac instantly took the red cross, and became English, thus confirming the Duke of Burgundy's accusations. The latter had published in Paris, with great outcry, that papers belonging to the princes, containing the propositions they made to the enemy, had been seized on the person of a monk. They had sworn, it was said, to kill the king, burn Paris, and partition France. This strange invention of the Burgundian party produced the utmost effect in Paris.* The university men, the burghers, the whole populace, women and children, invoked a thousand curses on those who thus betrayed the king and the realm. The poor king wept, and asked what was to be done.

The real treaty was odious enough without the addition of these fables: the princes did homage to the English sovereign, engaged to reinstate him in his rights, and delivered over to him twenty fortresses in the south. In return for all these advantages, he left Poitou, Angoumois, and Perigord, to the dukes of Berri and Orleans, only for their lives. The Count of Armagnac alone retained all his fiefs in perpetuity. The treaty was manifestly his work† (May 18, 1412).

Thus did dastard princes play by turns the desperate game of calling the enemy into the realm. The matter was serious, however, as they would soon have discovered, if the death of Henry IV. had not given France a respite. Betrayed by both parties, leaving nothing to expect except from herself, she is about to attempt in this interval to manage her own affairs. Is she yet capable of this? The fact may be doubted.

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* Indeque rabies popularis sic exarsit ut omnes utriusque sexus absque erubescientiæ velo ducibus publice maledicentes, orarent ut cum Juda proditore æternam perciperent portionem. Relig., 734.

† Rymer, iv., pars 2, p. 13 (ed. tertia), 18 Maii, 1412.

In this period of five years, beginning and ending with a crime (the murder of the Duke of Orleans and the treaty with the English), both parties proved their incapacity both for peace and war: three treaties were effected with no other result than to envenom the angry passions that distracted the kingdom.

Shall we say, however, that these melancholy years were altogether lost, that time had flowed on in vain? No. There were no years lost; the time bore its fruit. In the first place, the two moieties of France had come in contact with each other, with the immediate effect, indeed, of mutual hatred; the South had visited the North, as the North, in the time of the Albigeois, had visited the South. These opportunities for intercourse, even of a hostile kind, were yet necessary; it was necessary, in order to France's eventually becoming one, that she should see and know herself such as she still was, diversified and heterogeneous.

Thus gradually and remotely do we find the unity of the nation becoming prepared. Already, the feeling of nationality is awakened by the frequent appeals to public opinion made by parties on this brief period. The continual manifestoes for or against the Duke of Burgundy,* the political sermons in favour of either faction, those theatrical representations, to which the multitude was admitted as spectators of great political acts, the Chartres scaffold, and the Neutrality sermon, all these were implicitly so many appeals to the people.

In the pedantic harangues of the times, amidst all their violence and falsehood, their blood and dirt, there is yet one thing that constitutes the strength of the Burgundian party, foul and guilty as it was, viz.: the solemn avowal of the responsibility of the powerful, of princes and kings. The university professes this doctrine till then unheard of, that a king who oppresses his subjects with unjust exactions, may and should be deposed. The expression is censured, but think not that it falls inert. Thoughts, before unknown, ferment in the minds of men. It appears to have been about this epoch that on the very front of the cathedral of Chartres, which had witnessed the humiliation of princes, was sculptured a new figure, that of Liberty;† moral liberty, indeed; but the idea of political liberty gradually blends and incorporates itself therewith.

* The most important, perhaps, of these manifestoes is that which the Duke of Burgundy published in the king's name, on the 13th of February, 1412. He therein demanded an aid of the Langue d'oil and the Langue d'oc, and committed the collection of it to a burgher of Paris. Before coming to this point he prefaces with a long apologetic history of the affairs between the house of Burgundy and that of Orleans. He flatters Paris, and sympathises with the resentment of the people against the excesses committed by the men-at-arms of the Orleans party. He makes the king say: "We were duly and sufficiently informed that they intended wholly *to displace us and our generation from our kingdom and lordship.*" Bibl. Roy., MSS. Fontanieu, 109—110, 13 Fev. 1412, from a vidimus of the viscounty of Rouen.

† See M. Dedron's curious report in the Journal de l'Instruction Publique, 1839.

The Duke of Burgundy was most unworthy to be the representative of the modern principle. That principle is but dimly descried in him through the double deformity of crime and self-contradiction. The murderer comes forward, and talks of order, reform, and the public good; he attests the law, he who has slain law; nevertheless, we shall see the great ordonnance of the fifteenth century make its appearance under the auspices of this odious party.

Here was another strange inconsistency. This feudal prince, who at the head of an incensed and rancorous nobility has just exterminated the commonalty of Liège, derives from that very victory the strength that exalts the commonalty of Paris. Yonder, he is the prince of the barons; here, the prince of the butchers.

These self-contradictions are, as we have said, the reproach and disgrace of the age, and especially of the Burgundian party. The head of that party, after all, seemed aware that whatever he had done, he had done nothing of himself, and that he was not capable of any thing great. When the university proposed to select out of the three estates sage persons, liable to no suspicion, who should aid in carrying on the government, he uttered this significant phrase, "That indeed he did not feel capable of governing so great a realm as the realm of France."*

CHAPTER III.

Efforts of Reform in Church and State—Cabochiens of Paris; great Ordonnance —Councils of Pisa and Constance. 1409—1415.

GOVERNMENT by one individual being confessed impossible, there was no alternative but to make trial of a government by numbers. The Burgundian party, in its distress, convoked in the king's name a great assembly of the deputies of towns, prelates, chapters, &c. (January 30, 1413). This assembly of notables is by some given the name of States *General*. So far were they from being general, that hardly any one appeared in them except the envoys of some towns of the centre. In this moment of crisis, between an actual civil war and an immediate prospect of foreign war, France sought herself in vain.

True, it was winter; the roads were impracticable, and infested with bandits, and one-half the kingdom was estranged from or hostile to the other. Few came to the assembly, and those few knew not what to say. There were no traditional rules, no precedents for the conduct of such a body; half a century had elapsed since the meeting

* Indignum se reputavit regimine tanti regni est erat regnum Franciæ. Relig., 665.

of the last estates. The deputies of Reims, Rouen, Sens, and Bourges, alone spoke, or rather preached on a text of Scripture, proving in all form the advantages of peace, but setting forth with no less cogency the impossibility of paying so as to bring the war to an end; and the conclusion they came to was, that, before all things, it was necessary to recover the money which had been lost by the remissness of the collectors, or which had been misappropriated. Maître Benoît Gentien, a celebrated doctor and monk of St. Denis, spoke in the name of Paris and the university, calling for reforms, pointing out abuses, and declaiming against ambition and covetousness; but always in general terms and without mentioning names. He displeased every body.

The disorders of the times were, in reality, too great to allow of an expectative mode of treatment. Vague generalities served no purpose. The assembly was dismissed, and Paris spoke for mute France; Paris, and the voice of Paris, its university.

The university, as we have seen, had more zeal than capacity for the discharge of such a task. It had great need of guidance. Now there was but one class from which it could receive this, but one that possessed any knowledge of law and facts, with something of a practical spirit: viz., the members of the high courts, the parliament,* the chamber of accounts,† and the court of aids. I do not find that the university addressed itself to the two latter bodies, the extreme timidity of which was, doubtless, but two well known to it; but it asked for the support of the parliament, engaging to join with it in a demand for the necessary reforms.

The parliament did not like the university, which had long caused it to be declared incompetent in causes that concerned the latter; nor was the recent victory of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction (1408) calculated to reconcile the two bodies. That tumultuous power, which was gradually becoming the ally of the populace, was offensive to the dignified feelings of the parliamentarians, as well as to their habits of respect for the royal authority. They replied to the university in the following manner: "It does not become a court, established for the purpose of rendering justice in the king's name, to make itself the complaining party who should demand it. The parliament,

* This was the opinion of Clemengis. In his letters he implores the interference of parliament as the only remedy for the present and future evils of the realm: O clarissimi præsides regiorum tribunalium cæterique celeberrimi judices, qui illam egregiam Curiam illustratis, expergiscimini tandem aliquando, et regni non dico statum, quia *non stat*, sed miserabilem lapsum aspicite....(The judge ought like the physician non tantum morbis cum exorti fuerint subvenire, sed præstantiori etiam cum gloria salubri ante præservatione, ne oriantur prospicere. Nic. Clemeng., Epist., ii. 284.

† M. le Comte Audiffret's important notice on the public accounts has made known to us how, since 1816, the government gradually submitted every thing to the inspection of the Cour des Comptes, until the law of 1832 made that court one of the great powers of the state. It would have been curious to examine what it has inherited from the old Chambre des Comptes, and in what respects the two institutions resemble or differ from each other.

however, is always ready, whenever and as often as the king shall please, to choose some of its members who shall occupy themselves with the affairs of the realm. The university and the corporation of the town will, of course, be careful to do nothing which should not be done."*

This refusal of the parliament to take part in the revolution was destined to render it violent and ineffective. Paris and the university could thenceforth do what they pleased; they could obtain reforms and fine ordonnances; but there was no one to execute them. Laws want the aid of men to render them living and efficacious. Time, habits, and manners can alone form these men.

I will state elsewhere at full length what I think of the parliament as a court of justice. It is not in a passing remark that we can pronounce judgment on that long labour of the transformation of the law, that work of interpretation, cunning and equivocation.† Here I shall content myself with regarding the parliament from the external point of view, and explaining why a body that could act so usefully refused its co-operation.

The parliament had no need to accept power at the hands of the university and the people of Paris; it devolved on it inevitably from the force of circumstances. It entertained a well-grounded fear of compromising by a direct interference in public affairs, the indirect, but all-potent influence it was daily acquiring. It had no wish to shake the royal authority, when that authority was gradually becoming its own.

The jurisdiction of the parliament of Paris had augmented constantly during the fourteenth century. Those who had been the loudest in their remonstrances against it came at last to consider it a privilege to be judged by the parliament. The churches and chapters frequently sued for that favour.

As the king's supreme court, the parliament saw not only the king's bailiffs and his *juges d'épée*, but likewise the barons and the greatest feudal lords wait as humble solicitors in its great hall. Recently, it had pronounced sentence of death and confiscation on the Count de Périgord.‡ It received appeals against the princes, against

* Registres du Parlement, quoted by M. de Barante, iv. 34.

† It is curious to observe the beginning of this great achievement in the Registers called Olim. We find there curious details as to the course of proceedure. Two gentlemen employed in the Archives, MM. Dessalles and Duclos, are preparing them for publication, under the direction of Count Beugnot. See, by way of supplement, the papers of MM. Klimrath, Taillandier and Beugnot, on our old law books, and the immense collection of the Registres du Parlement.—It must not, however, be forgotten that these Registers, even the Olim, and these law books, even those of the thirteenth century, contain not so much the law of the middle ages as the *destruction of the law of the middle ages*. We ought to go back to *the feudal* and *the ecclesiastical* law, such as we find them in charters, canons, rituals, and judicial forms and symbols.

‡ It would be more correct to say Count *in* Périgord. He possessed hardly more than the *ninth* part of the present department of Dordogne (MSS. inédites de M. Dessalles sur l'histoire de Périgord). According to a MS. chronicle re-

the Duke of Bretagne, and the Duke of Anjou, the king's brother (1328, 1371). Nay more, in several cases, the king had rendered his own authority subordinate to it, forbidding it to obey royal letters, and in a manner declaring that the wisdom of parliament was less fallible, surer, more constant, and more royal than that of the king.*

"Parliament," he says, again, in his ordonnances, "is the mirror of justice. The Châtelet and all the tribunals must follow the style of the parliament."

Admirable ascendency of reason and wisdom! Amid the universal distrust prevailing as to all other things, that court of justice was forced to accept all sorts of powers, administrative, of police, of communal order, &c. Paris relied on the parliament for the regular provision of its means of sustenance. Bread, the regular supply of sea fish, a multitude of other details, the inspection and control of the persons concerned in the coinage, of the barbers or surgeons, and of the town pavements, were all matters subject to its cognisance. The king intrusted it with the regulation of his household.†

The only powers that resisted this attractive force were, besides the university,‡ the great fiscal courts, the chamber of accounts, and the court of aids.§ Still we find the reformers of aids and finances ordered on an important occasion to consult the parliament.‖ At the same time it is thought necessary to state, by way of explanation, that if the masters of the accounts are judges without appeal, it is "because there would be an inconvenience in transporting the registers from place to place, in order to lay them before the parliament."¶

It was ruled in 1388 and 1400, and again decreed in 1413, that the parliament should fill up vacancies in its own body by election.** Thenceforth it was a corporation, and became more and more homogeneous. Offices remained always in the possession of the same respective families. Transmitted by marriage, and even by sale, they rarely passed into other than capable and worthy hands. There were parliamentary families, and parliamentary habits and principles. That image of lay sanctity, which France had once beheld in one man—in a king—she now possessed, unchangingly, in that judicial

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covered by M. Mérilhou, the fall of the last count was caused by his attempted abduction of the daughter of a consul of Périgord during a procession. The proceedings enumerate many other crimes. Nothing can be more curious as exemplifying the details of that interminable war which was waged between the lords and the king's servants. The principal grief alleged is, that the count, if his accusers are to be believed, used to say that he was resolved to be king, and that he acted as such: Jactabat palam publice fore se REGEM, certumque judicem pro appellationibus decidendis....constituerat.....a quo non permittebat ad Nos vel ad....Curiam appellare. Arch., Reg. du Parl., Arrêts Criminels, reg. xi., ann. 1389—1396.

* See Ordonnances, *passim*, particularly for the years 1344, 1359, 1389, 1400.

† Ibid., viii. and ix., ann. 1358, 1369, 1372, 1382.

‡ Ibid., ann. 1366. § Ibid., ann. 1375. ‖ Ibid., ann. 1374.

¶ Ibid., ann. 1408.

** It was added that *nobles* also should be elected, which proves that this was not the usual practice. Ibid., ann. 1407—8.

king, a being without caprice, or any passion, save that which concerned the interests of royalty. Thus was the stability of judicial order secured, at a period when political order was about to undergo the most rapid variations. Whatever might happen, France would have a depository of sound traditions and wisdom; and in those extreme moments, when royalty, nobility, and all the rest of its old stays should fail, when it should be on the point of forgetting itself, it would find its salvation in the sanctuary of civil justice.

The parliament, then, was not wrong in refusing to quit that state of immobility which was so useful to France. It would see the revolution pass away, survive it, and quietly take up and apply its most useful results.

Notwithstanding the refusal of the parliament, the university proceeded on its course. That strange power, theological, democratic, and revolutionary, was not well fitted for the task of reforming the kingdom. In the first place, it possessed in itself too little unity and harmony to bestow these qualities on the state. It did not even know whether it was itself an ecclesiastical or a lay corporation, though it claimed the privileges of clerks.* The faculty of theology, with all the arrogance of its orthodoxy, and the pride of its victory over the heads of the Church, was, nevertheless, part and parcel of the Church. It appeared to rule, but in reality it was itself led and forced along by the numerous and tumultuous faculty of arts (that is to say, of logic).† The latter, disagreeing with the other, was equally discordant with itself. It was divided into four nations, and each of these divisions so called really comprised men of various nations, Danes, Irish, Scotch, Lombards, &c.

A revolution had taken place in the university in the fourteenth century. In order to effect regularity in its studies and in the conduct of the students, these had gradually, by the establishment of burses and other means, been cloistered in what were called colleges. Most of the colleges seemed in reality to be the property of the bursars, who appointed the principals and the masters by vote. Nothing could be more democratic.‡

These little cloistered republics of poor young men were filled, as may be supposed, with the most restless spirit, particularly during the schism, when the princes disposed of all Church preferments, and shut out the men of the university from all access to them. Students that had grown old in those dreary abodes, under the influence of the dry and barren education of those days, pined there without hope. There were strange beings there, men who, without family,

* See *supra*.

† The rules of these two faculties underwent contrary changes. The faculty of theology lengthened its curriculum, and required six years' study instead of five before the bachelor's degree. The faculty of arts reduced its curriculum from six to five years, then to three and a half, and at last in 1600 to two. Scholastic pursuits were gradually declining in importance. Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Parisiensis, v. 858, 863.

‡ Du Boulay gives the constitutions of these colleges at full length, iv. and v.

friends, or knowledge of the world, had passed a whole life in the garrets of the *Pays Latin*, studying by moonlight for want of oil,* living on arguments or on fasts, and descending from the sublime miseries of the Mountain, from the Standonc's gutter, or the skylight whence Ramus was cast, only to dispute to the death in the mud of the Rue du Fouarre or the Place Maubert.

The Mendicant monks, new members of the university, conjoined the acrimony of poverty with that of the schools; they were often filled with hatred and envy, to a degree surpassing all creatures. Miserable, and making a system of their misery, they desired nothing better than to inflict it on others.† It has been said (and I believe it was true of many of them), that they understood Christianity only as a religion of death and woe. Mortified, and mortifying, they killed themselves with abstinence and violence, and were ready to treat their neighbours as they did themselves. It was from amongst them that the Duke of Burgundy readily procured men to laud murder.

The contempt in which the other orders held the Mendicants was calculated to irritate this morose disposition. Now among the Mendicants there was an order, less numerous and important than the Dominicans and Franciscans, but more singular and eccentric, and one which the other Mendicants themselves derided. This order, that of the Carmelites, was not content with a Christian origin; like the Templars, they aspired to an origin more remote than Christianity.‡ Hermits of Mount Carmel, and successors of Elijah,

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* Son of a shoemaker of Malines. He came to Paris as a servant, or as a kitchen-boy, according to the MS. history of Sainte Geneviève. Passing the day in the kitchen, he retired at night to the church belfry, and studied there by moonlight. He entered the college of Montaigu, restored it from its then ruined condition, and was as it were its second founder. He is not less celebrated for the violence with which he preached against the divorce of Louis XII. Bulæus, vi. Félibien, i. 520—530.

† I here mention the bad features of the case, and I am bound to do so; if I wished to name the good I should need volumes. The loftiest Christian energy has been displayed by the Mendicants. They filled two centuries, the thirteenth and fourteenth, with their ardent exertions, their original and strange eloquence. We must not paint these popular preachers in soft, seductive colours; all that remains of them show: that they spoke as the people likes to be spoken to, that is, with violence and often with downright coarseness. The polemic genius of Cîteaux (literally polemic, since the military orders were off-shoots of Cîteaux) was continued in the Dominicans. Undoubtedly St. Dominick was not the *inventor* of the Inquisition; inquisitorial proceedings are of Byzantine origin; the Visigoths of Spain adopted them. The popes intrusted the Inquisition to the monks of Cîteaux; but it was in the hands of the Dominicans that it became an institution and a formidable one. Talent cannot extinguish facts. (See M. Lacordaire's eloquent memoir.)

I wish all success to the new Dominicans, who make liberty their title to our respect. No doubt there are many souls at this moment that feel a great need of a life in community. Will the system now begin again under the medieval forms? Time alone can tell.

‡ This pretension excited a sharp controversy between the Carmelites and the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. The latter, who were scarcely more

they piqued themselves on imitating the austerity of the Hebrew prophets, of those dread locust-eaters who strove with the spirit of God in the wilderness.*

Eustache de Pavilly, a Carmelite, took upon him to read the remonstrance of the university to the king. This Elijah of the Place Maubert, spoke almost as sternly as he of Carmel. The remonstrance could not, at all events, be charged with being general and vague. Nothing could be more precise.† The Carmelite did not merely point out abuses; he denounced men; he denounced them boldly, and at the head of them the Provost Desessarts, until then the man of the Burgundians, and the same who had arrested Montaigu. But now he was no longer considered a safe man, and he had just quarrelled with the university.‡

The Duke of Burgundy lent a favourable ear to the remonstrance. Menaced by the princes, and seeing his son-in-law, the dauphin, quit his side, he resolved to lean for support on the university, and on Paris. He forced the council to dismiss the financiers, according to the demand of the university. Desessarts fled, declaring that there was actually a deficit in his accounts of two millions, but that he had the Duke of Burgundy's receipts for the money.

The latter was deeply interested in keeping such an accuser at a distance. A month afterwards he hears that Desessarts is come back, that he has forced the bridge of Charenton, and is holding the Bastille in the dauphin's name. The dauphin's councillors had imagined, that once the Bastille was taken, Paris would side with him, and turn against the Duke of Burgundy. The event was quite otherwise. The port of Charenton, which secured the navigation of Upper Seine, and the supply of necessaries to the town, was, of all things, what interested the Parisians the most. The attack on this post led to a belief that Desessarts wished to starve Paris. An immense concourse of people rushed to the Hôtel de Ville, calling for the standard of the commune, that they might go

friendly to the poetry of the Middle Ages than to modern philosophy, vehemently attacked the history of Elijah; they took up a club of learning and criticism to demolish the frail legend. By way of retaliation the Carmelites had the Acta of the Bollandists proscribed in Spain. Heliot, Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, i. 305—310.

* The rules of the Carmelites were well calculated to develope enthusiasm: they enjoined long fasts, long silence, and days and nights passed in a cell. Constit. fratrum B. Mariæ de Monte Carmeli, 1590, 4to.

† The most important passage is that in which the expenses of the royal household are compared at different periods: Ad priscorum regum, reginarum, ac liberorum suorum continuandum statum magnificum et quotidianas expensiones 94,000 francorum auri abunde sufficiebant, indeque creditores debite contentabantur, quod utique modo non fit, quamvis at prædictos usus 450,000 annuatim recipiant. Relig., 761.

‡ "Desessarts and his brother received or took much money." Ibid., 768. But the university had a special ground of enmity to the provost. He had taken part against the students in their quarrel with a provost's sergeant, who was also an innkeeper, and who had dragged a dead ass and laid it at the gate of the College d'Harcourt, in derision of the students. See Religieux and Bulæus, v.

and attack the Bastille. The first day they were got rid of;* but on the second they took the standard, and laid siege to the fortress. They would have found it difficult to force the place; but the Duke of Burgundy assisted them, and induced the affrighted Desessarts to evacuate the fortress, pledging himself for the safety of his life.† He made a cross on Desessarts' back, and swore upon it. The duke thought to lead the people; he soon found that he followed them.

Those who had thus set up the standard of the commune against a royal fortress, were yet not so much enemies of public order as they might be supposed. They did not lay hands on Desessarts, or do him any hurt, but wished to have him brought to a regular trial. They took him to the castle of the Louvre, and placed over him a guard, half burgher half royal.

These men, moderate even in violence, were not men of the good burgherhood of Paris, of that which furnished the syndics and the captains of fifty. That burgherhood had spoken by the lips of Benedict Gentien, moderately and vaguely; it was incapable of acting. The captains of fifty did what they could to hinder the attack on the Bastille. There were others stronger than they, whom the multitude followed with more alacrity, men of wealth, but who, by their position, their trades, and their habits, had more affinity to the humbler classes; these were the master butchers, hereditary masters of the stalls of the great butchery, and of that of St. Geneviève.‡ These stalls passed like fiefs, from heir to heir, and always to males. The same families possessed them for several centuries. The Saint Yons and the Thiberts, for instance, already important families in the time of Charles V. (1376), still subsisted in the last century.§ A circumstance which, in spite of their wealth, made them retain the energetic habits of their trade, was that they were bound to carry it on in person, so that whatever might be their wealth, these butcher lords remained genuine butchers, slaughtering, bleeding, and retailing meat.

They were men of orderly, regular habits, often devout. Those of the great butchery were fondly attached to their parish-church of

* They respected the courageous resistance of the clerk of the Hôtel de Ville. Relig., 776.

† The duke said to him: "Be not uneasy my friend; for I swear to thee thou shalt have no other guard than my own body. And he made the sign of the cross on his back with his hand, and led him away." Juvenal des Ursins, 250.

‡ This ancient corporation did not enrol its regulations along with those of the other trades, when the provost Stephen Boileau collected them in the reign of St. Louis. The butchers, doubtless, preferred to rely on tradition, public notoriety, and the fear with which they were regarded. See Depping, Introd. aux Reglements d'Et. Boileau, lvi.; and Lamare, Traité de la Police, ii., liv. v., tit. xx.

§ Félibien, ii. 753. Sauval, i. 634, 642. See also Ordonn. *passim*. One of the most curious is that which fixes the sum to be paid by every new butcher to the cellarer and porter "de la Court-le-Roy" (of the parliament). Ordonn.., i. 597, ann. 1381.

St. Jacques la Boucherie. In the records of St. Jacques we find it mentioned that the butcher Alain bought a skylight in the building, that he might see the mass from his own house,* and the butcher Hausseeul a key of the church, that he might perform his devotions there at any hour.

Of this honest, but coarse and violent class, the most violent were the butchers of St. Geneviève, the Legoix especially. The latter, old vassals of the abbey, lived on rather bad terms with it. They persisted, in spite of the abbot, in selling meat on fast-days, and, moreover, in melting their suet at home, at the risk of setting fire to the whole quarter.† Placed in the midst of the schools and their disputes, they partook of the passionate warmth of the students. The St. Geneviève shambles were situated at the *Croix des Carmes*, consequently close to the convent of the Carmelites; and thus the Legoix were neighbours, and no doubt friends, of that violent monk, Eustache de Pavilly, the orator of the university.

The forces of the master-butchers consisted of an army of apprentices and journeymen, among whom there were men remarkable for their savage daring—two especially, the flayer Caboche, and the son of a tripe-woman. They were terrible men in a riot; but their masters, who set them on, thought they could always call them off.

It was curious to see how the master-butchers would employ their great power, when once they had in their hands Paris, the king, the queen, and the dauphin. These men, honest at bottom, religious and loyal, looked on all the evils of the kingdom as consequent on the king's malady, and the latter as a punishment inflicted by God. For their sins God had smitten the king and his brother, the Duke of Orleans. There remained the young dauphin, and on him they placed their hopes; all their fear was lest the punishment should extend to him, and he should resemble his father.‡ Young as he was, that prince caused them much anxiety in that respect. He was profuse in his expenditure, and extravagantly fond of rich clothes; his habits were quite contrary to those of the steady burghers. These men, who went early to bed, heard the dauphin's music all night long; he chose to have organs and choir-boys to perform in his mundane entertainments, to the great scandal of every body.

They conceived, in their wisdom, that in order to reform the kingdom they ought to begin by reforming the heir to the kingdom, they ought to remove from him those who were destroying him, and watch over his health, bodily and spiritual.

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* An opening two fingers long and two wide. Vilain, Hist. de St. Jacques la Boucherie, 54, ann. 1388, 1405.

† Félibien, i. 646.

‡ Si ab aliquo præpotente (ut publice ferebatur) inducti ad hoc fuerint, tunc non habui pro comperto; eos tamen non ignoro ducis Guyennæ nocturnas et indecentes vigilias, ejus commessiones et modum inordinatum vivendi molestissime tulisse, timentes, sicut dicebant, ne infirmitatem paternæ similem incurreret in dedecus regni. Relig., 778.

Whilst Desessarts was still in the Bastille, excusing himself on the ground of the orders he had received from the dauphin, our butchers repaired to St. Paul, having at their head an old surgeon, named Jehan de Troyes, a man of venerable appearance, who spoke remarkably well. The dauphin, all trembling, placed himself at the window, by the advice of the Duke of Burgundy, and the surgeon spoke thus: "Monseigneur, you see your most humble subjects, the butchers of Paris, in arms before you. They wish only to show you thereby that they would not fear to expose their lives for your service, as they have done before now; all their displeasure is that your royal youth does not shine with lustre equal to your ancestors', and that you are turned aside from following their footsteps by the traitors that surround and govern you. Every one knows that they make it their task to corrupt your good morals, and to cast you into disorderly courses. We are not unaware that our good queen, your mother, is very much dissatisfied thereat;* the princes of your blood themselves fear that, when you shall be of age to reign, your bad education will render you incapable of doing so. The just aversion we feel for men so deserving of chastisement has made us often enough solicit their removal from your service. We are resolved this day to wreak vengeance upon their treason, and we request you will place them in our hands."

The shouts of the multitude testified that the old surgeon had rightly expressed their feelings. The dauphin replied with tolerable firmness: "Good burghers, I entreat you, sirs, to return to your trades, and not to show this furious animosity against servants who are attached to me."

"If you know any traitors," said the dauphin's chancellor, thinking to intimidate them, "they shall be punished: name them."

"Yourself in the first place," they shouted; and they handed him a list of fifty lords and gentlemen, at the head of which was his own name. He was forced to read it aloud, and more than once.

The dauphin, trembling, weeping, and crimson with anger, but still seeing plainly that there was no means of resistance, took a gold cross worn by his wife, and made the Duke of Burgundy swear that no harm should happen to those whom the people were about to seize. He swore, as he had done for Desessarts, what he could not make good.

Meanwhile, they were breaking in the doors, and beginning to ransack the king's mansion in search of the traitors. They seized the Duke de Bar, the king's cousin, then the dauphin's chancellor, the Sire de la Rivière, his chamberlain, his carver, his valets de chambre, and some others, one of whom they rudely tore away from the dauphiness, the Duke of Burgundy's daughter, who wished to save him. All the prisoners were placed on horseback, and conveyed to the Duke of Burgundy's hôtel, and afterwards to the castle of the Louvre.

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* Relig., 779.

They did not all reach that spot. The butchers threw into the Seine or cut the throats of those they thought to blame for the dauphin's irregularities or his foolish expenditure — a rich tapestry-maker, and a poor devil of a musician named Courtebotte. They also fell in with a clever mechanician or engineer, who had helped the Duke of Berri to defend Bourges; some one having said that this man boasted of being able to set the town on fire in such a manner that no one could extinguish the flames,* he was instantly put to death.

The butchers thought they had done a meritorious deed, and expected full surely to be thanked when they went next day to the Hôtel de Ville. There sat the wealthy citizens, syndics, and others, talking with horror over the events of the preceding day—the royal mansion broken open, the king's servants carried off, blood shed. They were afraid that, to punish them, the Duke of Orleans and the princes would come and destroy the town. But if they feared the princes, on the other hand they feared the butchers, and durst not disavow them. They sent some of their body, with doctors of the university, to the princes, to persuade them, if possible, that every thing had been done with good intentions, and without any wish to displease them.†

The butchers, however, who still persisted in their scheme of reforming the dauphin's morals, never ceased returning to St. Paul, or sending thither doctors of their party. What a terrible and ludicrous spectacle was presented by that people, with its homely notions of morality and the religious feelings that mingled with its ferocity, who never thought either of destroying the royal power, or of transferring it to another house, or even another branch, but wished only to make royalty mend its manners, and went with a grave face to feel its pulse and prescribe for it. There was nothing absurd in the application of medical treatment to politics,‡ when the state was as yet comprised in the person of the king, suffered with his ailments, and was mad with his insanity.

The Carmelite, Eustache de Pavilly, specially took upon himself to administer this moral medicine to the young prince, without sparing any heroic remedy. He said to his face, for instance, "Ah! monseigneur, how changed you are! As long as you suffered yourself to be educated and brought up to good government by your respected mother, you afforded every hope that can be conceived of a well-born youth. All men blessed God for having given the king a successor so docilely susceptible of good instruction. But, once

* Relig., 779.

† Non se prædicta fecisse in eorum displicentiam. Ibid., 781.

‡ See Gerson's sermon on the king's bodily and spiritual health, and Clemengis' letter entitled: De politiæ Gallicanæ ægritudine, per metaphoram corporis humani lapsi et consumpti. Nic. Clemeng., epist. ii. 300. These comparisons were still very frequent in the seventeenth century, and occur even in Corneille's prefaces.

escaped from your mother's guidance, you have lent but too ready an ear to persons who have rendered you undevout towards God, and lazy and sluggish in the despatch of business. They have taught you a thing hateful and intolerable to the king's good subjects—to turn night into day, to pass your time in carousals, in villanous dances, and other things unbecoming the royal majesty."

Pavilly chided and admonished him in this way, in presence sometimes of the queen, sometimes of the princes. Once he made him listen to a complete treatise on the duties of princes,* wherein he investigated with the amplest detail all the virtues that can render one worthy of the throne, and recalled all the examples of virtue and vice which history, especially that of France, could furnish. The last examples were those of the king still living, and his brother, and of the dauphin himself, who, if he did not mend his ways, would render it necessary to deprive him of his birthright, as his mother had threatened.

He concluded by calling for the appointment of commissioners, who should take informations against the dissipators of the public money; of others, who should prosecute the imprisoned traitors; and, lastly, of captains to act against the Count of Armagnac. "These people," he said, "are here to support me in all this; what I have set forth is the substance of their humble requests."

The dauphin replied mildly; but he could not endure it any longer. He would gladly have escaped. The Count de Vertus, brother of the Duke of Orleans, had fled in disguise. The dauphin was so imprudent as to write to the princes, begging them to come and deliver him. The butchers, who suspected this, took their measures to prevent the possibility of their royal pupil escaping their vigilant inspection; they placed the gates of the town under good guard, and made sure of the Hôtel St. Paul,† of which they constituted the sage surgeon, Jehan de Troyes, guardian and porter. At the same time they patrolled day and night "for the safety of the king, and of monseigneur the Duke of Guienne." That was the name by which the dauphin was known.

To be keepers and gaolers of their king and the heir to the throne, was a novel and strange situation, and one that must have astonished the butchers themselves. But even had they repented, they were no longer masters of events. Their servants, whom they had led in the first instance, now led them in their turn. The heroes of the party were the flayers, Caboche and Denisot, the son of the tripe-woman. They had for captain Hélion de Jacqueville, a Burgundian knight, a man as brutal as themselves. The flayers reserved to themselves the guard of Charenton and St. Cloud, the two posts on which the victualling of the town depended. Apparently, the master-butchers were no longer thought sufficiently trustworthy.

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* Ex quibus posset componi tractatus valde magnus. Relig., 781, v.

† Gardèrent curieusement les portes...., et disoient aucuns d'eux qu'on le faisoit pour sa correction, car il estoit de jeune âge. Monstrelet, iii. 4.

The Duke of Burgundy had sore reason to repent what he had done. Whilst the Parisians kept hold of the dauphin, the men of Ghent desired to keep the son of the Duke of Burgundy,* and came to Paris to demand him. The Parisians had adopted the white *chaperon* of Ghent, and now the Ghenters resumed it at their hands. The Duke of Burgundy was obliged to give up his son, and commit that precious hostage to the keeping of the men of Ghent. He underwent the *chaperon.*

One day when the king, being in better health than usual, was going in great pomp to thank God at Notre Dame, with his princes and his nobility, old Jehan de Troyes met him on his way, with the town corporation, and besought the king to assume the *chaperon*, in token of his cordial affection for his town of Paris. The king good-humouredly complied. Thenceforth every one, even to the rector and the members of the parliament, was obliged to wear the popular head gear.† Woe to those who should have worn it awry!‡

The chaperon was sent to the other towns, and was adopted by almost all. Nevertheless, not one of them seriously engaged in the proceedings of Paris. The Cabochiens, encountering no resistance, but receiving aid from no one, were forced to recur to expeditious means of raising money. They asked permission of the dauphin to seize sixty burghers, rich men, moderate and suspected, and these they put to ransom.

The movement had begun with the imprisonment of courtiers and lords; and now the burghers were come to the same pass. It was impossible to guess where these violent proceedings would stop. The humbler classes gradually contracted a liking for disorder, and would do nothing but run about the streets with the white chaperon. As they earned nothing, they were naturally impelled to help themselves by force. A general pillage might begin at any moment.

The men of the university, who had created all this stir without knowing what they were about, were not among those whose alarm was the least. They had thought to accomplish the reform in company with the Duke of Burgundy, the town corporation, and the most honourable burghers; and now there remained with them only

* This very important matter is found only in Le Religieux. The historians of the Burgundian party, Monstrelet and Meyer, make no mention of it. It was Paris that interfered in this affair on behalf of the men of Ghent. Regali consilio (præpositi mercatorum et scabinorum Parisiensium *validis precibus*) ut Dominus Comes de Charolois primogenitus ducis Burgundiæ cum uxore sua, filia Regis, in Flandriam duceretur....Gandavensim burgenses obtinuerunt. Relig., 723 v.

† Et en prinrent hommes d'églises, femmes d'honneur, marchandes qui à tout vendoient les denrées. Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris, 183, edit. de M. Buchon, t. xv. des Chroniques du 15e. siècle.

‡ The dauphin having in jest drawn down one corner of his *chaperon*, so as to give it the appearance of a *band* (the token of the Armagnacs) the butchers were near breaking out into a rage: "Look at that pleasant fellow, the dauphin," they said; "he will not stop till he puts us in a passion." Juvenal des Ursins, 253.

the butchers, their journeymen, and the flayers. They were horrified at finding themselves in the streets shoulder to shoulder with these new brethren and friends, whom they saw for the first time; fellows covered with dirt and blood, with their sleeves tucked up, threatening all the world, and bellowing for murder.

The monstrous alliance of the doctors and the slaughterers could not last. The university men assembled at the convent of the Carmelites, in the Place Maubert, in the very cell of Eustache Pavilly.* They were exceedingly despondent, and knew not what course to adopt. These poor doctors, discovering in all their learning no light that could guide them, resolved to consult the simple-minded. They inquired out devout and contemplative persons, monks, and holy women who had visions. Pavilly, full of confidence, took on him to go and consult them. But there was nothing cheering in the visions of these women. One of them had seen three suns in the sky. Another saw dark clouds hang over Paris, whilst there was bright weather in the south, towards the marches of Berri and Orleans. "I," said a third, "have seen the King of England in great pride on top of the towers of Notre Dame; he excommunicated our lord the King of France; and the king, surrounded by men in black, sat humbly on a stone in front of the cathedral."†

The dread of these visions disturbed the minds of the most intrepid. They desired to consult an honest man of the opposite side, the moderate of moderates, Juvenal des Ursins. They sent for him, but could extract nothing practicable from him. He saw nothing that could be done except to entreat the princes to become mutually reconciled and break off the negotiations they had engaged in with the English.‡ This was equivalent to simply submitting, and giving up all schemes of reform. So great, however, was the despondency, and so strong the desire for peace, that this advice was eagerly adopted by all but Pavilly, who alone held out, and persisted in declaring that what had been done was well done, and that the people should persevere to the end.§

These dissensions, of which the princes were informed, no doubt encouraged them to postpone the promulgation of the great reforming ordonnance which the university had at first so urgently soli-

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* Read this great scene in Juvenal des Ursins, 251. This so-so historian, who seems usually to content himself with abridging Le Religieux, gives, nevertheless, some important details which he had learned from his father.

† Some said that all sorts of evils were to be expected, since the curse pronounced by Boniface, and afterwards renewed by Benedict XIII. Ibid.

‡ He knew that the princes were bringing over the Duke of Clarence, and that the Duke of Burgundy was doing the same by the Earl of Arundel. Ibid.

§ Juvenal alleges with malicious flippancy, that the Carmelite gained money by all this. Some one, he says, spoke to save Desessarts, who was in the Châtelet in great danger: "But the said de Pavilly who was strongly intent on *the profit of his purse*, and was much interested with the Gois, Saintyous, and their allies, wished to show that the arrests had been duly made, and that commissioners ought to be appointed to prosecute the prisoners. Ibid.

cited. Thereupon, without paying any heed to the doctors that forsook him, the monk went off to St. Paul, carrying with him the provost of the merchants, the syndics, a multitude of the humbler class, and a considerable number of intimidated burghers, and boldly preached to the king (May 22).* "There are still," he said, "evil weeds in the garden of the king and queen; we must hoe and clean the ground; the good town of Paris, like a wise gardener, must pluck up these pernicious weeds that would choke the lilies."† When he had finished this sinister harangue, and accepted the usual collation provided for the preacher, the chancellor asked him in whose name he spoke. The Carmelite turned towards the provost and the syndics, who gave their sanction to what he had said. But upon the chancellor's objecting to the deputation as not sufficiently numerous to represent the town of Paris, they called in some of the most considerable burghers from among those that were in the court-yard. The latter obeyed the summons much against their will, and, kneeling before the king, protested their good intentions. Meanwhile, the crowd was augmenting; all sorts of persons entered, and none durst forbid them; the hôtel was filling fast. The Duke of Burgundy himself began to be afraid of his friends, and in order to get rid of them he told them that the king was hardly recovered,‡ and that such a tumult would do him injury and cause him a relapse. But they only shouted so much the louder that the king's welfare was precisely what they were come for.

The surgeon, Jehan de Troyes, then exhibited a fresh list of traitors. At its head was the name of the queen's own brother, Louis of Bavaria. In vain the Duke of Burgundy entreated; in vain the queen shed tears;§ Louis of Bavaria, who was about to be married, requested at least eight days' grace, promising to surrender himself a prisoner the week following; they were inflexible. To cut the matter short, Jacqueville, the captain of the forces, entered with his men, and with brutal rudeness, without regard for the queen, the king, or the dauphin, forced his way everywhere by breaking open the doors, and seized those whom the people called for, and even

* Et dans les trois tours dudit hostel mirent et ordonnèrent leurs gens d'armes. Monstrelet, iv. 9.....Ont esté a Saint Pol...., et après une collation faite par M. Eustace de Pavilly, maître en théologie, de l'ordre de N. D. des Carmes, tendant à fin d'oster les bons des mauvais.....Archives, Reg. du Parl., Conseil, an. 1413, Lundi, 22 Mai.

† Très mauvaises herbes et perilleuses, c'est à savoir quelques serviteurs et servantes, qu'il falloit sarcler et oster. Juvenal des Ursins, 253. Jehan de Troyes had already employed the same metaphor: Eradicentur herbæ malæ, ne impediant florem juventutis vestræ virtutum fructus odoriferos producere. Relig., 785.—This language of gardening was greatly relished by townsfolk, always pent up within walls, and so much the fonder of the rural scenes from which they were excluded. It recurs continually in the Meistersaenger, Hans Sach, &c. True, it is not there applied to purposes of murder as in the instance before us.

‡ Monstrelet, iv. 11.

§ "The dauphin refrained from weeping as well as he could, wiping away his tears." Ibid., 12.

thirteen ladies belonging to the queen and the dauphiness.* It was useless to talk to these men of respect for ladies, or of chivalry. Among the prisoners they carried off was a Burgundian, one of their own faction, whom eight days before they had placed with the dauphin as his chancellor. Distrust was hourly increasing.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Berri and other relations of the prisoners sent and asked the university whether or not it sanctioned what had been done. The latter, being consulted collectively and corporately, gathered some little courage from its numbers, and gave at least an equivocal reply, "That it would not meddle at all with the matter, for or against." In the king's council the university men went further, and declared that they had had nothing to do with the seizure of the lords, and that the thing was not pleasing to them.

The timid disavowal of the university did not allay the apprehensions of the princes. This time they feared for themselves; the blow had fallen so near them that they made the king sign an ordonnance wherein he approved of what had been done. Next day [May 25, 1413] was solemnly read the great reforming ordonnance.

This ordonnance so violently extorted does not exhibit the character of the moment in so great a degree as might be anticipated; it is a wise and impartial recast and combination of the best ordonnances of the fourteenth century. It may be denominated the *administrative* code of old France, as the ordonnance of 1357 was its *legislative* and political charter.

It may well surprise us to find this ordonnance hardly mentioned by historians. Yet it covers no fewer than seventy folio pages.† With the exception of some articles too minute and childishly conceived,‡ or else pointedly hostile to certain individuals, we cannot but admire the spirit that pervades it; it is one extremely special and practical: without speciality there can be no real reform. This one commences very low, but it ascends very high and penetrates everywhere. It reduces the wages of the king's sempstress and fishwoman; but it regulates the rights of the great bodies of the state, and the whole play of the administrative, judicial, and financial machine.

The form is curious; I wish I could preserve it; but then this ordonnance would fill the remainder of the volume, and still the reader would have but a confused idea of its general scope. It is impossible for me to give a summary of this code in a few lines without borrowing the more precise and formal phraseology of modern times.

* And this being done the king went to dinner." Monstrelet, iv. 11.

† Ordon., x. 71—134.

‡ See the article on "Nostre bonne couronne dismembrée, et les fleurons d'icelle baillez en goige." Ibid., 92; and the article on the war subsidies, the amount of which was to be locked up "En un gros coffre, qui sera mis en la grosse tour de Nostre Palais, ou ailleurs en lieu sûr et secret, ouquel coffre aura trois clefs.... Ibid., 96.

Two leading ideas seem to pervade this immense mass of details: the centralisation of financial and that of judicial business. In respect to the former every thing is made to end in the chamber of accounts; in respect to the latter in the parliament.

The heads of the financial administrative departments (domain, aids, war fund) are reduced to a small number; an economic measure tending to secure responsibility. The chamber of accounts examines the results of their administration, and decides in doubtful cases, but only on documentary evidence, and without hearing any speeches of advocates.

All the king's vassals are required to make out a schedule of the fiefs they hold of him, and to send it in to the chamber of accounts.* Thus was that financial tribunal the watcher and indirect agent of political centralisation.

Election is the constituent principle of the judicial body; offices cease to be bought and sold. The lieutenants of the seneschals and provosts are elected by the councillors, advocates, and *other sage persons*.

For the appointment of a provost, the bailiff applies to the "advocates, attorneys, men of practice, *and other condition*," for the names of three or four fit persons. The chancellor and a committee of the parliament, "calling in the aid of the members of our great council, and of the keepers of our accounts," make choice between the candidates.

Appointments to important offices are made directly by the parliament in presence of the chancellor and some members of the great council.

The *parliament elects its members* in presence of the chancellor and some members of the great council. Henceforth this body is self-recruited; thus is the independence of the magistracy secured on a firm basis.

Two oppressive jurisdictions are limited and restricted. The King's Bench (*l'hôtel du roi*) shall no longer withdraw suitors from their natural tribunals, nor ruin them by forcing them to come from remote provinces and implore tardy justice in Paris. The office of grand master of the waters and forests is suppressed. That grand master, usually one of the great lords of the realm, had but too many opportunities for tyrannising over the rural districts. Henceforth there are to be six masters, and an appeal shall be from their courts to the parliament. The *usages* of the good people shall be respected. The *louvetiers* (official wolf-hunters) shall no longer hinder the peasants from killing wolves; and the latter may destroy the new chases which the lords have made, "stripping the adjoining country of men and inhabitants, and peopling it with wild beasts."†

One thing in this great act strikes us with admiration and respect;

* Ordonnances, x. 109.

† Ibid., 163.

namely, its undeviating impartiality. Who were its real authors? From what order of the state did it more particularly emanate? We cannot tell.

The university itself, to which it is chiefly attributed in the preamble,* could not possess that spirit of adaptation, that practical wisdom which it evinces. The remonstrance of the university, as given in Monstrelet, is little more than a violent denunciation of such and such abuses, of this or that functionary.

The parliamentmen to whom the ordonnance grants so much power, seem for all that not to have had the principal part in drawing it up. It reproaches the ignorance of some among them, and their readiness to receive presents; and it forbids the admission into the parliament of many members of one family.

The advocates, notaries, and registrars are reprimanded for their fiscal spirit, and for the ruinous multiplication of papers which even then devoured the substance of suitors.

The keepers of the accounts are treated with distrust. They must not decide separately, but by joint deliberation "and in full chamber."

The provosts and seneschals must not be natives of the provinces in which they exercise their functions. They are not to acquire any property therein, nor to marry, nor to give their daughters in marriage there. When they are about to quit the province, they must remain there forty days to answer for what they have done.

Churchmen are treated with no greater confidence. The ordonnance will not allow priests to be advocates, and it accuses the clerks, presidents of the parliament, of negligence or connivance. There seems no trace here of the hand of an ecclesiastic.

Neither does this ordonnance emanate exclusively from the burgher and communal party. It protects the inhabitants of the rural districts, grants the right of chase in the warrens which the lords have made without right, and allows them to take up arms for the purpose of aiding the seneschals and hunting down plunderers.†

From all this we may conclude that so impartial a reform of all orders of the state, was not effected under the exclusive influence of any one of them.

The violent spirits demanded and sometimes dictated; the moderate held the pen, and transformed transient ebullitions of violence into sage and lasting reforms. The doctors, Pavilly, Gentien, and Courtecuisse; and the legists, Henri de Marle, Arnaud de Corbie, and Juvenal des Ursins, were probably all consulted. All the previous ordonnances were blended together in this one. It is the wisdom of the France of that day, its great monument, which

* Eussions requis les Prélats, Chevaliers, Ecuyers, Bourgeois de nos citez et bonnes villes, et mesmement notre tres chière et très amée fille l'Université de Paris.....que nous baillâssent leur bon avis.....Ordonnances x. 71.

† Ibid., 137.

may have been condemned for a moment with the revolution that erected it, but which, nevertheless, remained as a fund to be drawn on by succeeding legislators, as a starting point for new ameliorations.

However severe we moderns may be in our judgments upon these Gothic essays, let us yet acknowledge that we discern in them the true principles of administrative organisation, principles which are none other than those of all organisation, namely, centralisation of the whole, and mutual subordination of the parts. The separation of the administrative and judicial powers, and of the judicial and municipal, though as yet impossible, is, nevertheless, indicated in some articles.

The conjunction of military and judicial powers, that plague of barbarous societies, subsists in it in right of the seneschals and bailiffs. In reality, these *juges d'épée* are no longer the true judges; they have the outward dignities and the profits of justice, rather than the actual power. The real judges are their lieutenants; and these are elected by the advocates and councillors, *by the sage persons*, as the ordonnance says.

It concedes a great deal to these *sages*, to the lawyers, a great deal too much apparently. As the several bodies renew their own numbers, they will probably do so under a family compact; in spite of all the precautions of the law, the judges will make colleagues of their sons, nephews, and sons-in-laws. Elections will serve to cloak arrangements dictated by private interest or relationship. A legal appointment will often be a dowry—a singular fortune for a young bride, the right of breaking on the wheel and hanging! These persons, I imagine, will esteem themselves exactly in proportion to the immense rights they hold. The judicial authority, transmitted as a property from generation to generation, will become but the more stable, and more worthy, perhaps.* Will it become too stable? Will not these families, intermarrying almost exclusively with each other, constitute at last a sort of judicial feudalism? An immense evil in itself; but in those times it was an advantage. This feudalism was necessary against the military feudalism, which it was desirable to annul. The nobility possessed the strength derived from cohesion and relationship, it was necessary that the judicature should be held together by the bond of kindred. In those as yet material times there was no solid association but that constituted by flesh and blood.

Two things were wanting to enable the fine administrative and judiciary reform of 1413 to come in play,† namely, that in the first place it should lean upon a legislative and political reform; an attempt of the latter kind had been made separately, in 1357. But

* I will speak elsewhere of the sale of judicial offices and its effects.

† The only guarantee given it was publicity, the insufficient publicity of those times. It was to be read and posted up once in the chief place of each seneschalry and bailiwick, on the first day of the assizes. Ordonnances, x. 113.

what was above all things wanted, was men, and the habits and manners that make men. Without habits in accordance with them, what do laws avail? Now these habits could only be formed by a long process, and first of all in certain families whose example might bestow on the nation what it must be confessed it wants most, and acquires slowly; viz., steadiness, persistency, and respect for precedents. All this was found in the parliamentary families.

This ordonnance of ordonnances was solemnly declared by the king to be obligatory and inviolable. The princes and prelates beside him swore to it with uplifted hands. That celebrated doctor of the university, Maître Jean Courtecuisse, the king's almoner, preached afterwards in St. Paul's on the excellence of the ordonnance. In his harangue, which on the whole is weak and tedious, there is, however, one pathetic figure; that in which he represents the university as a poor famished wretch, hungering and thirsting for laws.*

This great code was now to be applied; and now appeared the terrible disproportion between the laws and the men. The moderate and the competent standing aloof, there remained for commencing the application of these fine laws, the men least fitted to put such a machine in motion; viz., the schoolmen and the butchers: the latter too rude and ignorant, the former too subtle and too little conversant with realities.

Whatever may have been their extreme awkwardness in a trade so new to them, history must own that they did not show themselves so unworthy of power as might have been expected. These commons of Paris, forsaken by the realm at large, endeavoured at the same time to reform and to defend it. They sent out their provost against the English, whilst at the same time their captain, Jacqueville, went bravely to encounter the princes.† In Paris itself, they began against a monument of utility, which completed the triple unity of that town; I mean the bridge of Notre Dame, a great work, heroically begun under such difficult circumstances, and with such small means.‡

The fact is that the government was supported by no one. The English were no further from Paris than Dieppe;§ no one was willing to give money. Gerson refused to pay, and chose rather

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* Du Boulay erroneously refers this sermon to the year 1403; yet the title he himself gives it ought to have shown him that its date was 1413. May it be that for the honour of the university he scrupled to avow the connexion of one of its greatest doctors with the Cabochiens?

† "To Montereau.... they did not meet each other." Monstrelet, iv. 54.

‡ "This day the bridge of La Planche de Mibray was named the *Pont Nostre Dame*, and Charles, King of France named it, and struck the first pile, and the Duke of Guienne his son after him, and the Duke of Berri, and the Duke of Burgundy, and the Sire de la Trémouille." Journal du Bourgeois de Paris, 10 Mai, 1413, ed. Buchon, xv. 182.

§ Vitet, Hist. de Dieppe, i.

to let his house be pillaged.* Juvenal, the advocate-general, likewise refused, preferring to undergo imprisonment.

In thus setting the example of annulling this irregular government, though but by a passive resistance, the moderate party still incurred a serious responsibility. They abandoned simultaneously the defence of the country, and the valuable reform that had been obtained with so much difficulty. This is not the only instance in which honest men have thus betrayed the public interests, and punished liberty for the crime of its party. The Cabochiens could not make either the Church or the parliament contribute. Having seized the money of the fair of Landit, belonging to the monks of St. Denis, they found themselves the objects of an universal clamour. Their friends of the university refused to assist them, and made them restore the money they had levied from some of the members.†

Thus hampered on all sides, and encountering nothing but obstacles, the Cabochiens grew furious. They pursued Gerson, who was obliged to conceal himself in the roof of Notre Dame. The trial of the prisoners was hurriedly pressed forward; the commission was frightened, and signed sentences against them. Death was inflicted first on persons who had deserved it; for instance, on a man who had betrayed to the enemy and to death 400 burghers of Paris. Then the provost Desessarts, who had been false to both parties alternately, was executed. The butchers hastened his death, just because they esteemed his courage and cruelty.‡ [July 1, 1413.]

As the judges still did not go fast enough, matters were expedited by murder. Jacqueville went and insulted the Sire de la Rivière in prison; and the latter having given him the lie, that worthy captain of the butchers knocked the disarmed prisoner on the head, and killed him. La Rivière's body was for all that carried next day to the Grève; the living and the dead were decapitated promiscuously.§

If the prison itself was no asylum, the king's mansion was in great danger of ceasing likewise to be one. One evening, as Jacqueville and the butchers were going their rounds, they heard a great noise of festivities about eleven o'clock, in the dauphin's apartments. The young man was dancing while murderers were despatching his

* The new government had, however, tried to secure the university by enjoining the provost of Paris and the other justiciaries, to put the university in fruition of the advantages accorded to it by Pope John XXIII., in the redistribution of benefices. Ordon., x. 155. July 6, 1413.

† Relig., 791.

‡ "From the time he was placed on the hurdle until his death he did nothing but laugh." Bourgeois de Paris, 184.

§ The Cabochiens, however, became uneasy about the effects produced by this barbarity. They sent to the several towns a sort of apology, in which they said that "each of the depositions against those who had been beheaded contained sixty folios of paper." Monstrelet, iv. 36.

friends. The butchers went in, and desired to know of him, through Jacqueville, whether it was decent in a son of France to dance in that manner, and at an unseasonable hour?* The Sire de la Trémouille replied. Jacqueville upbraided him with being the author of these disorderly proceedings. The dauphin lost patience, fell upon Jacqueville, and struck him three times with his dagger, but the blows were stopped by the captain's coat of mail. La Trémouille would have been massacred, if the Duke of Burgundy had not interceded for him. [July 10.]

This violation of the king's dwelling, made many persons fall off from a party that respected nothing. The religion of royalty was still whole and intact, and remained so for a long while.† The good burghers assured the dauphin of their sorrow, and their attachment to his person. The butchers had worn out the patience of all men. The artisans even, and the lowest of the populace, began to be tired of them; there was no more trade, no more work; they were continually forced to patrol the streets, and were wearied to death with guards, and rounds, and sleepless nights.

The princes who were not ignorant of the state of Paris, continually approached it, still holding out offers of peace.‡ Every one wished for peace, but they were afraid. The dauphin laid the proposals before the great corporations, the parliament, and the university, and was resolved, in spite of the butchers, that there should be a conference with the princes. The eloquence of Caboche, who harangued in a splendid knightly garb, moved no one, and his threats had little effect.

None of the burgherhood acted more ably against the butchers than the advocate-general, Juvenal. That honest man then pursued, without regard for reforms or understanding of the future,§ one single aim, the termination of the disorders and the safety of Paris. This thought left him no rest night or day. One night, having fallen asleep near dawn, he thought he heard a voice saying to him: "Surgite cum sederitis, qui manducatis panem doloris." His wife, who was a good and pious dame, said to him when he

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* Between eleven and twelve at night. Juvenal, 255. Relig., 796.

† See long after this the extreme timidity of the leader of the Fronde. He was afraid of the states-general (Retz, book ii.) and of the union of the towns (book iii.). "It caused me scruples," he says. Again he was afraid of connecting himself with Cromwell. Mazarin, whilst defending the royal authority, which was his own, was apparently less scrupulous, if it be true, that after the death of Cromwell he said in his Italian pronunciation: "Ce M. de Cromwell est né houroux (heureux)." "This Monsieur de Cromwell was born to be lucky."

‡ The Bourgeois de Paris faithfully echoes the absurd rumours that were put in circulation: "But I well know that they always called for.....the destruction of the good town of Paris," p. 186.

§ See in the Musée de Versailles the long and piteous visage of Juvenal, and the red-pimpled face of his son the archbishop. The father was, nevertheless, an excellent citizen. The son relates an admirable instance of his firmness with regard to the Duke of Burgundy, 247.

awoke: "My dear, I heard one say to you this morning, or yourself uttering in a dream, words which I have often read in my breviary;" and she repeated them. Honest Juvenal replied to her: "My dear, we have eleven children, and consequently great reason to beseech God to grant us peace; let us have hope in him, he will help us."*

The downfall of the butchers was decided by a small thing, but one that led to great results. It was agreed on, in spite of them, that the proposals of the princes should be first read, not in a general assembly, but in each quarter of the town. [July 21.] The feeble minority which tyrannised over Paris, was still capable of intimidating, when it was collected together, but divided, it became impotent, and almost imperceptible. This point was carried against the butchers, through the energy of a man of the quarter of the Cimetière St. Jean, the carpenter Guillaume Cirasse, who had the hardihood to tell Legoix to his face: "We shall see if there are in Paris as many wedge-drivers as fellers of oxen."†

The butchers could not even have it ruled that the peace granted to the princes should be accorded under the form of an amnesty. Say what they would, they were answered with shouts of "Peace, peace!" Their party finally died away on the Place de Grève itself. In an assembly held there, some one cried: "Let all who are for peace step over to the right!"‡ Hardly any one remained on the left. The butchers and the Duke of Burgundy had, then, no other resource than to join in the train of the dauphin, who was going to the Louvre to set the prisoners free. [August 3.]

So rapidly did the reaction proceed, that on coming out from the Louvre, the Duke de Bar was named captain of that post, and the other Parisian fortress, the Bastille, was committed to another prisoner, the Duke of Bavaria. Two of the syndics were superseded; the carpenter was made syndic in the place of Jehan de Troyes.§

Shortly afterwards, one of the De Troyes and two butchers, who were guilty of the first murders, were condemned and put to death. Many fled, and the populace pillaged their houses. A rumour was sent abroad, that a list of 1400 persons had been found, whose names were marked with the letter T, or B, or R, signifying (tué) killed, banished, or ransomed.‖

The Duke of Burgundy made no effort to resist the movement. He suffered two of his knights to be arrested in his very mansion, and went away without saying a word to his people, whom he left in great danger. He wanted to carry off the king; but Juvenal and a body of burghers overtook them at Vincennes, and he let them take back that precious hostage.¶ [August 23.]

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* Juvenal des Ursins, 258. † Ibid., 259. ‡ Bourg. de Paris, 188.

§ See the arms of Guillaume Cirasse in the collection of the arms of the provosts and syndics of Paris (coloured copy in the Bibl. du Cabinet du Roy, au Louvre). ‖ Relig., 815. Juvenal, 264.

¶ Here again Juvenal assigns the leading part to his father. "The Duke of

It was settled in the arrangement with the princes, that they should not enter Paris; but all the conditions were disregarded, beginning with this one. The dauphin and the Duke of Orleans appeared together, dressed in the same colours, and wearing each an Italian *huque* of violet cloth, with a silver cross. It was, and was not mourning; their hats were red and black; their motto, "The straight way." What showed still more hostilely to the Burgundians, was the white scarf of Armagnac. Every one assumed it; and it was put even on the images of the saints. When little children, less oblivious, less childish than the people, sang Burgundian songs, they were sure to be beaten.*

The reforming ordonnance so solemnly proclaimed, was no less solemnly annulled by the king in a bed of justice. [September 5.]† The sage historian of the times, distressed at this versatility, ventured to ask some members of the council, how it was that they consented to the abrogation of these ordonnances, after having extolled them as eminently beneficial. They replied frankly: "We are for whatever is the wish of the princes." "To what, then, shall I compare you," said the monk, "but to those cocks on the steeples, that turn with every gust of wind?"‡

The daughter of Jean sans Peur, who was to have married the Duke of Anjou's son, was sent back to her father. The university condemned the discourse of Jean Petit. The Duke of Burgundy was declared a rebel, by an ordonnance of the 10th of February, and the ban and *arrière* ban were convoked against him. Nothing less was talked of than confiscating his dominions.

He counted on being able to anticipate his enemies. The exiled Cabochiens persuaded him that he had only to appear before Paris with his troops, to be received into the town. In fact, the dauphin, already weary of the remonstrances of his mother and the princes, invited the duke to return. The latter came, and encamped between Montmartre and Chaillot; the Count of Armagnac, who had 11,000 horse in Paris, stood fast, and no one stirred.

The Duke of Burgundy withdrawing, the princes set about pursuing him, and executing the confiscation. But the horrible barbarities of the Armagnacs at Soissons too clearly warned Arras of what it had to fear. They failed before the latter town, as the Duke of Burgundy had failed before Paris.§

Burgundy said to the king: 'That if it pleased him to go and take his amusement, towards the forest of Vincennes, the weather was fine, and the king consented.' But Juvenal immediately went towards the forest with two hundred horse, and said to the king: 'Sire, come away to your good town of Paris, the weather is very warm for you to be in the country.' Whereat the king was well content, and set out on his return." Juvenal, 263.

* Even the little children who sang a song, wherein were the words: "*Duke of Burgundy, God give thee joy!*" Bourgeois de Paris, 193.

† Quasdam pro ordinationibus regiis condiderant scripturas. Ordon., x. 172.

‡ Gallis campanilium ecclesiarum, a cunctis ventis volvendis. Relig., 818.

§ What forced the Duke of Burgundy to make terms was, that the Flemings

Thus was the weakness of both parties once more made palpable. Again they made a treaty, by the terms of which the Duke of Burgundy was let off for a little ignominy, but lost nothing. He presented the keys of Arras* to the king, for form sake. It was forbidden for the future to wear either the Armagnac band or the cross of Burgundy. [Sept. 4, 1414.]

This peace did not put a stop to the reaction. The moderates, who had so imprudently abandoned the reform, had reason to repent of so doing. The princes treated Paris as a conquered city. The tallages became enormous, and the money extorted from the citizens was squandered with reckless profusion. Juvenal, then chancellor, having refused to put his signature to some act of princely folly, was deprived of the seals.† Every thing like moderation was regarded with dislike; the contagion of violence affected the soundest heads. In the mortuary service which was celebrated for the Duke of Orleans, Gerson preached before the king and the princes; he attacked the Duke of Burgundy, with whom peace had just been concluded, and declared against the popular government. [Jan. 5, 1415.]

"The whole mischief," said Gerson, "is come of this, that the king and the good burgherhood have been reduced to servitude by the outrageous machinations of men of low estate. God has permitted this, to the end that we might know the difference between the royal sway and that of certain of the populace; for the royal sway is commonly, and naturally, mild; that of the villein is tyrannical, and destructive of itself. Accordingly, it was Aristotle's precept to Alexander, 'Exalt not those whom nature has made to obey.'" The preacher imagines he sees types of the several orders of the state in the several metals of which Nabuchodonosor's statue

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forsook him. The deputies of Ghent told the king that they took upon themselves to bring the duke to his duty. Relig., 880.

* The king was very desirous of an accommodation. Juvenal relates an interesting scene in reference to this matter: "A great lord waited on the king one morning to excite him against the Burgundians. The king was in bed, not asleep, but talking and amusing himself with one of his valets de chambre, joking and making merry. And the said lord put his hand very softly under the coverlet, and taking hold of the king's foot said: 'You are not asleep, monseigneur?' 'No, fair cousin,' said the king, 'welcome; do you want any thing?' 'No, monseigneur,' replied the other, 'except to say that your men who are engaged in this siege say, that whatever day you please you shall see the town stormed in which your enemies are, and they expect to enter it.' Then the king said that his cousin of Burgundy was willing to come to terms, and would put the town into his hands without its being stormed, and that peace was by all means necessary. To which the said lord replied: 'What, monseigneur, will you have peace with that wicked, false, disloyal traitor, who so falsely and wickedly had your brother of Orleans put to death?' Then the king said with some displeasure: 'All has been forgiven him with the consent of our fair nephew of Orleans.' 'Alas, sire,' retorted the lord, 'you will never see your brother again.' But the king answered him rather warmly: 'Fair cousin, go your ways; I shall see him at the day of judgment.'" Juvenal, 2, 3.

† Ibid., 285.

was composed: "The condition of burghers, merchants, and husbandmen is figured by the legs, which are of iron, and partly of clay, for their labour and humility to serve and obey . . . . ; in their condition there should be the iron of labour and the clay of humility."*

The same man who condemned popular government in the state desired to see it established in the Church. Let us behold this curious spectacle. It may appear humiliating as regards human intelligence, but it is not even so as to Gerson himself. In every age it is the greatest man whose office it is to give expression to the contradictions, apparent or real, of our nature; meanwhile, the commonplace men, the narrow souls, that see but one side of things, stand bravely by their limited conceptions, shut themselves up in a corner, and there lay down the law triumphantly.

When the Church is in question, Gerson is a republican, an advocate for the government of all. He defines a general council as "an assemblage of the whole Catholic Church, comprising every hierarchical order, and *not excluding any of the faithful* who shall desire to be heard." He subjoins, indeed, that this council must be convoked by "a legitimate authority;" but this authority is not superior to that of the council, since the latter has the right of deposing it. Gerson did not stop short at the theory of ecclesiastical republicanism, but obtained a voice and a vote for mere priests in the council of Constance, and powerfully contributed to the deposition of John XXII.†

Let us go back a little. Before the griefs of the state had been specifically set forth in the remonstrance of the university and the great ordonnance of 1413, those of the Church had been proclaimed in a violent pamphlet, that rang much louder in the ears of the public. Those stillborn acts, the remonstrance and the ordonnance, were scarcely known beyond the walls of Paris; but the terrible little book of Clemengis, "On the Corruption of the Church," resounded through all Christendom. It is, perhaps, no exaggeration to compare its effect with that of the "Babylonish Captivity," written a century afterwards by Luther.

From the remotest times, satires had been composed against churchmen. One of the earliest, and certainly one of the most *piquant*, is found in one of Charlemagne's capitularies. These attacks had generally been indirect, timid, and often disguised in the form of allegory. The medium through which the satire was conveyed was the fox, the *beast* wiser than man; or the buffoon, the *fool* wiser than the wise; or the devil, that is to say, clear-sighted *malignity*. These three forms, in which satire, in order to win toleration,

* Joh. Gersonii Opera, ed. Du Pin, iv. 658—678.

† See Gerson's works (Du Pin's edition) particularly vol. iv., and the valuable essays lately published by De Fangère, Schmidt, and Thomassy. I will speak elsewhere of those of Gence, Gregori, Daunou, Onésyme Leroy, and in general of the writers who have discussed the question of the "Imitation."

expresses itself by the most unworthy mouth-pieces, comprise all the indirect attacks of the middle ages. As for direct attacks, scarcely any had been ventured on down to the thirteenth century, except by declared heretics, such as the Albigeois, the Vaudois, &c. In the fourteenth century, laymen, such as Dante, Petrarch, and Chaucer, shot keen bolts against Rome and Avignon; but after all they were laymen, whose right of pronouncing judgment on her was contested by the Church. But now, about 1400, it is the universities, it is the greatest doctors, it is the Church itself, and all that is most authoritative in it, that censures and smites the Church. It is the popes themselves who cast the direst accusations in each other's teeth.

That dialogue between Avignon and Rome, which was carried on during the whole time of the schism, revealed but too much against both. The fiscality especially of the two sees, which sold benefices long before they were vacant, and their greedy venality, are denounced in tremendous terms. "Have we not seen," said one party, "the Pope of Rome's courtiers running all over Italy to find out if there were not some incumbent of a benefice labouring under sickness, and then posting to Rome to announce his death?* Have we not seen that pope—that cheating dealer—sell the same benefice to several persons, and after the delivery of the goods set them up again for sale, and knock them down to a second, a third, and a fourth bidder?"—"And you," replied the other party, "you who claim for the Pope the heritage of the priests, do you not sit in wait at the bedside of the dying man to sweep away all his leavings? A priest already buried has been dug up again, and the corpse torn from the tomb and stripped."†

These furious invectives were collected into one mass in the pamphlet of Clemengis, and that mass was hurled at the Church with crushing force. It was not aimed at the head alone, but all the members were likewise smitten. Pope, cardinals, bishops, canons, and monks, all had their share, not excepting even the lowest Mendicant. Certainly, the declaimer did much more than he intended. If the Church was truly such as he depicted it, all hope of reforming it was futile; nothing remained, but to take the whole rotten body and cast it into the fire.

Among the points dwelt on by Clemengis, are the prodigious accumulation of benefices, amounting in some instances to four or five hundred in the hands of one man; the indifference of the pastors who often never saw their churches; the insolent ignorance of the pampered dignitaries who thought it derogatory to them to preach; the arbitrary tyranny of their jurisdiction, which was

* Et si aliquos invenerunt ægrotantes, tum currebant ad curiam Romanam, et mortem talium intimabant. Theod. de Niem. de Schism. ap. Goldast., ii. 7.

† Ut inhumatus evulso monumento atque corrupto corpore suis spoliis effossus privaretur. Appellatio Univers. Paris. a D. Benedicto ap. Martène, Thes. Anecd., ii. 1295.

such, that every body now shunned the tribunals of the Church; confession rendered venal, and absolution sold for pelf. "Remind them," he says, "of that precept of the Gospel: 'Freely ye have received, freely give,' and they will answer you unblushingly: 'We have not received freely; we have bought, and have a right to sell again.'"*

In the ardour of his invective, the violent priest unhesitatingly grapples with a thousand things, which we laymen would shrink from explaining; such as the strange manner of life of the canons, their quasi marriages, their gambling, and wine bibbing orgies, the prostitution of the nuns, the hypocritical corruption of the Mendicants, who bragged of doing the work of all the rest, and bearing the whole burden of the Church on their own shoulders, whilst they went from house to house, and drank with the women—"The wives of others, though the children, indeed, were often their own."†

On coolly reviewing these virulent accusations, which the present purity of the Church renders almost incredible, we observe, that there are in the university's ecclesiastical manifesto, as in its political manifesto of 1413,‡ many griefs alleged without good foundation; many things stated as abuses, which were not so. It was unjust to make the increase of expenditure matter of unqualified censure against the king, the pope, and the great dignitaries of the Church. That increase was attributable not solely to prodigality, waste, and injudicious methods of collecting income, but also to *the progressive depreciation of the value of money*, that great economic phenomenon, which the middle ages did not comprehend; and, furthermore, to the *increasing multitude of the wants* of civilisation; to the development of the administration, the progress of the arts, &c.§ Expenditure had increased, and though production had likewise done so, the augmentation of the latter did not keep pace with that of the former in due proportion. Wealth increased slowly, and was ill distributed. The balance between production and consumption was not easily effected.

Another grievance alleged by Clemengis, and the greatest, doubtless, in the eyes of the university men, was, that benefices

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* Nic. Clemeng. de corrupti Ecclesiæ statu, i. 15.

† Cum non suis non uxoribus, licet sæpe cum suis parvulis. Ibid., 20.

‡ See *supra*, p. 392, note †.

§ Clemengis is unreasonably surprised at the fact of a monastery supporting only ten monks in his day, which originally maintained a hundred (p. 19). Who is there but knows how much the prices of things and the number of those regarded as necessaries, change in the course of two or three centuries? To speak only of the lapse of one century, what great household could now be maintained in accordance with the computation made by Madame de Maintenon for that of her brother? See among other works a pamphlet by the Comte de Hauterive: Faits et observations sur la dépense d'une des grandes administrations, etc.; and two by M. Eckard: Dépenses effectives de Louis XIV. en batements au cours du temps des travaux et leur évaluation, etc., etc.

were conferred for the most part on men who had very little claim to be called theologians, on the creatures of the princes and of the pope, and particularly lawyers; he might have added physicians, writers, artists, &c.* This was true, but how was it to be helped? The princes and the popes were not solely to blame in the matter. It was not their fault if laymen then shared with the Church that intellectual power which had constituted the right and title of the latter in the middle ages. The clergy alone were rich, and their wealth was almost the only fund from which social recompenses could be drawn. Was it reasonable matter of complaint, that the great historian and graceful poet, Froissart, had a little benefice which helped him to live? Would to Heaven that one could have been bestowed on poor Christine, who passed a life of such toil and penury, and supported her family by the produce of her writings.

Clemengis affords in his own person a good answer to his accusations. When we peruse the voluminous collection of his letters, we are astonished to find so little that is positive in the correspondence of a man of his importance. It is all void, nothing but vague generalities. There cannot be a more decisive evidence in condemnation of the scholastic education.

His contemporaries were far from acknowledging this intellectual poverty, this withering away of talent. They congratulated themselves on the flourishing state of philosophy and literature. Had they not great men to show, as well as preceding ages? Clemengis was a great man, D'Ailly was a great man,† and many others besides, who slumber on the shelves of our libraries, and deservedly slumber.

The human mind was dying of ennui. That was its malady. That ennui was a cause, indirect indeed, but real, of the corruption

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* We know that Pope Eugenius IV. conferred the archbishopric of Florence on the great painter Fra Angelico of Fiesole (Vasari), that the physician Aichspalter became Archbishop of Mayence, and that he made Henry of Luxemburg emperor (Schmidt, Geschichte der Deutschen), etc., etc.

† I do not mean to contest the real merit of these two persons, who were at the same time eminent doctors and men of action. D'Ailly was one of the great glories of the great Gallican school of the college of Navarre, where he trained Clemengis and Gerson. Clemengis is a good polemical writer, caustic, amusing, *salé*, seasoned with salt, as (St. Simon would have said). See the picture he draws of the servitude and servility of the Pope of Avignon in his book on the "Corruption of the Church" (p. 26). The conclusion of the book is very eloquent. It is an apostrophe to Christ, in which the Protestants will not be slow to discern a prophecy of the reformation: Si tuam vineam labruscis senticosisque virgultis palmitis suffocantibus obseptam, infructiferam, vis ad naturam reducere, quis melior modus id agendi quam inutiles stirpes eam sterilem efficientes quæ falcibus amputatæ pullulant, radicitus evellere, vineamque ipsam aliis agricolis locatam novis rursum autiferacibus et fructiferis palmitibus inserere .... Hæc non nisi exigua dolorum sunt *initia* et suavia quædam eorum quæ supersunt *præludia*. Sed tempus erat, ut portum, ingruente jam tempestate, peteremus, nostræque in his periculis saluti consuleremus, ne tanta procellarum vis, quæ laceram Petri naviculam validiori turbinis impulsu, quam ullo alias tempore *concussura est*, in mediis nos fluctibus, cum his qui merito naufragio perituri sunt, absorbeat. Nic Clemeng., De corrupto, &c., i. 28,

of the Church. The priests mortally weary of the jargon of the schools, of empty forms and words, in which there was no aliment for the soul, gave up to the body that soul with which they knew not what to do. The Church was perishing from the effects of two apparently opposite causes, but which accounted for each other; namely, subtlety and sterility in ideas, and coarse materiality in manners and morals.

Reform was in all men's mouths. The pope and the Church they said, should be reformed; it was absolutely necessary that the Church, assembled in council, should repossess itself of its just rights. But the transference of the business of reform from the pope to a council was not a means of gaining much ground. Evils like those which called for cure have their primary seat in the souls of men: "In culpa est animus." The nature of things was not to be changed by a change of form in church government, or any such negative reform; the case demanded the introduction of a positive element, a new vital principle, a spark, an idea.

The council of Pisa thought to accomplish every thing needful when it passed sentence in default on the two popes who refused to abdicate, declared them deposed, and created pope in their stead a minor friar, formerly professor in the University of Paris. Instead of two popes there were now three, that was all.

Those who are fond of satires will be amused in reading the piquant manifesto against the two refractory popes put forth by the council.* That great assembly of the Christian world counted among its members twenty-two cardinals, four patriarchs, about two hundred bishops, three hundred abbots, the four generals of the mendicant orders, the deputies of two hundred chapters and thirteen universities,† three hundred doctors, and the ambassadors of the kings; and it held its sittings in the venerable Byzantine church of Pisa close by the Campo Santo. Yet it listened complacently to the facetious account of the tricks and subterfuges by which the two popes had for so many years eluded the abdication required of them. Those bitter enemies were after all marvellously agreed together.‡ Both had sworn at their elevation to abdicate; but they could only, they said, do so simultaneously and in presence of each other; an interview was indispensable. Urged to meet each other by their cardinals they every day discovered fresh impediments. The land roads were unsafe; they required safe conducts from the sovereigns. If they got these, they did not rely on them, but thought it necessary to have an escort, to have soldiers of their own to protect them. Moreover, they had not money to defray the expenses

* Concilium Pisanum, ap. Concil. ed. Labbe et Cossart, 1671; t. xi., pars ii., p. 2172, sqq.

† The universities of Bologna, Angers, Orleans, and even Toulouse, joined in the end with that of Paris against the popes. Ibid., 2194.

‡ Habentes facies diversas.....sed caudas habent invicem colligatas, ut de vanitate conveniant. Ibid., 2183.

of their journey: so they borrowed of their cardinals. Then they decided on going by sea, for which purpose vessels were requisite. These being provided there was some other excuse. At one time it was contrived to bring them somewhat nearer to each other; but there was no possibility of making them take the last step. One of them would have the interview take place in a harbour on the beach by the water's edge;* the other dreaded the sea. They were like animals belonging to different elements, whom nature forbids to meet.

Benedict XIII., the Aragonese, ended by throwing off the mask, and said he should deem himself guilty of mortal sin if he adopted the course of abdication or *cession*;† and perhaps he was sincere. To *cede* would have been to acknowledge the superior authority of that body that commanded the cession, to subordinate the papacy to the council, to change the government of the Church from a monarchy to a republic. That government, of fact or of right, had been monarchical for many centuries; was it in the very midst of an universal turmoil and commotion that the time should be chosen to impair that unity which had so long constituted the strength of the great social edifice, the key-stone of the arch? At the very moment when criticism was fastening upon the legislative legend of the papacy, when Valla was suggesting the first doubts as to the validity of the decretals,‡ could the pope be reasonably required to aid towards his own downfal, to kill himself with his own hands?

It must be owned the question was by no means one of form merely, but essential and vital. The Church would have been equally sick whether it were a monarchy or a republic. Did the council possess that moral life which the pope lacked? Were the reformers better than he whom they reformed? The head was spoiled, but were the members sound? No, there was in both much corruption; all that constituted the spiritual power was tending to materialism and ceasing to be spiritual. And this, as we have said, came chiefly of the absence of ideas, of the immense vacuity that afflicted the minds of the generation.

It was all over with scholastic learning. Raimond Lully had put a close to it by his machine for thinking; and then Occam by suppressing the poetry of realism, reducing every thing to a mechan-

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* Volebat unum pedem tenere in aqua et alium in terra. Concilium Pisanum, ap. Concil. ed. Labbe et Cossart, 1671; t. xi., pars ii. 2184.

† When he was told that France had declared its *withdrawal of obedience*, he said with much dignity: "What does it matter? St. Peter did not reckon that kingdom among those that obeyed him." Ibid., 2176.

‡ And not only Valla, but Gerson also in his epistle De modis uniendi ac reformandi Ecclesiam, p. 166. Respecting Valla see an excellent article by M. Viguier, in the Biographie Universelle, xlvii. 345—353.—Popes allowed Ballerini to criticise the spurious decretals in Rome itself. Why did they not revoke them? For the same reason that the kings of France did not revoke the political fables relative to Charlemagne's twelve peers, nor the emperors those concerning the origin of the Vehm courts, &c. Such is the very specious reply of the ingenious Walter, Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts, Bonn, 1829, p. 161.

ism of words, obscuring the essence and the cause of things, and making a verbal God.

Raimond Lully wept at the foot of his *Arbor Scientiæ*,* which ended the system of the schools. Petrarch wept the decline of poetry. The great mystics of those times had a like presentiment of decay and decease. The fourteenth century sees the passing away of these its last men of genius; each of them is silent, and departs, extinguishing his light; thick darkness ensues.

We need not wonder if the human mind is smitten with dismay and sorrow. The Church affords it no consolation. That great spouse of the middle ages had promised not to grow old, to be always fair and fruitful, to renew her youth continually, so as incessantly to occupy the restless thoughts of man, the inexhaustible activity of his heart. Yet she had passed from youthful popular vitality to the abstractions of the schools, from St. Bernard to St. Thomas. In its tendency towards the abstract and the pure, the religion of the spiritualists gradually refused all other aliment than logic; a noble but frugal regimen, and one which comes at last to consist of negations only. Thus it wasted away continually, from leanness in the fourteenth century, to emaciation in the fifteenth, when it wore a frightful aspect of phthisis, such as you see typified in the hollow face and transparent hands of Orcagna's Christ pronouncing his malediction.

Such was the intellectual penury, such the contradictions of that age. Reduced to empty formalism, it placed thereon all its hopes. Gerson thought to effect a complete cure by bringing the Church back to republican forms, at the very moment when he declared himself an opponent of freedom in the state. The council of Pisa had been an unsuccessful experiment. A new council was to be assembled at Constance, to investigate the problem of squaring the religious and political circle; to determine how they might tie up the hands of the chief who was declared infallible; how they might proclaim him paramount, and yet reserve the right of sitting in judgment upon him when occasion required.

That supreme tribunal for religious questions was also to determine a grand question of law. The Orleanists, Gerson's own party, wished that council to condemn the memory of Jean Petit and his apology for the Duke of Burgundy, and to proclaim this principle, that no interest, no political necessity, is paramount to the claims of humanity. It would have been a great thing if, amidst the general clouding of ideas, a return had been made to the sentiments of nature.

France seemed wholly immersed in these never-ending problems: one would have supposed she forgot time, reality, her reform and her enemy. At the moment when the English were about to fall

* See the curious preface. Raymundi Lullii Majoricensis, illuminati patris, Arbor scientiæ. Lugduni, 1636, 4to., pp. 2, 3.

upon her, a great politician of that day imagined, with strange infatuation, that if the realm had any danger to apprehend, it was in the direction of Germany it was to look out for it.* When news was brought to Jean-sans-Peur that the English, who had landed nearly two months before, were about to offer a great and decisive battle to the royal army, the messengers found him in his Burgundian forests.† Under pretext of hunting, he had approached towards Constance, dreaming continually of Jean Petit and his old crime, anxious about the judgment which the council would soon pronounce, and meanwhile living under his tent in the midst of the woods, and listening to the stags as they brayed by night.‡

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* Licet quis, contemnendum esse, quantum ad bella pertinet *ducem Lotharingiæ*, nec tantis pollere viribus, ut domui audeat Franciæ bellum inferre, non parvus debet hostis videri quem Deus excitat et propter aliorum adjuvat facinora. Nic. Clemengis, ii. 257. We see in like manner in Machiavelli's letters, that Italy, when on the eve of being conquered by the Spaniards, feared only the Venetians. He writes to the magistrates of Florence: "Your signories have always told me that the liberty of Italy had nothing to fear save at the hands of Venice." Letter of February or March, 1508. Another no less singular example of erroneous forethought: "The Directory feared, in 1796, that young Bonaparte's ambition would lead him to *attempt making himself Duke of Milan!*"

† Perhaps there was more of connivance in this than of thoughtlessness. The reader may determine.

‡ Le Duc de Bourgogne, qui longtemps n'avoit demouré ni séjourné en son pays de Bourgogne, et qui vouloit bien avoir ses plaisirs et soullas, se advisa que pour mieux avoir son déduit de la chasse des serfs et les ouyr bruire par nuit, il se logeroit dedans la forest d'Argilly, qui est grande et lée. Lefebvre de Saint Rémy, ed. Buchon, vii. 51, p. 466.

BOOK THE NINTH.

CHAPTER I.

England; the State, the Church—Azincourt, 1415.

In order to comprehend the terrible event we are about to narrate—the captivity not of the king, but of the very realm, France herself a prisoner—there is one essential fact which must not be lost sight of.

In France, the two authorities, the Church and the State, were at variance with each other, and each of them with itself.

In England, the State and the *established* Church had reached the most complete union under the house of Lancaster.

Edward III. had had the Church against him, and had failed, notwithstanding his victories. Henry V. had the Church for him, and he succeeded, and became King of France.*

This cause was not the only one, but it was the principal, and the one that has been least remarked.

The Church being the greatest proprietor in England, had the greatest influence in that country. When the landowners and the crown were agreed, the latter acquired irresistible strength, and was not only victorious, but made conquests.

The Church needed the support of the crown, for its prodigious wealth exposed it to danger. It had monopolised the greater part of the land: not to mention a multitude of holdings and revenues of various kinds, religious endowments, tithes, &c., it moreover possessed *twenty-eight thousand*, out of the *fifty-three thousand* knights' fiefs in England.† This great amount of property was continually assailed in parliament, and was not represented and defended there in proportion to its importance, the members of the clergy being no longer summoned thither, except *ad consentiendum*.‡

* King at least of northern France. He had not the title of king, since he died before Charles VI., but he bequeathed it to his son.

† Turner, Hist. England during the middle ages (ed. 1830), iii. 96. It was recently alleged that the Anglican clergy still possessed at this day a revenue greater than that of the whole clergy of Europe. Certain it is that the Archbishop of Canterbury's income is *fifteen* times greater than that of a French archbishop, and *thirty* times greater than that of a cardinal of Rome. Statistics of the Church of England, 1836, p. 5. See also three very remarkable letters by Léon Faucher (Courier Français, July, August, 1836); there has been nothing stronger and more judicious written on England.

‡ At last they ceased to attend it altogether. Hallam, Middle Ages, ii.

The crown, on its part, could not dispense with the support of the greatest proprietory in the kingdom, I mean the clergy. It had need of their influence, and still more of their money. This fact was not understood, either by Edward I. or Edward III., who constantly annoyed them about petty questions of subsidies; but it was admirably well understood by the house of Lancaster, which declared on its accession, that it wanted nothing of the Church "but its prayers."*

We perceive what need the crown and the representatives of Church property had of a good mutual understanding, when we recollect that the wholly artificial edifice of medieval England rested on two fictions: an infallible and inviolable king,† who, nevertheless, was judged and doomed every second reign; and a Church no less inviolable, which being in reality only a great aristocratic and territorial establishment under the pretext of religion, was always on the verge of being plundered and ruined.

The younger branch of Lancaster, for the first time, united the two jeopardised interests; it linked together the king and the Church. This was its legitimacy, the secret of its prodigious success. We must point out, succinctly at least, the long, oblique, and subterraneous path it pursued.

The younger son hates the elder, that is the rule,‡ but no where more respectfully, more furtively than in England.§ In our day he goes and seeks his fortune, the world is open to him, trade, commerce, the sea, the Indies; in the middle ages, he often remained at home, crouched before the elder brother, and conspired.‖

The younger sons of Edward III., Clarence, Lancaster, York,

* Turner, ii. 365. Wilkin's Concil., iii. 237—245.

† The English have carried into political law that genius for fiction which the Romans exhibited only in civil law. Mr. Allen has recapitulated, in his work on the Royal Prerogative, the monstrous devices, by means of which this strange comedy was played, every one affecting to confound together the king and the royal office, the fallible man and the infallible idea. From time to time men lost patience, the confusion ceased, and the abstraction was made in a bloody manner; if the king did not perish (like Edward II., Richard II., Henry VI., and Charles I.) he was dethroned, or at least humbled and reduced to impotence (Henry II., John, Henry III., James II).

‡ That is of course when the eldest son is specially privileged.

§ This has been less the case since England has created a great mass of personal property, which is divided in accordance with equity. Territorial property remains subject to the laws of the middle ages. On the 12th of April, 1836, Mr. Ewart moved for leave to bring in a bill, providing that at least in cases of persons dying intestate, their real property should be equally divided among their children. Sir (Lord) John Russell opposed the motion, and it was rejected by a large majority. After all, the right of primogeniture is incorporated with the habits and the ideas even of the people. I have already mentioned a very curious anecdote on this subject (vol. i. p. 77, note). As soon as a father grows rich his first thought is to *establish an eldest son;* opposed and answering to which is the secret desire of the younger son *to be independent, to have a competence.* These two phrases constitute the tacit dialogue of the English family.

‖ Compare the history of the three Gloucesters, the brother of the Black Prince, the brother of Henry V. and the brother of Edward IV.

and Gloucester, decked with sonorous and empty names,* had beheld with despair their elder brother, the heir, reigning in his father's lifetime as Duke of Aquitaine. They, too, would reign or perish. Clarence went as an adventurer to Italy and died there. Gloucester disturbed England until his nephew had him strangled. Lancaster had himself called King of Castile, invaded Spain, and failed; then France, and failed again.† Upon this he turned his attention to England.

The moment was favourable for him. Discontent had reached the highest pitch. England was no longer herself, since the victories of Crécy and Poitiers. That laborious people, once withdrawn from their natural pursuit, the accumulation of wealth, and the acquisition of political guarantees, had departed from their wonted character, and dreamed only of conquests, tributes from the foreigner, and exemption from taxes. The ample stock of ill-humour with which nature has endowed them, fermented abundantly. They found fault with the king, the grandees, and all who took part in the war in France, and called them traitors and cowards. The London cockneys in their back-shops took it much amiss that a battle of Poitiers was not won for them every day. "Awake, wealth, and walk in this region!"‡ says an English ballad. This fond invocation to money was the national cry.

As France no longer afforded any thing, they were obliged to look elsewhere, for in any case, they were resolved not to pay out of their own pockets. All eyes were then directed towards the Church. But the Church, too, had for its immutable principle, the first article of its creed—To give nothing. Its cold reply to every demand was, "The Church is too poor."§

Since that poor Church would give nothing, the thought of taking every thing from it began to be entertained. Wickliff, the king's man,‖ strove to bring about this consummation; so did the Lollards, too, in a lower sphere, obscurely, and among the people. Lancaster at first pursued the same object; this was then the highway of popularity.

I have said elsewhere, what turn things took; how by the spread of this great movement, in which the people and the very serfs became engaged, all property, and not as before that of the Church alone, was involved in danger; and how young Richard II. dispersed the serfs, promising them that they should be emancipated. When the latter were disarmed and were hung up by hundreds, the king

* Art de Vérifier les Dates, Angleterre, Edouard III., ann. 1362.

† In 1373. Walsingham, 187.

‡ Quoted by Turner, iii. 196. The faith of the English in the omnipotence of gold is naïvely expressed in the last words of Cardinal Winchester: "Can it be that I must die with all my wealth?" Ibid., 53.

§ Ibid., 17, 104.

‖ Lewis, Life of Wickliff, 53. Richard II. took Wickliff for his chaplain. See in Walsingham the great scene in which Wickliff is supported by the princes and the great lords against the bishop and people of London.

declared, notwithstanding, that he would sanction the emancipation, if the prelates, lords, and commons confirmed it. Their unanimous reply was, "We would all sooner die in one day."* Richard did not insist; but the audacious, and revolutionary language he had uttered, was never forgotten by the landowners, the masters of serfs, barons, bishops, and abbots. From that day Richard's doom was sealed. From that day, too, Lancaster naturally became the candidate of the aristocracy and the Church.

He seems to have patiently prepared his success. Rumours were sent abroad, in which his name was pointedly mentioned. On one occasion, a French prisoner was reported to have said, "Oh, if you had the Duke of Lancaster for your king, the French would no longer dare to infest your coasts." There was circulated from abbey to abbey, and everywhere else, by means of the friars, a chronicle, in which the duke's right to inherit the crown was somehow or other deduced from a son of Edward I. A Carmelite boldly accused Lancaster of conspiring to compass the death of Richard II. The duke denied the charge, succeeded in having his accuser committed provisionally to the custody of Lord Holland, and on the eve of the day when the charge was to have been investigated, the Carmelite was found dead.†

Richard himself wrought for Lancaster. He surrounded himself with low people, teased the landowners with loans and vexations, and, lastly, committed the great crime which has been the ruin of so many English kings;‡ he took a wife in France. There was only one difficult point for Lancaster and his son Derby, namely, to decide between the two great parties, the established Church and the innovators. Richard did Derby the good service of exiling him, thereby relieving him from the necessity of making this difficult election. The banished man became the object of all men's thoughts; every one wished for him, believing him to be on his own side.

When matters were ripe, the Archbishop of Canterbury went to France to meet Derby.§ The latter landed in England, humbly declaring that he sought nothing but restitution of his father's property. We have seen how he was compelled to ascend the throne, and then he adopted his course clearly and decisively. To the great amazement of the innovators, among whom he had been reared at Oxford, Henry IV. declared himself the champion of the established Church. "My predecessors," he said to the prelates, "used to summon you to demand money of you. I seek you to request your prayers. I will maintain the liberties of the Church, and will destroy heresies and heretics to the utmost of my power."‖

* Turner, ii. 261. Hallam interprets this phrase differently.

† Turner, ii. 280.

‡ Henry II., Edward II., Richard II., Henry VI., and Charles I.

§ He had been banished by Richard II., and his temporalities confiscated. Lingard, Richard II., an. 1397.

‖ Henry IV., closely united with the bishops of England, began his reign

There was a friendly compromise between the king and the Church; her hand crowned and anointed him, and he delivered up her enemies to her. The adversaries of the priests were handed over to the priests, to be tried and burned.* All parties found their profit in these proceedings. The property of the Lollards was confiscated; a third went to the ecclesiastical judge, and a third to the king; the remaining third was bestowed on the parishes in which heretics were found. This was an ingenious means of preventing their resistance, and bribing them to inform against obnoxious parties.†

The prelates and barons had put their man on the throne only to secure their own reign. That royal power which they had conferred on him in the lump, they took back from him in detail. Not content with making the laws, they possessed themselves indirectly of the functions of the executive, and ended by nominating over the king a sort of council of guardianship, without which he could do nothing.‡ He began to think, like Richard II., of seeking a support abroad, and wished to marry his son in France.

But that very son was not to be relied on. It has been remarked, not without apparent reason, that in England eldest sons have less love for their fathers;§ before being sons they are heirs. Lancaster's son was the more impatient to wear the crown, forasmuch, as he had, by a victory, made it sit more firmly on his father's

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by affording them weapons against the three kinds of enemies they had to fear: 1, against the *pope*, and the invasion of the *foreign clergy;* 2, against the *monks* (the monks bought papal bulls dispensing them from paying tithes to the bishops); 3, against the *hereties*. Statutes of the Realm (1816), vol. ii., pp. 148, 161; 121, 138; 127.

* The diocesans were empowered to arrest those who preached or *taught without authority from them*, and have them burned. "In eminenti loco comburi faciant" —"And them before the people in an high place do to be burnt." Ibid., 127—8.

† Turner, iii. 154, note. I cannot find the date of the statute which enacted this partition. I only see (from Lyndewoode, quoted by Turner) that in 1430 it was no longer so; the king took all.

‡ These conditions were more humiliating than any that had been imposed on Richard II. He was to receive sixteen councillors, to let himself be guided solely by their advice, &c.

§ This observation is that of a writer who usually takes a favourable view of the English character: "The law of primogeniture introduces an unamiable spirit into the mutual relations of the father and the eldest son. The latter is habituated to consider himself independent; what he receives from his parents is in his eyes a debt paid rather than a benefit conferred. The death of a father or of an elder brother, from whom one expects to inherit, is on the English stage made the subject of jocularity, which the public applauds, and which would shock that of France." M. de Staël, iii. 85. I hope this sagacious and cool observer was mistaken; nevertheless, I cannot forbear from recalling in connexion with his opinions, the statement of the Roman historian in his picture of the proscriptions: "There was a great deal of fidelity displayed by wives, a tolerable proportion by freedmen, some little by slaves, *none by sons*, so difficult is it to wait when hope has once been conceived!" Velleius Paterculus.

head. He, too, treated with the French,* but separately and on his own account.

This young Henry was a favourite with the people. His figure was of that tall and graceful mould often presented in the noble families of England. He was an indefatigable fox hunter, and so nimble, that it was said he could run down the deer on foot.† He had long hunted men in the petty and fierce Welsh wars.

He connected himself with the malecontents, insinuated himself among the Lollards, and frequented their nocturnal meetings in the fields‡ and inns. He became the friend of their leader, the brave and dangerous Oldcastle, the same whom Shakspeare, the enemy of sectaries of every age,§ transformed into the ignoble Falstaff. The father knew all; but to imprison his son would have been an open declaration against the Lollards, whom he wished just then to conciliate. Still the ailing, leprous king, whom every succeeding day found more solitary and irritable, might be hurried by his fears into some violent resolution; his son, therefore, strove to allay his apprehensions, by an affectation of vice and debauchery, and an elaborate parade of youthful follies. It is said, he presented himself one day before his father, dressed in a satin doublet set all over with œillet holes, in which the needles were still hanging from their threads, and kneeling before the king, presented a dagger to him that he might stab him, if he could entertain any fear of a young madcap so ridiculously dressed.‖

Whatever be the truth of this story, the king could not help doing as if he trusted him. To induce him to be patient, he consented that he should enter the council; but this was not enough for the son. On the day of the fourth Henry's death, as he opened his eyes after a short lethargy, he saw the heir laying his hand on the crown, which was placed, according to custom, on a cushion by the king's bedside. He stopped him with these cold and melancholy words: "Fair son, what right have you to it? Your father had no right to it."¶

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* The son negotiated with the Burgundian party, whilst the father treated with the Orleanists. Titus Livius is therefore wrong in subjoining: "Bona venia patris." Turner, ii. 376, 389. See also the advice said to have been given him by his uncle the cardinal against his father.

† Idem, 474, from Titus Livius and Elmham.

‡ Just like our *écoles buissonnières* of the sixteenth century.

§ It is said, however, in Henry V., that Falstaff spoke against the whore of Babylon. Shakspeare has made few allusions to the new sect of the Puritans, and all of them hostile. See among others that which occurs in Twelfth Night, act iii., sc. 2. As for Falstaff I shall have occasion to recur again to him.

‖ Lingard thinks it is without just grounds that doubts have been expressed as to the truth of this fact, reported by an eye-witness.

¶ The king asked him why he was carrying away the crown, and the prince replied: "Monseigneur, voici en présence ceux qui m'avoient donné à entendre et affirmé que vous estiez trépassé; et pour ce que *je suis votre fils âiné*....." Monstrelet, liv. i., ch. 107.

During the period immediately preceding his accession, Henry V. had, by his double dealing, encouraged the hopes of both parties. On the one hand, he remained in close connexion with Oldcastle and the Lollards;* on the other, he declared himself the friend of the Established Church; and it was, no doubt, in that quality that he, at last, obtained the presidency of the council. No sooner was he king, than he ceased to conciliate the Lollards, and broke with his friends. He became the man of the Church, the prince after God's own heart, and assumed the grave demeanour of the clergy to such a degree, that, as the monkish historian says, "he was a model even for priests."†

He began by enacting terrible laws in favour of the lay and ecclesiastical lords, by which the justices of the peace were ordered to pursue those servants and labourers who fled from shire to shire.‡ A regular inquisition against heresy was organised. The chancellor, the treasurer, the judges, &c., were to make oath on taking office, that they would use all diligence in searching out and destroying hereties. At the same time, the Primate of England was enjoining the bishops and archdeacons to inquire, *at least twice* a year, as to persons suspected of heresy, and to insist that three respectable men in every parish should declare on oath, if they knew any heretics, any men who *differed from the rest* in their life and habits, any who *tolerated* or harboured the suspected, or possessed dangerous books *in the English language*, &c.

The king, taking part in the rigorous proceedings of the Church, himself gave up his old friend Oldcastle to the Archbishop of Canterbury.§ Processions took place by the king's orders, to sing litanies before the executions.‖

The Church smote, yet trembled. The Lollards had given out that they were a hundred thousand in arms, and were to meet in St. Giles's Fields the day after the Epiphany. The king went to the spot by night, and awaited them with troops; but they did not come to the fight.

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* So much so that the Archbishop of Canterbury hesitated to attack Oldcastle, believing him still to be the king's friend. Walsingham, 383.

† Repente mutatus est in virum alterum....cujus mores et gestus omni conditioni, tam religiosorum quam laicorum, in exempla fuere. Ibid.

‡ Statutes of the Realm, ii. 176.

§ Oldcastle's examination by the archbishop, as given in the history of the monk Walsingham is very curious; it is impossible to kill with more sensibility; the judge is tenderly affected; he weeps, and seems almost more to be pitied than the victim: "Dominus Cantuariensis gratiose se obtulit et paratum fore promisit ad absolvendum eum; sed ille....petere noluit....Cui compatiens dominus Cant. dixit. Caveatis.....Unde dominus Cant. sibi compatiens....Cui archiepiscopus affabiliter et suaviter....Consequenter dominus Cant. suavi et modesto modo rogavit.....Quibus dictis dominus Cant. flebili vultu eum alloquebatur....Ergo, cum magna cordis amaritudine processit ad prolationem sententiæ." Walsingham, 384.

‖ Elmham celebrates the executions and the processions in prose and verse. Rege jubente....Regia mens gaudet. Turner, iii. 142.

This champion of the Church had against him, not only the Church's enemies, but his own too, as a Lancaster and a usurper. Some persisted in believing that Richard II. was not dead. Others said that the lawful heir to the crown was the Earl of March; and they were right. Scrope himself, Henry's chief councillor, his confidant, the *man of his heart*, conspired with two others in favour of the Earl of March.

There was no remedy but war for this internal ferment. On the 16th of April, 1415, Henry announced to parliament that he would make a descent on France. On the 29th he commanded all lords to hold themselves in readiness. On the 28th of May, pretending that a French invasion was imminent, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other prelates, to *organise the Church-vassals for the defence of the realm.** Three weeks afterwards he commanded the knights and esquires to inspect the men capable of bearing arms, and divide them into companies. Scrope's affair delayed him, but he went on completing his preparations;† and he excited the people against the French, by sending abroad a report that it was they who paid the traitors, and had suborned Scrope to rend and ruin the country.‡

Henry sent two embassies, one immediately after the other, to France, announcing that he was King of France; but was willing to wait until the king's death, and meanwhile to marry his daughter, receiving with her all the provinces surrendered by the treaty of Bretigny. This was a tremendous dower; but he required Normandy in addition to it; that is to say, the means of taking the rest. A grand embassy§ was sent him in reply, to offer him Limousin instead of Normandy, with an augmented dowry for the princess, amounting to 850,000 gold crowns. Thereupon the King of England demanded that this sum should be paid down in ready money. This idle negotiation lasted three months [April 13—July 28], all the time Henry's preparations were in hand. When

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* De arraiatione cleri: Prompti sint ad resistendum contra malitiam inimicorum regni, ecclesiæ, etc. Rymer, 3rd ed., iv., part 1, p. 123. May 28, 1415.

† Treaty for obtaining vessels from Holland, March 18, 1415. Impressment of ships, April 11; of armourers (operariis arcuum, etc., *tam intra libertates quam extra*) the 20th; impressment of sailors, May 3; search for waggons, the 16th; purchase of nails and horseshoes, the 25th; purchase of oxen and cows, June 4; order to bake bread and brew beer, May 27; impressment of masons, carpenters, locksmiths; June 5, negotiations with Owen Glendower, the Welshman; 24th July, the king's will; defence of the Scotch frontier; negotiations with Aragon with the Duke of Bretagne, *with the Duke of Burgundy*, Aug. 10; Bedford named guardian of England, Aug. 11; to the Lord Mayor of London, the 12th, etc. Rymer, iv., p. 1, 109—146.

‡ Walsingham believes this (p. 389). But Turner sees very plainly that it was but a false report, ii. 395.

§ The King of France had never sent so solemn an embassy to the King of England. There were twelve ambassadors, and their suite consisted of 592 persons. Rymer, iv. II., April 13.

every thing was ready, he dismissed the ambassadors with considerable presents, telling them that he would follow them quickly.

Every one in England had need of war; the king, in the first place. The elder branch had had its battles of Crécy and Poitiers; the younger branch could legitimise itself only by a great victory.

The Church had need of war; first, in order to detach from the Lollards a multitude of wretches, who were Lollards only because they had no opportunity of being soldiers; and next, because, whilst busy with the pillage of France, no one would think of pillaging the Church; the fearful question of secularisation would be adjourned.

What, moreover, could have been more worthy of the venerable Church of England, or could have done it more honour, than to reform schismatic France, chastise it fraternally, and make it feel God's rod? The young king, so devout, so pious, the David of the Established Church, was visibly the predestined instrument of so excellent an act of justice.

All was difficulty before this resolution was taken; after it, every thing became easy. Henry, secure in his strength, endeavoured to allay animosity by making reparation to the past. He interred Richard II. with honour; the voice of party was silent, and the parliament unanimously voted an unparalleled sum for the expedition. The king assembled six thousand men-at-arms, and twenty-four thousand archers, the largest army the English had had for more than fifty years.*

The army, instead of amusing itself about Calais, landed directly at Harfleur, at the entrance of the Seine. The point was well chosen. Harfleur, had it become an English town, would have been a very different sort of thing from Calais. It would have kept the Seine open for the English to pass in and out, to penetrate to Rouen and take Normandy, to Paris, and take France, perhaps.

The expedition had been well designed, and extremely well prepared. The king had made sure of the neutrality of Jean-sans-Peur; and had hired or bought eight hundred transports in Zealand and Holland, countries under the Duke of Burgundy's influence, and which, moreover, have always been ready to lend their vessels to any one that paid them well.† He took a large stock of provisions with him, in case the country should not furnish any.

The Church of England, on its part, in concert with the parishes, omitted nothing that could sanctify the enterprise; fasting, prayers, processions, and pilgrimages.‡ At the very moment of the em-

* Besides cannoneers, workmen, &c.—Fifteen hundred transports. Such are the numbers given by Monstrelet, iii. 313. Lefebvre says 800 transports. Nothing can be more uncertain than the numerical statements of those times. Lefebvre believes the King of France had 200,000 men before Arras in 1414; Monstrelet assigns 150,000 to the French at the battle of Azincourt. I believe, however, that he was better informed as to the real numbers of the English army at its departure.

† Under Charles VI., Louis XIII., &c.

‡ See the various authors quoted by Turner, iii. 434, note. Henry's scruples

barkation, another heretic was burned. The king devoutly took part in all these things, and took with him a considerable number of priests, particularly the Bishop of Norwich, who was given him for his principal adviser.

The passage was not disputed; France had not a vessel;* nor was the landing opposed, the inhabitants of the coast not being in a condition to cope with so large an army. But they showed a very hostile feeling towards it; the Duke of Normandy (that was the first title assumed by Henry V.) was ill received in his duchy; the towns and castles stood on their guard; the English durst not stray from their camp, and were masters only of the unwholesome strip of coast which it covered.

Let us not forget that our unfortunate country had no longer a government. The two parties having rolled off to the north and the south, the centre was left vacant; Paris was oppressed with the lassitude that follows great exertions, the king was mad, the dauphin sick, the Duke of Berri almost an octogenarian. They sent Marshal Boucicaut, however, to Rouen, and then carried the king thither, to collect together the nobility of the Isle of France, Normandy, and Picardy. The gentlemen of the latter province received contrary orders from the Duke of Burgundy;† some obeyed the king, others the duke; a few even joined the English.

Harfleur was valiantly defended and obstinately attacked. A brave nobility had thrown themselves into it; the siege was protracted, and the English suffered exceedingly on that damp coast. Their victuals were spoiled, and they eagerly devoured the fresh fruit (it was the month of September). Dysentery broke out in the army, and carried off thousands, not only of the common soldiers, but nobles, esquires, knights, the greatest lords, and the Bishop of Norwich himself. On the day of the prelate's death, the English army suspended the works of the siege, in token of respect.

Harfleur was not succoured. A supply of powder sent from Rouen, was intercepted on the way. Another effort was equally unsuccessful; some lords had collected as many as 6000 men to surprise the English camp; their impetuosity spoiled all, they were discovered before the favourable moment.‡

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were carried so far that he refused the services of a gentleman who brought him twenty men, but who had been a monk and had become secularised again only by means of a *dispensation from the pope*. Ibid. These dispensations were the subject of a continual war between Rome and the Church of England.

* The king had none, but several towns, such as Rochelle, Dieppe, &c., had a considerable number.

† The servant of the dukes of Burgundy, who was afterwards their herald-at-arms, under the name of Toison d'Or, expressly acknowledged this. Y allèrent a puissance de gens *jà soit* (quoique) *le Duc de Bourgogne mandât* par ses lettres patentes *que ils ne bougeâssent*, et que ne servissent ni partissent de leurs hostels, jusques à tant qu'il leur fist sçavoir. Lefebvre de Saint Rémy, viii. 493.

‡ Lefebvre, viii. 495—6.

Meanwhile the defenders of Harfleur were worn out with fatigue. The English having effected a large breach, the besieged had thrown up palisades behind it. This vast work was burned by the enemy, and took three days to consume. The English employed an infallible means to exhaust their strength, firing night and day, so that they had no sleep.

Not finding any succours arrive, they asked at last for two days, to see if relief would come. "Two days are not enough," said Henry; "you shall have four." He took hostages to insure their keeping their word; and he did well, for succour not having arrived by the appointed day, the garrison wanted to fight again. Some even, rather than surrender, took refuge in the castles on the coast, and there held out for ten days longer.

The siege had lasted a month; but that month had been more destructive than the whole year passed by Edward III. before Calais. The men of Harfleur, like those of Calais, had every thing to fear at the hands of the victors. An English priest who accompanied the expedition, tells us, with evident satisfaction, by what delays the uneasiness and humiliation of those brave men were prolonged. "They were taken into a tent, and they knelt down, but did not see the king; then into a tent, were they knelt a long while, but they did not see the king. Thirdly, they were led into an inner tent, but the king did not yet show himself. At last they were conducted into a place where the king was seated. There they were a long while on their knees, and our king did not vouchsafe them a look until they had been a very long while kneeling. Then the king looked at them, and signed to the Earl of Dorset to receive the keys of the town. The French were raised and reassured."*

The King of England made his entry into the town with his captains, his clergy, and his army. He dismounted from his horse at the gate, had his boots taken off, and walked barefooted to the parish church, "to thank his Creator for his good fortune." The town was no better treated for all this devotion; a great part of the townsfolk were forced to ransom themselves, just like men-at-arms; all the inhabitants were driven from the town, even the women and the children; they were left five sous each, and their petticoats.†

The victors were already much disheartened by the end of this

* MS. quoted by Sir Harris Nicolas in his history of the battle of Azincourt (1832), p. 129. This remarkable little work exhibits all the impartiality which was to be expected of a judicious Englishman, who, moreover, has not forgotten the French origin of his family. Let me be allowed to remark by the by, that many distinguished foreigners are descended from our French refugees: Sir Harris Nicolas, Miss Martineau, Savigny, Ancillon, Michelet of Berlin, &c.

† The chaplain relates the lamentations of these poor people, and adds with a very singular touch of English prejudice, that, after all, they regretted the loss of property to which they had no right: "For the loss of their accustomed, *though unlawful*, habitations." Sir H. Nicolas, p. 214.

five weeks' campaign. Of 30,000 men that had sailed from England, there remained but 20,000, and of these, 5000 had to be sent home again, being wounded, sick, or exhausted with fatigue. But though the capture of Harfleur was a great and important result, the king, who had purchased it by the loss of so many soldiers, and so many persons of distinction, could not present himself before the mourning country if he did not raise up the depressed spirits of his subjects by something bold and chivalric. First he challenged the dauphin to meet him in single combat. Then to prove that France durst not fight, he declared that he would march across country from Harfleur to Calais.*

The thing was daring, but not altogether rash. The divisions subsisting between the French noblésse were known, and the jealousies that prevented them from uniting in arms. If they had allowed a whole long month to pass away without coming in time to defend the port that guarded the Seine and the whole kingdom, the odds were that they would leave the English the eight days necessary for them, according to Henry's calculations, to reach Calais.

He had still left 2000 men-at-arms, 13,000 archers, an active and robust army, consisting of those whose constitutions had resisted the malady that swept away others. He made them take victuals for thirteen days; besides which, once out of Normandy, there was every reason to expect that the Duke of Burgundy's captains in Picardy and Artois, would aid in provisioning the army; and so it turned out. It was October, the vintage was going forward, there would be no lack of wine, and with wine the English soldier could go to the world's end.

The main thing was to avoid rousing the inhabitants along the line of march, to abstain from driving the peasantry to arms by disorderly conduct. The king caused Richard II.'s fine code of discipline† to be executed to the letter: No rape or church robbery, under penalty of the gallows; no crying *havoc*, under pain of beheading; the same punishment for whosoever robbed a merchant or sutler: failure to obey one's captain, or to lodge in the quarters assigned one, to be visited with imprisonment or loss of one's horse, &c.

The English army marched from Harfleur the 18th of October, and traversed the Pays de Caux, meeting everywhere with a hostile reception. Arques fired on the English, but when the latter threatened to set fire to the whole neighbourhood, the town furnished the

* This expedition has been narrated by three eye witnesses, who were all three in the English camp: Hardyng, one of Henry the Fifth's chaplains, and Lefebvre de Saint Rémy, a Picard gentleman of the Burgundian party, who accompanied Henry's army. There is but one witness of the other party, Jean de Vaurin, who makes hardly any addition to the statement of the others. I readily incline to follow the English accounts. The French historian who narrates this great national misfortune, must be on his guard against his feelings, and take his information from the opposite side in preference.

† Regulations of 1386, as given in the MS. quoted by Sir H. Nicolas, 107.

only things required of it, bread and wine. Eu made a furious *sortie;* but the same menace produced the same concession; bread and wine, nothing more.

Issuing at last from Normandy, the English arrived on the 13th at Abbeville, intending to cross the Somme at Blanche Tache, the place where Edward III. had forced a passage before the battle of Crécy. Henry learned that the ford was guarded. Fearful rumours were in circulation respecting the prodigious army which the French were assembling; the King of England's chivalric challenge had provoked the French *fury;** the Duke of Lorraine alone was said to be bringing fifty thousand men.† The truth is, that however diligently the nobility, those of the Orleanist party especially, were taking measures to assemble themselves, they were as yet far from being collected. It was thought expedient to deceive Henry V., and to persuade him that the passage was impossible. There was nothing the French feared so much as that he should escape with impunity. A Gascon belonging to the Constable D'Albret, was taken prisoner, perhaps suffered himself purposely to be captured; being taken before the King of England, he affirmed that the ford was guarded and impassable. "If it be not so," he said, "cut off my head." This scene strikingly reminds us of that in which Montluc the Gascon persuaded the king and council to permit the battle of Cérisoles.

To march back through the hostile population of Normandy, would have been disgraceful and dangerous; to force the passage of the ford, was difficult, but perhaps still possible. Lefebvre de St. Rémy himself says that the French were far from being ready. The third course was to march toward the interior, ascending the course of the Somme until a ford should be found. This would have been the most hazardous course of the three, if the English had not possessed friends in the country; but we must not loose sight of the fact that since 1406, Picardy had been under the influence of the Duke of Burgundy; that he had many vassals there; that the captains of the towns must have been afraid to displease him, and that he had just forbidden them to take up arms against the

* The nobility were stimulated by the shame of having suffered Harfleur to be taken. Le Religieux expresses the national feelings on this matter with extreme bitterness. "The nobility," he says, "were every day hissed and hooted for this, and made the subject of ludicrous songs among foreign nations. To have without resistance suffered the kingdom to lose its best and most useful port, to have suffered those who had so well defended themselves to be shamefully captured!" Relig., MS. 943, v.

† Letter from Bardolf, governor of Calais, to the Duke of Bedford: Plaise à vostre Seignurie savoir que par les entrevenans divers et bonnes amis, repairans en celle ville et marche, aussi bien hors des parties de Fraunce, comme *de Flaundres*, me soit dit et rapporté plainement que sans faulte le Roi, nostre Seigneur....ara bataille....au plus tarde, deins quinsze jours....que le Duc de Lorenne ait assembleie.....bien *cinquant mille* hommes, et que mes qu'ils soient tous assemblees, ilz ne seront meins de cent mille oupluis. Rymer, iv., part 1, 147, Oct. 7, 1415.

English. The latter, who had arrived in vessels belonging to Holland and Zealand, had many Hainaulters in their ranks; some Picards joined them, and perhaps served them as guides.*

The army, hardly aware of the facilities it was to meet with on this seemingly very rash enterprise, withdrew with anxiety from the sea. The English had set out from Harfleur on the 9th; on the 13th they began to march up the valley of the Somme. On the 14th they sent off a detachment to attempt the passage of Pont de Rémy, but it was repulsed; and on the 15th they found that the passage at Pont Audemer was likewise guarded. The 17th was the eighth day from the departure from Harfleur, but instead of being at Calais, they found themselves near Amiens. The most steadfast were beginning to hang their heads, and commended themselves with all their hearts to St. George and the Virgin.† After all, they had no lack of victuals, but found bread and wine at every halt. At Boves, which belonged to the Duke of Burgundy, they found such an abundance of wine, that the king was afraid they would get drunk.‡

Near Nesle the peasants refused to supply the invaders with provisions, and fled. Providence once more succoured the English. A man of the country brought them word that by passing through a marsh, they would find a ford in the river.§ It was a long and dangerous passage, which was seldom used. The king had ordered the Captain of St. Quentin to destroy the ford, and even to plant stakes there; but nothing of the kind had been done.‖

The English did not lose a moment. To facilitate their passage, they pulled down the adjoining houses, and threw into the water, doors, windows, stairs, and every thing they could lay hand on.¶ It took them a whole day to effect the passage; the French might have attacked them with advantage during this long operation.

It was not until the next day, October 20th, that the King of England at last received the defiance of the Duke of Orleans, the

* When we see one of these Picards, the historian Lefebvre de Saint Rémy, after having fought for the English at Azincourt, become the confidant of the house of Burgundy, perform the most important missions in its service (Lefebvre, Prologue, vii. 258), and grow old in that court as herald of the Golden Fleece, we are strongly tempted to believe that Lefebvre, though then young, was a Burgundian agent accredited to Henry V. He did not arrive merely to see the battle; the minute details he gives (p. 499) lead us to believe that he was with the English army from its entrance into Picardy. See Mademoiselle Dupont's Essay on Lefebvre, Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France, tom. ii, 1re. partie. The learned lady has recast Lefebvre's whole biography, and proved that he generally copied Monstrelet; it appears to me, however, that in copying he somewhat modified the account of those facts of which he had been an eye-witness.

† Sloane MS. ap. Turner, ii. 241. ‡ Lefebvre, vii. 499.

§ The two Burgundians, Monstrelet and Lefebvre, say nothing of this; it is from the English we learn the fact. "But suddenly in the midst of their despondency, one of the villagers communicated to the king the invaluable information".... Turner, ii. 423.

‖ Monstrelet, iii. 330. ¶ Lefebvre, vii. 501.

Duke of Bourbon, and the Constable d'Albret. These princes had lost no time, but they had encountered all the obstacles that could befal a party that stood forth as the sole defender of the realm. In one month they had brought up all the nobility of the south and the centre to Abbeville; and they had overcome the indecision of the royal council, and the Duke of Berri's fears. That aged prince wished at first that the Orleans and Burgundy parties should each send only 500 lances;* but the Orleanists came all of them. Then remembering Poitiers, whence he had run away, he wished that a battle should be avoided, or at least that the king and the dauphin should keep carefully aloof from it. He carried this latter point, but a battle was resolved on; five out of thirty-five members of the council voting against it, and thirty for it.† This determination was, in fact, accordant with the national feelings; even though defeat should be the result, it was necessary to give proof of courage, and not let the English go off laughing at our expense, after this long promenade. A great number of the gentlemen of the Netherlands were willing to serve us as seconds in this great duel. Those of Hainault, Brabant, Zeeland, and even Holland, remote as they were from the scene of action, and in nowise personally affected by the matter, came to share the fight with us, in spite of the Duke of Burgundy.

The army of the princes had marched up the valley of the Somme, from Abbeville to Peronne, to dispute the passage of the river. On ascertaining that Henry had crossed over, they sent a message to him, in accordance with the usages of chivalry, desiring him to name a day and place for the battle, and to say what road he would take. The Englishman replied with dignified simplicity, that he was going straight to Calais, that he would enter no town, so that with God's grace he should be always to be found in the open field; and he subjoined, "We advise our enemies not to stop our way, but to avoid the effusion of Christian blood."

Having crossed the Somme, the English found themselves really in an enemy's country. Bread failed them, and for eight days they had nothing to eat but flesh meat, eggs, butter,‡ and in short, any thing they could lay hands on. The princes had laid waste the country and broken up the roads. The English army was obliged to disperse through several villages in order to find quarters. Here again was an opportunity for the French, but they did not take advantage of it. Solely intent on a grand battle, they let the enemy approach at his ease. They assembled further on, near the castle of Azincourt, at a place where, in consequence of the road to Calais being narrowed in between Azincourt and Tramecourt, the king would be obliged to give battle before he could proceed.

* He had letters written to this effect at first to the two dukes, with a prohibition against their marching in person; so the Duke of Burgundy asserts in the letter to the king. Juvenal des Ursins, 299.

† Monstrelet, iii. 331.

‡ Lefebvre, viii. 18.

On Thursday, the 24th of October, the English having passed Blangy,* learned that the French were close at hand, and thought they were about to attack them. The men-at-arms dismounted from horseback, and all of them kneeling down, and lifting up their hands to Heaven, prayed to God to take them into His keeping. Nothing, however, took place as yet, the constable not having reached the French army. The English proceeded to quarter themselves in Maisoncelle, still nearer to Azincourt. Henry V. disencumbered himself of his prisoners, saying to them, "If your masters survive, you will present yourselves again at Calais."

At last, they discovered the huge French army, its fires and its banners. There were, according to the estimate of the eye-witness, 14,000 men-at-arms, in all perhaps 50,000 men; thrice the number of the English.† The latter had 11,000 or 12,000 men remaining of the 15,000 that had marched from Harfleur, 10,000 of them at least being archers.

The Welshman,‡ David Gam, the first who brought word to the king of the enemy's presence, being asked how many men the French might have, replied in the flighty and boastful tone of his countrymen, "Enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, enough to fly."§ An Englishman, Sir Walter Hungerford, could not forbear from observing, that it would not have been amiss to have brought 10,000 more stout archers; there were as many in England who would have desired no better. But the king replied peremptorily, "Now in our Lord's name, I would not have one man more. The number we have is that which He has willed; these folks place their confidence in their multitude, and I in Him who so often gave victory to Judas Macabeus."

The English having still a night at their disposal, employed it usefully in making their preparations, and providing as well as possible for both body and soul. First, they rolled up the banners for fear of the rain, and took off and folded up the handsome coats of arms they had put on for the fight. Then in order to pass the cold October night in comfort, they opened their baggage and laid straw under them, which they procured from the neighbouring villages. The men-at-arms fitted the rivets of their armour, the archers applied fresh strings to their bows. They had for several days employed themselves in cutting and sharpening the stakes which they usually planted before them to stop the advance of cavalry. Amidst all their preparations for victory, these brave men did not

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* "When it was told the King of England that he had passed his quarters he stopped and said: 'Now God forbid that I should turn back, seeing I have put on my coat of arms,' and he proceeded." Lefebvre, viii. 507.

† Ibid., 511. Relig., 945. Jehan de Vaurin, Chroniques d'Angleterre, vol. v., part 1, ch. 9, f. 15 v. MS. Bibl. Roy., No. 6756.

‡ Henry had Welshmen and Portuguese in his army. Relig., 928 v. We have already seen that he had Hainaulters.

§ Powel, Hist. of Wales. Turner, ii. 431.

forget their souls' weal, but set their accounts in order with God and their consciences. They confessed hastily, those at least whom the priests could despatch;* and all this was done without noise, in whispers. The king had commanded silence, under penalty of forfeiture of their horses for the gentlemen, and of loss of the right ear for those of lower degree.†

It was otherwise on the French side, where the time was spent in making knights. In every direction there were great fires which showed every thing to the enemy; a confused din of people shouting and calling to each other; a bustling mob of valets and pages. Many gentlemen passed the night on horseback in their heavy armour, no doubt to avoid soiling it in the deep mud, which with the cold rain chilled them to the bones. Had there at least been music!—‡ The horses even were low-spirited, not one of them neighed. Add to this unpleasant augury, the local reminiscences; Azincourt is not far from Créey.

On the morning of St. Crispin and St. Crispinian's day, October 25, 1415, the King of England heard three masses,§ according to his custom, bareheaded, but otherwise in full armour. He then put on a magnificent helmet with an imperial gold crown. He rode without spurs on a grey palfrey, and made his men advance over a field of green corn, where the ground was less spoiled by the rain, the whole army forming one body, with the few lances he had in the centre, flanked by bodies of archers. He then rode slowly along the line, speaking a few brief sentences:—"You have a good cause; I am come but to demand my right . . . . Remember, that you belong to old England; that your kindred, your wives and children are awaiting you there; see that you return to them with good cheer. The kings of England have always fared well in France . . . . Look to the honour of the crown; look to yourselves. The French say they will cut off three fingers from every archer's hand."‖

The ground was in so bad a condition that no one was disposed to attack. The King of England parleyed with the French, offering to renounce the title of King of France, and to surrender back Harfleur,¶ provided he were given Guienne, with some few convenient additions, Ponthieu, a daughter of the king, and 800,000 crowns. This parleying between the two armies did not diminish the alertness of the English as might have been supposed; while it was going on the archers were securing their stakes.

The two armies formed a strange mutual contrast. On the French side were three enormous squadrons, like so many forests of lances, following each other in lengthened file through the narrow

* Lefebvre, vii. 510. † Turner, ii. 435. ‡ Lefebvre, vii. 510.

§ Car il avoit constume d'en oyr chascun jour trois l'une après l'autre. Jehan de Vaurin, l. c.

‖ Lefebvre, vii. 512. ¶ Id., viii. 7.

plain; at their head the constable, the princes, the Dukes of Orleans, Bar, and Alençon, the counts of Nevers, Eu, Richemont, and Vendôme, a multitude of lords, a dazzling iris of enamelled armour, escutcheons, banners, the horses fantastically disguised in steel and gold. The French, too, had archers, men of the commonalty;* but where were they to be placed? Every post was numbered, and no one would give up his own;† these men would have been a blot upon so noble an assemblage. There were cannons, but it does not appear that they were made use of; probably there was no place for them either.

The English army did not look handsomely. The archers had no armour, often no shoes; for head pieces they had sorry caps of boiled leather, or even of willow with a cross piece of iron; the axes and hatchets stuck in their belts gave them the appearance of carpenters. Many of these good workmen had taken off their breeches,‡ in order to be at their ease and to work the better; first, in bending the bow,§ and then in handling their axes, when they could issue forth from behind their wall of stakes, and begin to hew down the inert masses before them.

It is a strange, incredible, and yet certain fact, that the French army really could not stir either to fight or to fly. The rear alone escaped.

At the decisive moment, when old Thomas of Erpingham having drawn up the English army, threw his truncheon into the air, crying out, "Now strike!"‖ and when the English had replied with a shout from 10,000 throats, the French army, to their great astonishment, still remained motionless. Horses and riders, all appeared enchanted, or dead in their steel cases. The fact was, that the big war horses, loaded with their heavy riders and their steel caparisons, had sunk deep in the stiff soil, had become firmly fixed there, and only struggled out to advance slowly a few paces.

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* Four thousand archers, besides numerous other forces. The Parisians had offered 6000 armed men, but they were not accepted. A knight said on this occasion: "What need have we of these artisans? We are already *three times* as many as the English." Le Religieux remarks that the same mistake had been committed at Courtrai, Poitiers, and Nicopolis, and he adds some reflections of a striking nature considering the time in which they were made. MS. 945 v.

† All were bent on being in the vanguard, says Le Religieux. Cum singuli antiguardiam poscerent conducendam....esset que inde exorta *verbalis controversia*, tandem tamen unanimiter (proh dolor) concluserunt ut omnes in prima fronte locarentur. Mirabeau's grandfather informs us that at the bridge of Cassano the officers were on the point of turning their swords against each other, all wishing to be foremost in the fight. Mémoires de Mirabeau.

‡ Lefebvre, viii. 9.

§ The English archers *pushed* the bow with the left hand, the French *drew* the string with the right hand; with the latter it was the left arm, with the former the right arm that remained motionless. To this difference in practice Mr. Gilpin attributes the difference of expression in the two languages: *tirer de l'arc* in French; to *bend the bow* in English.

‖ Monstrelet, iii. 340.

Such is the acknowledgment of the English party; a modest acknowledgment, which does honour to their probity.

Lefebvre, Jean de Vaurin, and Walsingham,* expressly say that the field was nothing but viscid mud. "The place was soft and cut up by the horses, so that it was with great difficulty they could drag their feet out of the ground. The French were so loaded with harness, that they could not advance. They had long and very weighty coats of mail, hanging below the knees; below these they had leg harness, and above them plate harness, and, moreover, helmets of proof. They were so much crowded together, that they could not lift their arms to strike an enemy, except some of them in the front."†

Another historian of the English party informs us, that the French were drawn up thirty-two men deep, whilst the English were ranged in but four ranks.‡ This enormous depth of the French served no purpose; their thirty-two ranks consisted wholly, or almost so, of cavalry; the majority of whom, far from being able to act, did not even see the engagement; whereas every man of the English was efficient. Of the 50,000 French, 2000 or 3000 only could fight against the 11,000 English, or at least might have done so if their horses could have extricated themselves from the mud.

To rouse those inert masses, the English archers discharged volleys of 10,000 arrows with extreme rapidity and pertinacity at their faces. The iron-clad horsemen stooped their heads, otherwise the arrows would have entered through their visors. Then from the two wings of Tramecourt and Azincourt, two French squadrons began with much spurring to execute a clumsy charge, led by two excellent men-at-arms, Messire Clignet de Brabant, and Messire Guillaume de Saveuse. The first squadron advancing from Tramecourt, was unexpectedly taken in flank by a body of archers concealed in the wood;§ neither squadron reached the enemy.

Of 1200 men who began this charge, there remained not more than a hundred and twenty, when they came up with the English palisades. Most of them had fallen in the mud by the way, men and horses. Would to God that all had so fallen; but the others, whose horses were wounded, could no longer control the frantic animals, which rushed desperately back on the French ranks.‖ The vanguard, far from being able to open and let them

* The infantry even could hardly walk, Propter soli mollitiem.....per campum lutosum. Walsingham, 392. Jean de Vaurin was at the battle, as well as Lefebvre, but on the other side: Moy acteur de ceste euvre, en scay la verité, car en celle assemblée estoie du costé des François. MS. Bibl. Roy. l. c.

† Lefebvre, viii. 8. ‡ Titus Livius, p. 27. Turner, ii. 443.

§ Monstrelet, iii. 339. Some said also that the King of England had sent round archers to the rear of the French army; but eye-witnesses affirm the contrary.

‖ Lefebvre, viii. 11.

pass, was, as we have seen, so closely packed together, that not a man could move. We may imagine the frightful accidents that took place in that dense mass, the horses wild with terror, backing and smothering each other, flinging off their riders, or crushing them under their armour as the iron masses clashed together.

Then came the English to complete the havoc. Coming out from their line of stakes, and throwing down their bows and arrows, they advanced quite at their ease with axes, hatchets, heavy swords and leaded clubs,* to demolish that confused mountain of men and horses. In process of time they succeeded in clearing away the vanguard, and made their way, with the king at their head, to the second line of battle.

It was perhaps at this moment, that eighteen French gentlemen made a dash at the King of England. They had made a vow, it was said, to die or bring down his crown; one of them struck off a point from it; all perished in the attempt.† This *on dit* is not enough for the historians, who further adorn the tale, and convert it into a Homeric scene, in which the king fights over the body of his wounded brother, like Achilles over that of Patroclus. Then it is the Duke d'Alençon, *commander of the French army*, who kills the Duke of York and cleaves the king's crown. Being speedily surrounded, he yields; Henry holds out his hand to him; but he was already slain.‡

What is more certain, is that the Duke of Brabant arrived in haste at the second stage of the engagement. He was the Duke of Burgundy's own brother, and seems to have sought the field to clear the honour of his family. He arrived very late, but time enough to die. The brave prince had left all his men behind him, and had not even put on his coat of arms; instead of which he took his banner, made a hole in it, passed his head through it, and charged the English, who slew him instantly.

There remained but the rear-guard, which soon dispersed. A great number of cavaliers, dismounted, but raised up again by their servants, had made their way out of the throng of battle and surrendered to the English. At this moment, word was brought the king that a French corps was pillaging his baggage; and at the same time, he saw some Bretons, or Gascons in the French rear, that seemed about to return to the charge against him. He was alarmed for the moment, especially as he saw his men embarrassed with so many prisoners, and instantly ordered every man to kill his captive. Not one obeyed; those soldiers without shoes or breeches, who held the

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* Ictus reiterabant mortales, inusitato etiam armorum genere usi quisque eorum in parte maxima clavam plumbeam gestabant, quæ capiti alicujus afflicta mox illum præcipitabat ad terram moribundum. Relig., 950.

† Lefebvre, viii. 5.

‡ This embellishment is of Monstrelet's contrivance, iii. 355. He places it apart from the account of the battle after the long list of the killed. Lefebvre, an eye-witness, could not make up his mind to copy Monstrelet in this place.

greatest lords of France in their hands, and thought they had made their fortunes, were now ordered to ruin themselves. As they refused to comply, the king appointed 200 men to act as executioners. "It was a sad spectacle," says the historian, "to see those poor disarmed wretches, who had just received promise of quarter, slaughtered in cold blood, decapitated, and cut to pieces!"* The alarm was groundless. It was only some pillagers of the neighbourhood, people of Azincourt, who, in spite of their master, the Duke of Burgundy, had taken advantage of the opportunity. He punished them severely,† though they had reserved a rich sword from the booty for his son.

The battle being ended, the archers made haste to strip the slain, whilst they were yet warm. Many were dragged forth alive from beneath the corpses; among others, the Duke of Orleans. Next day the victor, on his departure, killed, or made prisoners, all that remained alive.‡

"It was a piteous sight to see the great nobles who had there been slain, and who were already stark naked, like those who were born of men of no account." An English priest was not less affected by the spectacle. "If this sight," he says, "excited pity and compunction in us, who were strangers, and but passed through the country, how great was the sorrow for the native inhabitants. Oh, may the French nation come to peace and union with the English, and depart from its iniquities and its evil ways!" Sternness then prevails over compassion, and he subjoins: "Meanwhile, let his grief be turned upon his head."§

The English had lost 1600 men; the French 10,000, almost all gentlemen, 120 lords having banners. The list fills six large pages in Monstrelet, beginning with seven princes (Brabant, Nevers, Albret,‖ Alençon, the three de Bar); then come lords without number,

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* Moult pitoyable chose; car de sang froid....qui estoit une merveilleuse chose à voir. Lefebvre, viii. 14.

† It is from the Burgundian historian himself that we derive our knowledge of this fact. Ibid., iii. 345.

‡ Lefebvre, viii. 16, 17. Monstrelet, iii. 347. I know not on the authority of what author M. de Barante says: "Henry V. put a stop to the carnage, and caused the wounded to receive relief." Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne, 3e. edit., iv. 250.

§ MS. quoted by Sir H. Nicolas, p. 275.

‖ The constable was very fortunate in this; his death was an answer to those who accused him of treason. Le Religieux frequently reverts (fol. 940, 946, 948) to these rumours of treachery, which were probably circulated in Paris, especially through the influence of the Burgundian party. These charges are nowhere more forcibly embodied than in the anonymous narrative published by M. Tailliar: "Charles de Labrech went often to eat and drink with the king in the English army.....The constable staid in his good towns and promulgated an order in the King of France's name, forbidding all men to fight at all." This latter accusation, so manifestly calumnious, would lead us to suspect that this piece was a bulletin of the Duke of Burgundy's. It is also to be observed, that the author confuses many things; he believes it was Clignet de Brabant that plundered the English camp, &c. In the same he calls Henry V. sometimes

Dampierre, Vaudemont, Marle, Roussy, Salm, Dammartin, &c. &c. the bailiffs of Vermandois, Mâcon, Sens, Senlis, Caen, and Meaux, and Montaigu, the brave Archbishop of Sens, who fought like a lion.

The Duke of Burgundy's son bestowed the charity of a grave on all the dead that lay naked on the field of battle. Twenty-five square rods of ground were measured out, and in that huge pit were laid all the bodies that had not been carried away, 5800 men by the tale. The ground was consecrated, and a thick thorn hedge was planted round it, for fear of the wolves.*

There were but 1500 prisoners, the victors having, as we have said, killed all that showed signs of life. These prisoners were no less than the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, de Vendôme, and de Richelieu, the Marshal de Boucicaut, Messire Jacques d'Harcourt, Messire Jean de Craon, &c. A whole French colony was transported to England.

After the battle of Meloria, lost by the Pisans, it was a common saying: "If you want to see Pisa, go to Genoa." It might have been said, after Azincourt: "If you want to see France, go to London."

These prisoners were in the hands of the soldiers. The king made a good speculation, purchasing them at a low price, and extracting enormous ransoms from them.† Meanwhile, they were very closely guarded. Henry V. did not pique himself on imitating the courtesy of the Black Prince.

Henry IV.'s widow, who was also the Duke of Bretagne's widow by her first marriage, had the misfortune to see her son Arthur a prisoner in London. In their melancholy interview, she placed in her stead a lady whom Arthur took for his mother. It was anguish to her heart. "Unfortunate child," she said, "do you not know me?" They were separated. The king allowed no communication between the mother and her son.‡

The hardest lot for the prisoners was to be obliged to listen to the sermons of that king of the priests,§ and endure his moralities and humilities. Immediately after the battle, surrounded by the dead and the wounded, he sent for Montjoie, the herald of France, and said: "It is not we who have done this slaughter, but God, for the sins of the French." Then he asked gravely, to whom the victory was to be attributed, to the King of France or himself? "To you, monseigneur," replied the herald of France.‖

Bending his march afterwards to Calais, he gave orders on a halt,

King of France, sometimes King of England. Archives du Nord de la France et du Midi de la Belgique. (Valenciennes) 1839.

* Monstrelet, iii. 358. According to the anonymous narrative published by M. Tailliar, the exact number of the slain was never ascertained; those who had buried them swore not to disclose the truth. Archives, &c.

† Relig., 952 v.

‡ Mémoire d'Artus, iii. edit. Godefroy (Hist. de Charles VII., p. 745).

§ Princeps presbytorum. Walsingham, p. 390.

‖ Monstrelet, iii. 346.

that bread and wine should be carried to the Duke of Orleans, and being told that the prisoner took nothing, he went to him and said, "Fair cousin, how fares it with you?" "Well, monseigneur." "How comes it that you will neither eat nor drink?" "It is true, I fast." "Fair cousin, take no care; I well know that if God has granted me the grace to win the battle from the French, it is not that I am worthy of it; but as I firmly believe, forasmuch as it was his pleasure to punish them. In truth, it is not to be wondered at, if what I am told is true; it is said that never were seen such debaucheries, lewd pleasures, sins, and wicked vices, as are now seen in France. It is piteous to hear, and horrible for the hearers. If God is incensed at it, it is no wonder."*

Was it then so certain that England was commissioned to punish France? Was France so utterly forsaken of God that she needed this English discipline, and these charitable lectures?

An eye-witness says that a moment before the battle he beheld from the English ranks an affecting spectacle in the other army. The French of all parties threw themselves into each other's arms, exchanged forgiveness, and broke bread together. From that moment, he adds, hate was changed into love.†

I do not find that the English became reconciled to each other.‡ They confessed; each man set his own conscience in order, without concerning himself about the rest.

This English army seems to have been a decent, orderly, well-behaved army; there was no gambling in it, no wanton girls, no oaths. Really one hardly sees what they had to confess.

Which of the two died in better plight? Which of the two would we have chosen to be with? The Duke of Burgundy's son, Philip the Good, whom his father hindered from joining the French, used to say forty years after the battle, "I cannot console myself for not having been at Azincourt, to live or die."§

The excellence of the French character, which was so well displayed at this sad battle, is nobly acknowleged by the Englishman, Walsingham, upon another occasion. "When the Duke of Lancaster invaded Castile, and his soldiers were dying of hunger, they asked for a safe conduct, and went into the camp of the Castilians, where there were many French auxiliaries. The latter were touched by the wretchedness of the English, treated them with humanity, and fed them."‖ Such a fact requires no addition.

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* Lefebvre, viii. 17. † Ibid., 4.

‡ And yet they were far from being of one party; there were, certainly, among them partisans of Mortimer and partisans of Lancaster, Lollards, and orthodox followers of the Church.

§ Et ce.....j'ai ouï dire au Comte de Charolais, depuis que il avoit atteint l'âge de soixante-sept ans. Lefebvre, vii. 506.

‖ De suis victualibus refecerunt, 342. Walsingham adds an observation of the highest importance: Nempe mos est utrique genti, Angliæ scilicet atque Galliæ, licet sibimet in propriis sint infesti regionibus, in remotis partibus *tan-*

I would gladly add, nevertheless, some charming verses full of kindness and gentleness of soul,* which the Duke of Orleans, twenty-five years a prisoner in England, addressed on his departure to an English family in whose keeping he had been.† His captivity lasted almost as long as his life. Whilst the English could indulge any hope of acquiring the throne of France, they would never allow him to ransom himself. Placed at first with his companions in Windsor Castle,‡ he was soon separated from them, and consigned to the gloomy and sinister prison of Pomfret, which was not accustomed to give up those it once enclosed; witness Richard II.

There he passed long years, treated honourably but strictly, without society or amusement, except at most hawking, or doe hunting, which was usually performed on foot, and almost without change of place. It was a dull diversion in that land of *ennui* and fogs, in which there needs nothing less than all the agitations of social life, and the most violent exercises, to make one forget the monotony of an unvaried landscape, a climate without season, and a sky without a sun.

But for all the English could do, there was ever a beam of the sun of France in that castle of Pomfret.§ The most truly French songs we possess were written there by Charles of Orleans.‖ Our Béranger of the fifteenth century,¶ so long caged, sang but the better for his captivity.

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quam fratres subvenire et fidem ad invicem inviolabilem observare. Walsingham, ibid. In fact they are brothers at enmity, but *brothers* after all.

* Notwithstanding this gentleness of character, Charles of Orleans had entertained some thoughts of vengeance after his father's death. The mottoes on his trinkets, according to an inventory made in 1409, seem to point that way: Item, a gold rod, on which is written *Dieu le scet*. Item, another gold rod, on which is written *Il est loup*. Item, another rod of gold plate, on which is written *Souviegne vous de*. Item, two other gold rods, on which is written *Inverbesserin*. Item, a silver bracelet, green enamelled, and inscribed *Inverbesserin*. Inventoire des joyaux d'or et d'argent, que Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans, a par devers lui, fait à Blois en la présence de mondit seigneur, par Monseigneur de Gaule et par Monseigneur de Chaumont, le iiie. jour de Décembre, lan mil cccc et neuf, et escript par moy Hugues Perrier, etc.—This curious document was found among the papers of the Celestines of Paris. Archives du Royaume, L. 1539.

† Mon très-bon hôte et ma très-doulce hôtesse. Poésiès de Charles d'Orléans, p. 356.

‡ See the curious details of the purchase of fourteen beds for the chief prisoners: pillows, bolsters, coverlets, feathers, satin, Flanders cloth, &c. Rymer, 3rd edition, iv. P. I., p. 155, March, 1416.

§ There were other poets among the Azincourt prisoners, Marshal Boucicaut for instance. Livre des faits du Maréchal Boucicaut. Mém. Coll. Petitot, vi. 397.

‖ Ibid., 156.

¶ To complete a Béranger of that period it would be necessary to combine Charles of Orleans and Eustache Deschamps. The latter represents Béranger under different aspects, under his patriotic, satirical, and sensual phases, &c. See the piece Paix n'aurez ja, sils ne rendent Calais, p. 71. He sometimes rises very high. In the following ballad he seems to comprehend the titanic

A Béranger somewhat weak, perhaps, but without bitterness, without vulgarity, always good-natured, amiable, graceful; with a gentle gaiety that never exceeds a smile, and that smile is on the verge of tears.* One would almost fancy that this is the reason why his pieces are so short; he often stops in time, feeling the tears coming into his eyes. If they come, they do not continue long; not longer than an April shower.

His song, indeed, is generally a strain of April and of the lark,† not long, nor sustained, nor deeply impassioned.‡ It is the lark, and nothing more.§ It is not the nightingale.

Such was in general our primitive and natural France, rather

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and satanic character of the country of Byron. (See my Introduction à l'Histoire Universelle):

Selon le Brut, de l'isle des Géans,
Qui depuis fut Albions appelée,
Peuple maudit, tar dis en Dieu créans,
Sera l'isle de tous poins désolée.
Par leur orgueil vient la dure journée
Dont leur prophète Merlin
Pronostica leur dolereuse fin,
Quand il escript: *Vie perdrez et terre.*
Lors monstreront estrangiez et voisins:
Au temps jadis estoit cy Angleterre.
. . . . . .
Visaige d'ange portez (*angli angeli*), mais la pensée
De diable est en vous tou dis sortissans
A Lucifer....
Destruiz serez; Grecs diront et Latins:
Au temps jadis estoit cy Angleterre.

* Fortune, vueilliez-moi laisser, p. 170 (Poésies de Charles d'Orleans, ed. 1803).—Puisqu'ainsi est que vous allez en France, Duc de Bourbon, mon compagnon très-cher, p. 206.—En la forêt d'ennuyeuse tristesse, p. 209.—En regardant vers le pays de France, p. 323.—Ma très-doulce Valentinée, Pour moy fustes-vous trop tôt née, p. 269.

The sentiment is the same as that of Voltaire's lines:

Si vous voulez que j'aime encore,
Rendez-moi l'age des amours.....

and of Béranger's

Vous pleurerez, ô ma belle maîtresse,
Vous pleurerez, et je ne serai plus.....

[Béranger wrote Vous *veillerez*, not Vous *pleurerez*, and the import of the song is altogether different from that which M. Michelet has inadvertently attributed to it.—TRANSLATOR.]

† Cæsar, who was likewise a poet and possessed so much wit, called his Gaulish legion *the lark* (alauda) the singing legion.

‡ There is, however, a lively movement of passion in the following verses:—

Dieu! qu'il la fait bon regarder
La gracieuse, bonne et belle!
. . . . . .
Qui se pourroit d'elle lasser?
Tous jours sa beauté renouvelle.
Dieu qu'il la fait bon regarder,
La gracieuse, bonne et belle!
Par deça, ni delà la mer,
Ne scays dame ni demoyselle
Qui soit en tout bien parfait telle.
C'est un songe que d'y penser!
Dieu! qu'il la fait bon regarder.

(Charles d'Orléans, p. 48.)

The poor prisoner laboured under another misfortune also; he was continually in love; many verses were addressed by him to a beautiful lady on this side of the Straits. The Englishwomen, probably more indulgent to him than the men, bore no grudge to him for this, if it be true, that in memory of Charles of Orleans and his mother Valentine, they chose St. Valentine's day for the feast of love. See Poesies de Charles d'Orléans, ed. 1803, note, p. 42.

§ Le temps a quitté son manteau
De vent, de froidure et de pluie.—Id., p. 257.

volatile, perhaps, for the serious temper of the present day. Such it was in poetry, as it is in wine and women. Those of our wines which are in greatest esteem and request throughout the world as French, are in fact but a breath, but it is a breath of spirit. French beauty is a thing not easy to define; it is neither the fine English blood, nor the Italian regularity. What is it then? Movement, grace, your *je ne sais quoi*, all kinds of pretty nothings.

Times have changed, and with them poetry. No matter; that one subsists; nothing in its kind has surpassed it. But lately, when these strains themselves had been forgotten, a weak imitation, an inexact and distant echo of them sufficed to enchant us.*

However *blasé* you may be by so many books and events, however strongly prepossessed by the profound literatures of foreign nations and their powerful music, keep, Frenchmen of to-day, keep always in kindly remembrance those graceful and pleasant strains, in which your fathers have expressed their joys and their loves; those strains which touched your mothers' hearts, and to which you yourselves owe your birth.

I find I have wandered; but I owed this to the poet, the prisoner. It was my duty, after describing this huge disaster, to say also that the vanquished were less deserving of contempt than the victors have supposed. Perhaps, too, amidst the tame imitation of English manners and ideas which is daily increasing,† perhaps it is a useful thing to lift up the voice in favour of the old France that is departed. Where is the France of the middle ages and of the *renaissance*, of Charles of Orleans, of Froissart? Villon in his day propounded the same question in verses of a more melancholy cast than might have been expected from a gay child of Paris.

Dites-moi en quel pays
Est Flora, la belle Romaine?
Où est la très-sage Héloïs?.....
La reine Blanche, comme un lis,
Qui chantoit à voix de sirène?

.....Et Jeanne, la bonne Lorraine
Qu'Anglais brûlèrent à Rouen?
. . . . . .
Où sont-ils, Vierge souveraine?
—Où sont les neiges de l'autre an?‡

These pretty lark-like carollings remind us of that incomparable light and tripping old song:

J'étais petite et simplette
Quand à l'école on me mit,
Et je n'y ai rien appris.....

Qu'un petit mot d'amourette.....
Et toujours je le redis,
Depuis qu'ay un bel amy.

* I am not much concerned to know who was the author of the poems of Clotilde Surville; to me it is proof enough of their excellence that Lamartine, when very young, had got them by heart. Every one is now aware that the second volume is the work of the ingenious M. Nodier, the indefatigable investigator of our old literature, the bold precursor of the new. See M. Daunou's notice on Vanderbourg.

† M. de Chateaubriand complains of this (Essai sur la Poésie Anglaise, i. 349) and Perlin made the same complaint as early as the sixteenth century: "It vexes me that these villains, being in their own country, spit in our faces, and they being in France, they are honoured and revered like little gods. Perlin, Descr. d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse, 1558, f. 10.

‡ The text possesses much grace and sweetness. The last line recurs as a burden with a singularly plaintive effect. I have modified it to render it more intelligible; in the original it stands thus: Mais où sont les neiges d'antan? Villon, ed. de M. Prompsault, p. 126.

CHAPTER II.

Death of the Constable d'Armagnac—Death of the Duke of Burgundy—Henry V., 1416—1422.

THERE were two men who had not been at the battle of Azincourt, the leaders of the two parties, the Duke of Burgundy and the Count d'Armagnac. Both had reserved themselves.

The King of England rendered them good service; he killed not only their enemies, but also their friends, their rivals in each faction. Thenceforth, the ground was cleared, the match lay between themselves alone; the two ravens came down on the battlefield to glut themselves with the slain.

Who was to have Paris was now the question. The Duke of Burgundy, who had since July an army of Burgundians, Lorrainers, and Savoyards, took merely 10,000 horse, and galloped straight to Paris. He did not, however, arrive in time; the place was taken.

Armagnac was in the town with 6000 Gascons, and had in his hands, along with Paris, the king and the dauphin. He assumed the constable's sword.

The Duke of Burgundy remained at Lagny, every day sending word to his partisans that he was coming, assuring them that it was he who had defended the passage of the Somme against the English, and hoping that Paris would at last declare itself. He remained thus two months and a half at Lagny, and the Parisians at last gave him the nickname of "Jean de Lagny, who is not in a hurry." It stuck to him.

Armagnac remained master of Paris, and the more absolutely so as all those who had called him thither, died in the course of a few months, the Duke de Berri, the King of Sicily, and the dauphin.* The king's second son became dauphin, and the Duke of Burgundy, by whom he had been reared, thought to govern in his

* "This day Monseigneur Loiz of France, eldest son of our lord the king, Dauphin of Viennoiz, and Duke of Guienne, died at the age of twenty years or thereabouts, handsome of visage, sufficiently tall and large of body, heavy and slow and little agile, very curious and eager after magnificence of garments and jewels *circa cultum sui corporis*, desiring greatly grandeur and outward honour, given to great expenditure for adorning his private chapel, and having there large images of gold and silver; who took great delight in the sound of organs, to which he diligently gave himself among other mundane oblectations; likewise he had mouth or voice musicians, and for the same he had a chapel establishment of a great number of young persons; and he was well informed both in Latin and in French, but he little employed his acquirements, for his condition was to employ the night in waking and doing little, and the day in sleeping. He used to dine at the third or fourth hour after noon, sup at midnight, and go to bed near daybreak and often at sunrise, wherefore it was not likely he should be long lived." Arch. du Royaume, Reg. du Parl., Conseil, xiv. 39 v., December 19, 1415.

name. But this second dauphin died, and a third again twenty-five days afterwards. The fourth dauphin lived; he was what the constable wanted—a child.

Armagnac, thus aided by death, was king for a moment. The kingdom had need of a man in its hour of peril. Armagnac was a wicked man, and capable of any enormity, but after all it cannot be denied that he was a man of head and of action.*

The English were holding triumphal processions, singing Te Deums,† and talking of going in the spring to take possession of their city of Paris, when all at once they heard that Harfleur was besieged. After that dreadful battle, which had brought the courage of most men down so low, Armagnac had the daring to undertake that great siege. At first he thought to take the place by surprise. He left Paris, of which he was so little secure; it was risking Paris for Harfleur. He went thither in person with a corps of gentlemen; they gave ground, and he had them hanged like villeins.

Harfleur could only be attacked with advantage from the sea, for which purpose vessels were wanting. Armagnac applied to the Genoese, who though they had just driven the French out of Genoa, nevertheless accepted the money of France, and furnished a whole fleet, nine great galleys, carracks for the besieging machines, 300 vessels of every size, and 5000 Genoese or Catalan archers.‡ These Genoese fought bravely with their Mediterranean galleys against the great vessels of the ocean. A first fleet sent by the English was repulsed.

With what money did Armagnac defray this enormous expense? The greater partof the kingdom paid him nothing. He had hardly any part of it except Paris and his own fiefs of Languedoc and Guienne. He squeezed Paris to the utmost.

The Burgundian was very strong there; a great conspiracy was formed to bring him into the city; the leader was a lame canon, brother of the last bishop.§ Armagnac discovered it all. The Catalan was carted in a violet-coloured mantle and then immured on

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* Le Religieux de Saint Denis is from this moment a thorough Armagnac; this is a strong testimony in favour of that party, which was, in fact, that of the national defence.

† And ballads:

As the king lay on his bed
He thought himself upon a time
Those tributes due from the French king
That had not been paid for so long a time
Fal, lal, lal, laral, laral, la.
He called unto his lovely page,
His lovely page away came he, &c.
Ballad quoted by Sir Harris Nicolas, Azincourt, p. 78.

‡ Relig., MS. Baluze, P. iv., fol. 24.

§ According to the Burgundian historian, himself, the canon, and the other conspirators wished to massacre the princes: On Easter day, after dinner. Monstrelet, iii. 377.

bread and water. It was publicly stated that the conspirators had designed to kill the king and the dauphin. Numerous executions and drownings took place. Armagnac, who knew what trust he might repose in the people of Paris, organised a police of the Italian sort, rapid and terrible in its proceedings; he made war too, it was said, in the Lombard style. Bathing was forbidden in the Seine, lest any one should count the number of the drowned: we know that it was forbidden in Venice to swim in the Orfano canal.

The parliament was purged, the châtelet and the university, three or four hundred burghers were expelled from Paris, and all sent towards Orleans. The queen who was furtively negotiating with the Burgundian, was carried prisoner to Tours, and one of her lovers was thrown into the Seine.*

Armagnac deprived the citizens of their street chains, and disarmed them. He suppressed the great butchery, and converted it into four, one for each of the four quarters; the butcher's calling ceased to be hereditary, and might be assumed by any capable person.

Though disarmed, the burghers were not relieved from the troubles of war.† They were obliged to club together, and every three of them to supply one man-at-arms. They themselves were sent each in turn every five days, to work at the fortifications, and to repair the ditches.

An order was given that every house should lay in a stock of corn; and in order to increase the supply of victuals, Armagnac suppressed the octroi duty. In compensation for this the other taxes were paid twice a year. The burghers were obliged, the tax-gatherers' bailiffs excepted, to buy all their salt at the public granaries, at a forced price for ready money. Paris was burdened beyond its strength to pay singly the expenses of the king and the realm.

The Duke of Burgundy's position was assuredly easier than that of the constable. He sent people into the great towns, who, in the king's name and the dauphin's, forbade the paying of taxes. Abbeville, Amiens, and Auxerre, received the prohibition with gratitude, and eagerly complied with it.‡ Armagnac was afraid that Rouen would do the same, and wished to send troops thither; but rather than admit the Gascons, Rouen killed its bailiff and closed its gates.§

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* "Messire Loys Bourdon going from Paris to the forest (of Vincennes)..... on passing close by the king, saluted him, and went on his way heedlessly enough."....(He was arrested). "And afterwards by the king's command he was questioned, then put into a leathern sack and thrown into the Seine; on which sack was inscribed: *Let the king's justice pass.*" Lefebvre de Saint Remy, viii. 52.

† And in order to lodge the followers of the Armagnac captains, the poor people were turned out of their houses, and with great entreaty, and with great difficulty, they obtained the shelter of their own dwellings, and this thieving crew slept on their beds. Journal du Bourgeois, ed. Buchon, xv. 209.

‡ Monstrelet, iii. 437.

§ M. Chéruel has discovered some curious details in the archives of Rouen. Chéruel, Hist. de Rouen sous la domination Anglaise, p. 19. Rouen, 1840.

The Duke of Burgundy approached Paris to try its temper, and certainly it would have been very glad to get rid of the constable. But the latter stood his ground. The duke not being able to get in, determined at least to increase the ferment by rendering provisions scarce, and he suffered no more to arrive either from Rouen or Beauce. The canons even, says the historian, were obliged to stop their kitchen. The king coming to himself again, and being told that it was the Burgundians who rendered his repasts so meagre, said to the constable: "Why do you not drive away those people?"*

The Duke of Burgundy not being able to hurt his adversary by direct means, dealt him a great blow indirectly. He carried off the queen from Tours, declared that she was regent, and that she forbade the payment of taxes.† This prohibition was circulated not only in the north but in the south, in Languedoc. It was of deadly omen for Armagnac, to whom there remained nothing but Paris, ruined, famishing, furious.

The King of England had no need to hurry himself; the French were doing his work; they were quite enough to ruin France. Relying on the neutrality and secret friendship of the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, and continually negotiating with the Armagnacs, he had the good sense to wait and not to come to Paris. He wisely and with sound policy effected the conquest of Normandy, first of the lower, then of the upper province, Caen in 1417, Rouen in 1418.

Armagnac could make no opposition; he had enough to do to keep Paris down; the Duke of Burgundy was encamped at Montrouge. Henry V. was free to prosecute the siege of the important town of Caen without uneasiness. It was then a great market, a great centre of agriculture, such a town would have resisted, if it had received the least succour; accordingly, whilst assailing it, he sent proposals of peace to Paris. He talked of peace and made war. While this negotiation was pending, news arrived that he was master of Caen, and had driven out all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, in all 25,000 souls,‡ and so that capital of Lower Normandy was become an English town, like Harfleur and Calais.

Normandy was to feed the English during this slow conquest. Henry V., therefore, with remarkable sagacity, secured order there to the utmost of his power, and the continuance of labour and agriculture.§ He enforced respect for women, churches, priests, and even false priests (there was a multitude of peasants who assumed the tonsure).‖ All who submitted were protected; all who resisted were punished. There was no lawless violence at the taking of the towns; but the king usually excepted from the capitulation some of the inhabitants, whose heads he took off, for having

* Relig., 74, 75.
† Monstrelet, iv. 41.
‡ Relig., 59.
§ Ibid., 79.
‖ Walsingham, 397.

resisted their legitimate sovereign, the King of France and Duke of Normandy.*

So peaceably did the King of England execute this military promenade, that he was not afraid to divide his army into four bodies, and carry on several sieges simultaneously. What indeed had he to fear, when the Duke of Burgundy, the only French prince who was powerful, was his friend?

The latter's sole aim and business was the destruction of the Constable d'Armagnac. It could not fail to befal; he had consumed his last resources, and was reduced to the extreme necessity of melting shrines of saints.† His garrisons being no longer paid, gradually disappeared, until he had now but 3000 men left. He was constrained to employ the burghers upon the ordinary patrol service, those burghers who detested him for so many reasons, as a Gascon, a plunderer, and a schismatic.‡ The Bourgeois de Paris says expressly, he believes this "Arminac is a devil in a man's hide."

The Duke of Burgundy offered peace. The Parisians for a moment thought themselves secure of it. The king and the dauphin consented. The people were already shouting for joy.§ The constable alone stood out, being well aware that the peace would be no peace for him, and that the only effect of it would be to put the king into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy. This disappointment filled the people with silent rage.

A certain Perrinet Leclere, an iron dealer, at Petit Pont, who had been ill-used by the Armagnacs, collected some vagabonds,‖ and taking the keys from beneath the pillow of his father, who was keeper of the St. Germain gate, he opened it to the Burgundians. The Sire de l'Ile Adam entered with 800 horse, and was joined by 400 burghers. They got possession of the king's person and the town. The dauphin's followers fled to the Bastille, whence their captains, the Gascon Barbasan and the Bretons Rieux and Tanneguy Duchâtel, ventured, some days afterwards, to re-enter Paris, for the purpose of recovering possession of the king's person; but he was well guarded

* Ut rei læsæ majestatis. Relig., 79. This point of view taken by the English lawyers who attended the king, was placed in its true light at the siege of Meaux. Ibid., 176.

† He did this cautiously, declaring it a loan, and assigning a revenue for the purpose of replacing the shrines. Nevertheless, the monks of St. Denis told him that the act would remain in their chronicles a foul blot on that reign: Opprobrium sempiternum.....si redigeretur in chronicis. Ibid., 72—99.

‡ Armagnac persisted in his attachment to the Duke of Orleans' old pope, the pope of the Pyrenees, the Aragonese Pedro de Luna (Benedict XIII.), whom the councils of Pisa and Constance condemned. See the queen's declaration against him. Ordonnances, x. 436.

§ For a long time the people's cry and prayer had been: Vivat, vivat, qui dominari poterit! dum pax.....Relig., 50. During the massacre of 1418 they cried in like manner: Fiat pax. Ibid., 107.

‖ Jeunes compagnons du moyen estat et de légère volonté, qui autrefois avoient été punis pour leurs démérites. Monstrelet, iv. 87.

in the Louvre. L'Ile Adam fought them in the streets, and the people took part against them, and overwhelmed them with missiles from the windows.

The Constable d'Armagnac, who had concealed himself in a mason's house, was given up and thrown into prison, with the chief men of his party. The enemies of the Armagnacs then returned into the town with a host of plunderers. All those who called themselves Armagnacs were robbed from house to house, and the great Burgundian lords were so far from opposing these proceedings, that they themselves seized whatever they could lay their hands on.

Now these returned men were none other than the proscribed butchers; the ruined men whose wives had been marched to Orleans and ill-treated by d'Armagnac's serjeants. They returned full of rage, gaunt and pale with hunger. Heaven knows in what plight they found their houses.

It was rumoured every moment that the Armagnacs would return into the town and deliver their friends. Not a night passed but men were startled from their sleep by the tocsin. Add to these continual alarms the scarcity of provisions, supplies of which were obtained with the utmost difficulty. The English held the Seine, and were besieging Pont de l'Arche.

On the night of Sunday, June 12, one Lambert, a tinman, began to incite the people to massacre the prisoners. It was, he said, the only way to end the matter; otherwise they would find means of escaping by dint of money.* The enraged mob rushed first to the prisons of the Hôtel de Ville. The Burgundian lords, L'Ile Adam, Luxembourg, and Fosseuse, interposed, and tried to stop them; but finding themselves but a thousand gentlemen against a body of 40,000 armed men, they could say nothing but "Well done, my lads." The assailants broke open the Tour du Palais, the Saint Eloi prison, the Grand Châtelet, where the prisoners endeavoured

* The Bourgeois becomes a poet all at once, to prank out the massacre with mythology and allegories: Le dimanche ensuivant, 12 jour de juing, environ onze heure de nuyt, on cria alarme, comme on faisoit souvent alarme à la porte Saint Germain, les autres crioient à la porte de Bardelles. Lors s'esmeut le peuple vers la place Maubert et environ, puis après ceulx de deça les pons, comme des halles, et de Grève et de tout Paris, et coururent vers les portes dessus dites; mais nulle part ne trouvèrent nulle cause de crier alarme. Lors se leva la Déesse de Discorde, qui estoit en la tour de Mauconseil, et éveilla Ire la forcenèe, et Convoitise, et Enragerie et Vengeance, et prindrent armes de toutes manières, et boutèrent hors d'avec eulx Raison, Justice, Memoire de Dieu.....Et n'estoit homme nul qui, en celle nuyt ou jour, eust osé parler de Raison ou de Justice, ne demander où estoit elle enfermée. Car Ire les avoit mise en si profonde fosse, qu'on ne les pot oncques trouver toute celle nuyt, ne la journée ensuivant. Si en parla le Prévost de Paris au peuple, et le seigneur de l'Isle Adam, en leur admonestant pitié, justice, et raison; mais Ire et Forcennerie repondit, par la bouche du peuple, Malgrebieu, Sire, de vostre justice, de vostre pitié, et de vostre raison: mauldit soit de Dieu qui aura la pitié de ces faulz traistres Arminaz Angloys, ne que de chiens; car par eulz est le royaulme de France destruit et gasté, et si l'avoient vendu aux Angloys." Journal du Bourgeois de Paris, xv. 234.

to defend themselves,* and then St. Martin, Saint Magloire, and the Temple. At the Petit Châtelet they called the roll of the prisoners, and as each passed the wicket he was butchered.

This massacre cannot be compared with that of the 2nd and 3rd of September. It was not an execution done by butchers hired at so much per day; it was a real popular massacre, executed by a furious populace. They killed all indiscriminately, even prisoners confined for debt. Two presidents of the parliament and other magistrates perished, and even some bishops. At St. Eloi, however, finding the abbot of St. Denis saying mass to the prisoners, and holding the Host in his hands, they threatened him and brandished their knives over him, but as he would not let go the Lord's body, they durst not kill him.

Sixteen hundred persons perished between the mornings of Sunday and Monday.† The murders were not confined to the prisons, but were committed also in the streets. If any one saw his enemy passing by he had only to shout "Down with the Armagnac!" and the man was dead. A woman with child had her belly ripped open; the body lay naked in the street, and as the child was seen to move the mob that stood round said: "Only see, that little dog is moving still."‡ But no one durst take up the infant. The priests of the Burgundian party refused to baptize the little Armagnacs, in order that they might be damned.

The children in the streets played with the corpses. The bodies of the constable and others lay three days in the Palais, exposed to the jeers of all who passed. They had flayed a strip of skin from his back, leaving it attached by one end, so that he, too, might wear his Armagnac white band. The stench at last forced the mob to cart away all the bodies, and throw them, without priest or prayer, into a hole dug in the Marché aux Porceaux.§

The Burgundians, themselves alarmed, earnestly entreated their leader to come to Paris; he complied, and made his entrance, accompanied by the queen. It was a great delight for the people, who shouted with might and main for the king, the queen, the duke, and peace.

Peace did not come, nor provisions either. The English kept the river below; up stream, the Armagnacs were masters of Melun. A sort of epidemic broke out in Paris and the environs, and carried off 50,000 men. They died without an effort, so extreme was the mental depression that had followed the previous burst of fury. The murderers, especially, succumbed at once to the malady, re-

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* Et navrèrent plusieurs merdailles d'icelles communes. Monstrelet, iv. 97.

† Ibid. The registrar gives a smaller number: Jusques au nombre de viii. cens personnes et audessus, comme on dit. Arch. Reg. du Parl., Conseil, xiv. 139.

‡ Juvenal des Ursins, 351.

§ Les mauvais enfans jouoient à traisner avant la court du Palais.....Et furent enfouis.....en une fosse nommée la Louvière. Lefebvre de St. Remy, viii. 122.

fusing all the consolations of religion; 700 or 800 of them died in a state of desperation at the Hôtel Dieu. One of them ran about the streets, shouting: "I am damned,"* and threw himself head foremost into a well.

Others, on the contrary, thought that the reason why things were turning out so badly was, that they had not shed blood enough. There were found, not alone among the butchers, but even in the university, persons who bellowed from the pulpit, that there was no justice to be expected of the princes; that they would release the prisoners on ransom, and let them go, soured and more malignant than ever. On the 21st of August, an exceedingly hot day,† a formidable body set out for the prisons, the bulk of them on foot, with death on horseback at their head,‡ in the person of Capeluche, the executioner of Paris. They attacked the Grand Châtelet, when the prisoners defended themselves, with the consent of the gaolers; but the assassins got in through the roof, and killed prisoners, gaolers, and all. The same scene was repeated at Petit Châtelet.§ They then proceeded to the Bastille, and were followed thither by the Duke of Burgundy, without troops, for he was resolved on retaining the favour of the populace at all hazards. He begged them civilly to withdraw, and gave them good words, but it was to no effect. In vain he affected confidence and good nature, and demeaned himself so far as to shake hands with their leader,‖ the hangman. He had nothing but the disgrace for his pains. All he obtained from the populace was a promise that they would take the prisoners to the Châtelet; and with this assurance he left them to their fate. When the prisoners reached the Châtelet, they then fell into the hands of others, who had made no promise, and who massacred them.

The Duke of Burgundy had made a sorry figure in this matter, and was enraged at having so degraded himself. He induced the massacrers to go and besiege the Armagnacs at Montlhéry, in order to open the road for the corn of La Beaume; and then he shut the gates behind them,¶ and had Capeluche decapitated.** At the same time, by way of consoling the party, he took off the heads of some Armagnac magistrates.

This Capeluche, who paid so dearly for the honour of shaking hands with a prince of the blood, was an original in his calling, a man exempt from ferocity, who piqued himself on killing *secundum*

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* Juvenal des Ursins, 354.

† Bourgeois de Paris, xv. 246.

‡ Solus equester. Relig., 114.

§ "They killed fully 300 prisoners." Monstrelet, iv. 120. "During which gathering and commotion there were put to death from eighty to 100 persons, among whom there were three or four women killed, as it was said. Arch. Reg. du Parl, Conseil, xiv. 142, Aug. 21.

‖ Juvenal des Ursins, 353.

¶ Journal du Bourgeois de Paris, xv. 247. Monstrelet, iv. 122.

** Ung nommé Capeluche et deux autres.....et eurent chascun deulz ung poing copé ès halles de Paris. Arch. Reg. du Parl., Conseil, xiv. 144, Aug. 26.

artem. He saved a burgher from the massacre, at the peril of his life.* When his own turn was come, he showed his assistant the manner in which he should go to work.†

In becoming master of Paris, the Duke of Burgundy had succeeded to all the embarrassments of the Constable d'Armagnac. He had now in his turn to rule the great city, victual and maintain it; which could only be done by keeping the Armagnacs and the English at a distance; that is to say, by making war, re-establishing the taxes he had suppressed, and losing his popularity.

The equivocal part he had so long played, accusing others of treachery, while he was himself betraying his country, was now to come to a close. As the English were ascending the Seine, and menacing Paris, he had no alternative but to forego his hold on the capital, or to give them battle. But by his eternal tergiversation and duplicity, he had enervated his own party, and was now powerless alike for peace or war. It was a just judgment of God; his success had undone him; he had plunged headlong into a long dark path, from which there was no issue, and could neither advance nor retreat.

The people of Rouen and Paris, who had chosen him for their leader, were Burgundians, indeed, and foes to the Armagnacs, but still more foes to the English. They were astonished, in their simplicity, to see that their good duke did nothing against the enemy of the kingdom. His warmest partisans began to say, that "he was, in all his proceedings, the slowest man that could be found."‡ Yet, what could he do? Call the Flemings to his aid? A quite recent treaty with the English prevented this.§ The Burgundians? They had enough to do to defend themselves against the Armagnacs. The latter possessed the whole centre, Sens, Moret, Crécy, Compiègne, Montlhéry, a girdle of towns round Paris, Meaux, and Melun; that is to say, Marne and Haute Seine. He sent to Rouen all the forces he could spare without leaving Paris unprotected, namely, 4000 horse.

It had long been foreseen that Rouen would be invested. Henry V. had approached it with extreme slowness. Not content with having two great English colonies in his rear, Harfleur and Caen, he had completed the conquest of Lower Normandy by the capture of Fa-

* Relig., 115.

† Journal du Bourgeois de Paris, xv. 246.

‡ Bourgeois de Paris, xv. 248.

§ The treaty probably concerned only Flanders. Every one believed that he had formed a league with Henry V. in an interview he had with him in Calais. There exists a treaty of alliance, in which the duke recognises Henry's rights to the crown of France, but the act bears neither precise date nor signature. It is probable it was only a project, an offer to share the conquests that should be made at their joint expense. It is probable that Jean Sans Peur gave the King of England to understand that if he afforded the latter active assistance, it was all over with the Burgundian party in France, and that he would serve the English more effectively by his neutrality than by his co-operation. Rymer, 3rd edition, iv., P. 1, 177—8, Oct. 1416.

laise, Vire, St. Lo, Constance, and Evreux. He kept possession of the Seine, not only by Harfleur, but also by Pont de l'Arche. He had already re-established some degree of order, reassured the clergy, and invited the absentees to return, promising them support in case of their compliance, and declaring that otherwise he would dispose of their lands or their benefices. He reopened the exchequer and the other tribunals, and appointed his grand treasurer of Normandy supreme president over them. He reduced the tax on salt to almost nothing, "in honour of the Holy Virgin."*

Few kings had been more fortunate in war, but war was the least of his means. Henry V. was, as his acts testify, a man of statesman-like mind, with a capacity for order and administration, and at the same time a diplomatist. He advanced slowly, parleying continually, making good use of all fears, all interests, profiting admirably by the utter dissolution of the country with which he had to do, and fascinating by his cunning, his force, and his invincible fortune, the vacillating minds that had no longer either principle or hope to cling to; no man in this wretched country now put trust in another; all despised themselves.

He negotiated indefatigably, incessantly, with every body; with his prisoners in the first place, this being his easiest course. Holding them under his hand in hard captivity, it was easy for him to overcome their firmness.

Each of the princes had at first but one French servant.† In other respects they were honourably treated, had good beds,‡ and no doubt a good table, but their need of activity was only so much the greater, and was a mortal torment to them. Every time the King of England returned to his island, he paid a visit "to his cousins of Orleans and Bourbon," and talked with them in a friendly, confidential tone. On one occasion he said to them, "I am about to take the field again, and this time I will spare no effort; but I shall fully indemnify myself, and make the French bear the whole cost." Another time, putting on a look of sadness, he said, "I am going soon to Paris. It is a pity; they are a brave people. But what can they do? Courage is of little avail where there is disunion.§"

These confidential communications were of a nature to make the prisoners desperate. They were not men of the Regulus mould. They obtained permission to send a message in their name to the Duke of Bourbon, urging him to induce the King of France to make peace as speedily as possible, by submission to all Henry's conditions; otherwise they would turn English, and do homage to him for all their lands.‖

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* Rymer, 3rd edition, P. ii., p. 51, May 4, 1417.

† According to Le Religieux; but Rymer mentions a larger number.

‡ See *supra*, p. 442.

§ Ut communiter dicitur divisa virtus cito dilabitur. Relig., 37.

‖ Rymer, iv., P. 1, 191, Jan. 27, 1417.

It was a terrible dissolvent, a most contagious discouragement, this preaching of peace at all hazards by the Azincourt prisoners. This helped on the negotiations which Henry was conducting simultaneously with all the princes of France. On the opening of the campaign in March, 1418, he renewed the truces with Flanders and the Duke of Burgundy. In July he concluded one with Guienne; and on the 4th of August he extended the term of the truce with the Duke of Bretagne. He received with the like complaisance the solicitations of the Queen of Sicily, Countess of Anjou and Maine. There was nothing this pacific king had more at heart than avoiding the effusion of Christian blood. Whilst granting special truces, he was constantly attending to proposals for a general peace, made to him by the two parties, and had one ear impartially open to the dauphin, the other to the Duke of Burgundy; but he was not so much engrossed with these negotiations, but that he laid his hand on Rouen.

He had caused the country to be swept at the end of June, so that the harvest could not reach Rouen, and the town was not victualled. He had imported for this service 8000 Irishmen, half-naked savages, without arms or equipment, who went about everywhere on foot, on mountain ponies, or on cows, and devoured or carried away all they could find, and even kidnapped little children, that they might be ransomed. The peasants were in despair.*

There were in Rouen 15,000 foot-soldiers, and 4000 horse, in all, perhaps, 60,000 souls—a whole people to feed. Henry, knowing he had nothing to fear, either from the dispersed Armagnacs, or from the Duke of Burgundy, who had just besought of him another truce for Flanders, did not hesitate to divide his army into eight or nine bodies, so as to embrace the vast compass of Rouen. These bodies communicated with each other by means of trenches, which protected them from shot; whilst in the direction of the open country they were defended from a surprise by deep ditches set with thorns. All England was there; the king's brothers, Gloucester and Clarence, his constable, Cornwall, his admiral, Dorset, and his grand negotiator, Warwick, each of them at a gate.

He was prepared for an obstinate resistance, but his anticipation was surpassed. There was a strong Cabochian leaven in Rouen. Alain Blanchard,† the chief of the arblast men, and the other Rouennese leaders, seem to have been connected with the Carmelite Pavilly, the Parisian orator of 1413. The Pavilly of Rouen was the canon Delivet. These men defended Rouen for seven months, and all that time kept the great English force at check. The people and clergy vied with each other in zeal; the former excommunicated,

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* Un de leurs pieds chaussé et l'autre nud, sans avoir braies .....prenoient petits enfans en berceau.....montoient sur vaches, portant lesdits petits enfans. Monstrelet, iv. 115.

† Respecting Alain Blanchard see the notice published by M. Auguste Le Prévòt, in 1826, l'Histoire de Rouen sous les Anglais, par M. Chéruel (1840), and l'Histoire du Privilége de Saint Romain par M. Floquet, ii. 548.

and the latter fought. Nor were the people satisfied with guarding their walls, but sallied forth in a mass to assail the English, "and that not by one gate, nor by two, nor by three, but by all the gates at once."*

The resistance of Rouen would, perhaps, have been still more protracted, if whilst it was engaged with the enemy externally, a revolution had not taken place within its walls. The town was full of nobles, and suspected them of treachery. Before this, in 1415, the people seeing how little resistance they made to the English, who had made a descent upon Normandy, had risen and killed the Armagnac bailiff. The Burgundian nobles were not regarded with more confidence.† The people always suspected that they were betrayed by them. During a sortie, the Rouennese learned whilst they were attacking the English intrenchments, that a bridge over which they were to retreat, had been sawed through beneath, and they accused their captain, the Sire de Bouteiller, of the act. He but too fully justified such accusations after the surrender of the town, when he turned English, and was granted fiefs by his new master.

The people of Rouen were soon grievously afflicted with famine, One of their priests succeeded in reaching Paris, where he was introduced to the king's presence by the Carmelite Pavilly, who spoke for him, after which the man of Rouen uttered these solemn words: "Most excellent prince and lord, it has been enjoined me on behalf of the inhabitants of the town of Rouen, to cry against you, and also against you, Sire de Bourgoyne, who have the government of the king and of his realm, *le grand haro*, which signifies the oppression they endure from the English; they acquaint you, and do you to know through me, that if for want of your aid they must become subjects of the King of England, you will never have in the whole world worse enemies than they, and if they can, they will destroy you and your generation."‡

The Duke of Burgundy promised he would send succour, but the

* Chérnel, p. 46, from the rhyming chronicle of an Englishman who was present at the siege. Archæologia Britannica. This curious poem has been translated into French by M. Potier, librarian of Rouen.

† "The English landed at La Hogue de Saint Vaast, Sunday, August 1, 1416, the dauphin being then at Rouen with his force; thence he retired to Paris and left the eldest son of the Count de Harcourt, captain of the castle and town, and M. de Gamaches, bailiff of the said town, with a great number of strangers, who kept the town and thought to pillage it; but this was discovered and measures were taken to prevent it. But, notwithstanding all that could be done there was levied on the town an impost of 16,000 livres, and a loan of 12,000, the whole of which was paid by the middle of the following August. This was a beginning of mischief, and then they all went away to the devil. And after them came M. Guy le Bouteiller, captain of the town, on the part of the Duke of Burgundy, with 1400 or 1500 Burgundians and strangers, to guard the town against the English: but they were more English than French; these men were paid by the town, and so they destroyed the victuals and stores thereof." MS. chronicle of the times communicated by M. Floquet.

‡ Monstrelet, iv. 146.

succour was nothing else than an embassy. The English, as usual, received it willingly; it helped the more to lull their opponents, and diminish the force of their resistance. There was the Duke of Burgundy's embassy at Pont de l'Arche, and the dauphin's at Alençon.

In addition to the huge surrenders of the treaty of Brétigny, the Duke of Burgundy offered Normandy; whilst the dauphin proposed not Normandy, but Flanders; that is to say, the Duke of Burgundy's best provinces.

The English clerk, Morgan, who had been instructed to spin out these negotiations for some days longer, at last said to the dauphin's people, "Why negotiate? We have letters from your master to the Duke of Burgundy, in which he proposes to him to unite with him against us." In like manner the English amused the Duke of Burgundy for a while, and ended by saying, "The king is mad, the dauphin is a minor, and the Duke of Burgundy is not competent to cede any thing in France."*

These diplomatic comedies did not put a stop to the tragedy of Rouen. The King of England, thinking to terrify the inhabitants, had gibbets erected all round the town, and hanged the prisoners on them.† He barred the Seine, too, with a wooden bridge, chains, and barges, so that nothing could pass. The Rouennese seemed reduced to extremities at an early period of the siege, and yet they held out six months longer; it was a miracle. They ate up the horses, dogs, and cats.‡ When these were gone, those who could anywhere find a morsel of food, however filthy, took good care not to let it be seen; a thousand greedy wretches would otherwise have seized upon it. The most horrible necessity that befel the town was that of expelling all who could not fight, 12,000 old men, women, and children. The son was forced to turn out his aged father, the husband his wife; it was a heart-breaking calamity. The piteous crowd presented themselves before the English intrenchments, and were received at the sword's point. Repulsed alike by their friends and their enemies, they remained between the camp and the town, in the ditch, without any other

* See the journal of the negotiations in Rymer, iv., P. iv., p. 70—75, November, 1448.

† Chronique de Normandie, ed. 1581, p. 173.

‡ The English poem gives a curious schedule of the disgusting animals on which the inhabitants of Rouen fed; perhaps this schedule is only a ferocious derision of the misery of the besieged. A rat was sold for forty pence (about forty francs or thirty-two shillings, modern money), a cat for two nobles (sixty francs), a mouse for sixpence (about six francs), &c. Archæologia, xxi., xxii. M. Chéruel has discovered a document of more weight relating to prices: by a resolution of the 7th of October, 1418, the chapter had a silver shrine melted down, and paid among other debts, *sixty livres tournois* (a thousand francs of the present day?) *for two bushels of wheat.* Chéruel, Rouen sous les Anglais, p. 53, from the registers of the chapter preserved in Archives départementales de la Seine Inférieure. This excellent work contains a multitude of details of equal value regarding the history of Normandy and of France in general.

food than the weeds they plucked. There they passed the whole winter, with nothing between them and the sky. Women, alas, were delivered there; and then the Rouennese, wishing that the infant should at least be baptized, drew it up by a cord, and then let it down again, that it might die with its mother.* It is not said that the English showed even that charity to the sufferers, and yet their camp was full of priests and bishops, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England.

On the great festival of Christmas, when the whole world rejoices and celebrates the birth of the infant Jesus in pleasant family meetings, the English scrupled to make good cheer without† throwing a few crumbs to those starving wretches. Two English priests went down among the spectres in the ditch, and took them bread. The king also sent word to the inhabitants of the town that he would vouchsafe to grant them victuals for the blessed day of Christmas; but our Frenchmen would accept nothing from the enemy.‡

Meanwhile, the Duke of Burgundy was beginning to put himself in motion. First, he went to Paris from St. Denis, where he made the king go through the solemn mockery of displaying the Oriflamme, to remain a long while at Pontoise, and again a long while at Beauvais. There he received another message from Rouen by a man who had risked his life to convey it. It was the voice of an expiring town, and said merely that 50,000 men had died of famine in Rouen and its environs. The Duke of Burgundy was touched by this sad tale, and promised succour; then having got rid of the messenger, and feeling assured that he should hear no more of Rouen, he turned his back on Normandy, and took the king to Provins.

A surrender was then inevitable; but the King of England, desirous of making an example on account of so long a resistance, wished to have the inhabitants at his mercy. The Rouennese, who well knew what was the mercy of Henry V., resolved to undermine a wall, and to pass out that way by night with arms in their hands, trusting in God's grace.§ The king and the bishops reconsidered the matter, and the Archbishop of Canterbury personally offered the

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* Monstrelet, iv. 132. The season, says the English chronicler, was a great cause of suffering to them, it did nothing but rain. The ditches exhibited many a lamentable spectacle; there were seen there children two or three years old, obliged to beg their bread, because their fathers and mothers were dead. The water lay on the ground on which they were obliged to dwell, and crouching here and there they cried and begged for a morsel of food. Many were so weak that their limbs became bent, and they were as meagre as a withered branch. The women held their babes in their arms without having any thing to warm them; and infants were seen sucking the breasts of their dead mothers. There were ten or twelve dead bodies for one living. English rhyming chronicle, Archæologia, xxi., ap. Chéruel, p. 60.

† The English camp abounded in provisions. The Londoners alone had sent a vessel freighted with wine and ale. Chéruel, 58, from a Latin MS. in the Bibl. Roy., No. 6240, Chronicon Henrici V., fol. 178.

‡ Chéruel, from the English poem.

§ Monstrelet, iv. 138.

besieged the following terms of capitulation:* I. Their lives to be spared, five men excepted;† those of the five who were rich, or churchmen, got themselves out of the difficulty, and Alain Blanchart paid for all; the English were bent on an execution, in order to ratify the principle, that the resistance had been rebellion against the lawful king. II. For the same reason, Henry insured to the town all the privileges which the kings of France, his ancestors, had granted to it, *before the usurpation of Philip of Valois.* III. It had to pay a tremendous fine—300,000 gold crowns—one-half before the end of January (it was already the 19th of that month),‡ the other half in February. To squeeze all that from a depopulated, ruined town,§ was no easy matter. There was every probability that those insolvent debtors would throw up their property, and all make their escape from the town, and that the creditor would find himself without any other security for his money than tottering houses. This contingency was guarded against; the town was placed in arrest, all the inhabitants being kept fast until the payment should be completed. Guards were placed at the gates, and no one could pass out without showing a ticket which cost a high price.|| These tickets appeared so happy a police invention, and so productive, that from that time forth they were everywhere insisted on. All Normandy became an English gaol. The wise and rigorous government of the invaders added to these severities a beneficial enactment, which itself was regarded as another act of oppression: it insisted on an uniform system of weights and measures: troy weight, the Rouen and Arques measure of capacity, and the long measure of Paris.¶

The King of England being occupied with the task of organising the country he had conquered, granted a truce to the two French parties, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs. He felt it necessary to refit his army; and, above all, to collect money and discharge his debts to the bishops, who had lent him funds for his long expedition. The Church was his banker, but it took security; sometimes the bishops made him assign over to them the produce of a tax;**

* Chéruel, 62.

† Item estoit octroyé par ledit seigneur Roi, que tous et chacun pourroient s'en retourner....excepté *Luc*, Italien, Guillaume de *Houdetot*, chevalier bailly, Alain *Blanchart*, Jehan *Seigneult*, maire, maître Robin *Delivet*, et *excepté la personne qui*, de mauvaises paroles et déshonnêtes, *auroit parlé antiennement*, s'il peut être découvert, sans fraude ou mal engyn. Vidimus de la capitulation de Rouen, aux Archives de Rouen (communicated by M. Chéruel). Rymer gives the same document in Latin, iv., P. ii., p. 82, Jan. 13, 1419.

‡ Januarii instantis, Februarii instantis. The articles that follow prove that the real date is 1418 and not 1419. Rymer, ibid.

§ The magnificent entrance of the victor amidst the ruins of the town presented a painful contrast. The humane and candid Mr. Turner is himself shocked in contemplating it. Hist. of England, ii. 465.

|| Monstrelet, iv. 143.

¶ Rymer, iv., P. ii., p. 92. Feb. 15, 1419.

** For instance, in 1415 he pledged to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester, &c.: Exitus et proficus de wardis et maritagiis.....ac etiam foris facturas. Id., P. 1, p. 150, Nov. 28, 1415.

sometimes they lent to him on pledges, such as his jewels,* or his crown. This was, no doubt, the reason why they were present in his camp in such numbers.† Whenever he made a conquest, they could recover what they had advanced, by occupying the vacant benefices, and receiving the income of them. If the incumbents persisted in not returning, the king disposed of their benefices or their patrimony in favour of those who accompanied him. There was no scarcity of lands. Many persons chose rather to forego their all, than to return. The country of Caux was a wilderness, and became peopled with wolves; the king established a *louvetier* (wolf-hunter) there.

His grand success in taking Rouen, exalted Henry's pride, and for a while clouded his clear intellect; such is the weakness of our nature. He felt so sure of succeeding, that he did all that was adapted to make him fail.

It is not less strange than certain, that the conqueror of France possessed, as yet, but a province, and already France was not sufficient for his desires. He began to meddle in the affairs of Germany. He wished to marry his brother Bedford there,‡ encouraged, no doubt, by the disorganisation of the empire; a brother of the King of England was quite good enough to make an emperor of; witness Richard of Cornwall, the brother of Henry III. Henry V. was already bargaining for the allegiance of the archbishops and other princes of the Rhine.

Here was another, and still wilder folly. He wanted to make the Queen of Naples adopt his younger brother, Gloucester, and give him provisionally the port of Brindisi and the duchy of Calabria.§ Brindisi was a place of embarkation for Jerusalem: Italy was, in Henry's eyes, the road to the Holy Land; his envoys were already collecting information in Syria. Meanwhile, this project was procuring him a mortal enemy in Alphonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon, who also aspired to be adopted by the Queen of Naples; and it combined against him the Aragonese,‖ and the Castilians, two maritime nations. From that moment Guienne,¶ and England

* For instance, July 24, 1415, and June 22, 1417. Ibid., p. 136 ; P. ii., p. 4.

† Prælatorum, *semper sibi assistentium*, concilio. Relig., 129, anno 1418.

‡ Super sponsalibus inter Bedfordium et filiam unicam Fr. burgravii Nuremburiensis, filiam unicam ducis Lotoringiæ, aliquam consanguineam imperatoris. Rymer, iv., P. ii., p. 100, March 18, 1419.

§ Cum Johanna, regina Apuleæ, de adoptione Johannis ducis Bedfordiæ. Dux mittat quinquaginta millia ducatorum, quousque fortalitia civitatis Brundusii erint ei consignata.... Dux teneatur intra octo menses, venire personaliter cum mille hominibus armatis, 2000 sagittarios. Non intromittet se de regimine regni, *excepto ducatu Calabriæ* quem gubernabit ad beneplacitum suum. Ibid., 98. Mart. 12, 1419.

‖ The English had very clumsily and injudiciously begun to meddle with the affairs of Aragon in 1413. Ferreras, vi. 190.

¶ The people of Bayonne wrote to the King of England, that "an armed whaler had captured a clerk belonging to the King of Castile," and that it was known through him that forty Castilian vessels were proceeding to collect Scotchmen in Scotland, and the dauphin's troops in Belle Isle, and to bring

itself were in danger. It was not long since the Castilians under the command of a Norman admiral of Castile, had gained a great naval victory over the English.* Their vessels would without difficulty ravage the coasts of England, or, at the very least, proceed to Scotland, and bring thence Scotch auxiliaries to the dauphin.

Henry V. was so far from apprehending danger from the dauphin, Scotland, and Spain, that he was not afraid to displease the Duke of Burgundy. The latter, miserably dependant on the English for the Flemish truces, had tried to overcome Henry's rigour. He sought an interview with him, and proposed to him a marriage with a daughter of Charles VI., with Guienne and Normandy for a dower; but Henry required also Bretagne as a dependence of Normandy, besides Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. The Duke of Burgundy had not been ashamed to take the young princess with him, to be present at this disgraceful negotiation, by way of seeing whether she would be approved of. She was approved of, but the Englishman's hardness and insolence was not a jot abated. That man who usually spoke little, and in measured terms, forgot himself so far as to say: "Fair cousin, know that we will have your king's daughter, and the rest too, or that we will put both you and him out of this kingdom."†

The King of England would not treat in earnest, and the Duke of Burgundy had about him persons who besought him to treat with them. They were followers of the dauphin, Barbazan, and Tanegui Duchâtel, the commanders of his troops. It was full time France should become self-reconciled, when her ruin was so imminent. The parliament of Paris, and that of Poitiers, laboured equally to that end; so, too, did the queen, and more efficaciously, for she used as her instrument with the Duke of Burgundy, a beautiful woman, shrewd and fascinating, who talked, wept,‡ and found means to move his hardened soul.

On the 11th of July was beheld at the bridge of Pouilly, this singular spectacle: the Duke of Burgundy surrounded by the old servants of the Duke of Orleans, and by the brothers and kinsmen of the Azincourt prisoners, and of the victims butchered in Paris. Of

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the whole force before Bayonne. Rymer, iv., P. ii., p. 128, July 22, 1419. They wrote word afterwards that the Aragonese were about to join the Castilians, and lay siege to their town.

* Robert de Braquemont, the Norman admiral of Castile. Relig., 159. I will recur to the subject of this illustrious family and that of Béthencourt, connected by blood and marriage with them, to whom the Braquemonts gave up their rights over the Canaries. See Histoire de la Conqueste des Canaries, faite par Jean de Béthencourt, escrite du tems même par P. Bontier et J. Leverrier, prestres, 1630. Paris, 12mo.

† Monstrelet, iv. 157.

‡ The good Religieux de St. Denis calls her "the *respectable* and prudent Dame de Giac." Fol. 137. One thing at least is certain, that she was very clever. Her husband, the Sire de Giac, unable to guess why she succeeded in every thing, thought it was owing to the aid of the devil, to whom he had vowed one of his hands.

his own accord he knelt before the Dauphin. A treaty of amity and mutual aid was signed and submitted to by both parties. It remained to be proved what would become of this new friendship between persons who had such good reasons to hate each other.

The English were not without uneasiness.* Seven days after the conclusion of this treaty, on the 18th of July, Henry V. sent fresh negotiators to re-open the affair of the marriage. What is more strange, what will astonish those who know not how readily the English lay aside their habitual character when their interests require it, is that he became all at once the eager and gallant suitor; he sent the princess a considerable present of jewels. † True it is the dauphin's men intercepted the present on its way, thinking it quite fair to carry to the brother what was intended for the sister.

The King of England had soon cause to resume his confidence. The Duke of Burgundy, do what he would, could not escape from the equivocal position in which the Flemish interests placed him. His treaty with the dauphin did not interrupt the negotiations he had been engaged in since June, for a continuation of the truce between Flanders and England. On the 28th of July, the Duke of Bedford promulgated the renewal of the truce in London. On the 29th, the Burgundian garrison of Pontoise, near Paris, suffered themselves to be surprised by the English; the inhabitants fled to Paris, which they filled with consternation, and this augmented when, on the 30th, the Duke of Burgundy, carrying away the king from Paris to Troyes, passed beneath the walls of the capital, without making any other provision for the defence of the distracted Parisians than naming his nephew, a boy of fifteen, captain of the town.‡

Seeing all this, the dauphin's followers believed, rightly or wrongly, that the duke had a secret understanding with the English. They knew that the Parisians were greatly incensed at the desolate condition in which they were left by their good duke, on whom they had reckoned so largely. They believed that the Duke of Burgundy was a ruined and undone man, and then the old hatred broke out with so much the more vehemence, as there seemed at length a possibility of wreaking the stored up vengeance of years.

Add to this that the dauphin's party were just then flushed by the news of a naval victory gained by the Castilians over the

* "It is not knowen," said an English agent writing to Henry V., "whethir we shall have werre or pees.....But withynne six dayes".... Rymer, ibid., p. 126, July 14, 1419.

† Le Religieux believes, of course from popular rumour, that they were worth 100,000 crowns. Fol. 148.

‡ Monstrelet, iv. 148. Tokens of the extreme discontent of Paris are discernible even in the tame and timed notes of the registrar of the parliament. This day (Aug. 9) the English made incursions before the gates of Paris.... And then there was in Paris a small garrison of men-at-arms, by reason of the absence of the king, the queen, the dauphin, *the Duke of Burgundy*, and the other lords of France, *who hitherto have made small resistance to the said English* and their enterprises. Archives, Reg. du Parl., Conseil, xiv. 19.

English; they knew that the combined armies of Castile and Aragon were about to lay siege to Bayonne, and that the Spanish fleets were about to convey auxiliaries to the dauphin from Scotland. They believed that the King of England, thus beset on several points, would not know which way to turn.

The dauphin, a boy of sixteen, was in very bad hands. His principal advisers were his chancellor, Maçon, and Louvet, President of Provence, lawyers of that class who were always ready with a sentence of lese majesty to justify every royal crime. He had also men-at-arms for advisers, brave Armagnac, Gascon, or Breton brigands, habituated for ten years past to a petty war of surprises and stealthy strokes, that had very much the look of murders.

The duke's servants told him, almost every one, that he would perish in the interview which the dauphin sought with him. The dauphin's people had set about erecting on the bridge of Montereau the gallery in which it was to take place; a long, tortuous wooden gallery, without any barrier in the middle, contrary to the custom always observed in that suspicious age. In spite of all this he persisted in his resolution to meet the dauphin; such was the wish of Dame de Giac, who never quitted him.*

As the duke did not come in time, Tanneguí Duchâtel went to fetch him. The duke hesitated no longer, but slapped him on the shoulder, saying: "Here is the man I trust in."† Duchâtel made him hasten his pace, for the dauphin, he said, was waiting. In this way he separated him from his suite, so that he entered the gallery along with none but the Sire de Noailles, brother of the Captal de Buch, who was in the service of the English, and had just taken Pontoise. Neither of them came out alive. (September 10, 1419.)

The altercation which took place is variously related. According to the historian who is usually best informed, the dauphin's people said roughly to the duke: "Come along, monseigneur, you have hung back a long while;"‡ to which he replied that "It was the dauphin who hung back from acting; that his tardiness and negligence had done much mischief to the kingdom." According to another statement, he said that nothing could be done, except in the king's presence, whither the dauphin must come; and the Sire de Noailles, laying his hand on his sword, and with the other seizing the young prince by the arm, cried out with the southern violence of the house of Foix: "Whether you will or not, come you shall, monseigneur." This statement, which is that of the dauphin's partisans, is, notwithstanding, credible enough; they confess, as we

* Did she betray him? So every one believed, when after the event she was seen remaining on the dauphin's side. Nevertheless, she had lost the hope of a high fortune by the death of Jean Sans-Peur. Innocent or guilty, what inducement had she to go to Burgundy? To encounter the hatred of the widow, who possessed absolute power through her son?

† See M. de Barante, who has collected all the evidences.

‡ Tardavistis....tardavistis. Relig., 150.

see, that their greatest fear was lest the dauphin should escape from their hands, and return to his father and the Duke of Burgundy.

Tannegui Duchâtel, however, averred that he had not struck the duke. * Others boasted that they had done so. One of them, Le Bouteiller, said: "I said to the Duke of Burgundy: Thou didst cut off the hand of the Duke of Orleans, my master; I am going to cut off thine."

However little worthy of regret was the Duke of Burgundy, his death did the dauphin immense mischief. Jean Sans-Peur and his party had both fallen very low, and in a little time there would have been no more avowed Burgundians. Rouen could never forget that he had left it without succour; Paris, too, which had been so devoted to him, beheld itself in like manner abandoned in the hour of need. Every one was beginning to despise and hate him; but from the moment he was killed all were again Burgundians.

Extreme lassitude and inexpressible sufferings made every one but too happy to find a pretext for yielding. Each man exaggerated to himself his feelings of pity and indignation. The shame of calling in the stranger was veiled by a fair show of just vengeance; but the real fact was, that Paris yielded, because it was perishing of hunger. The queen yielded, because, after all, if her son was not to be king, her daughter, at least, would be queen. The Duke of Burgundy's son, Philip the Good, was the only person who acted sincerely; he had his father's death to avenge. But he, too, doubtless, thought to find his advantage in the new order of things; the Burgundy branch would thrive by the ruin of the elder branch, by placing on the throne a stranger, who would never have more than one foot on the continent, and who, if he were wise, would govern France through the Duke of Burgundy.

We must not suppose that Paris easily assented to admit the foreigner. It had been brought to that hard extremity by sufferings of which nothing since has afforded an idea, except perhaps the siege of 1590. If any one would see how protracted miseries lower and materialise the spirit, let him read the chronicle of a Parisian Burgundian, penned day by day. The perusal of this most painful little book gives us some insight into the woes and the brutality of those times. When after reading the placid and judicious Religieux de St. Denis, we take up the journal of this furious Burgundian, the transition seems to be not from one author to another merely, but

* "The Seigneur de Brabezan several times reproached those who had wrought the said deed with having destroyed their master's honour and credit, and said he would rather have been dead than have been present on that day, for all he was innocent." Monstrelet, iv. 188. "By means of which deed many great evils and irreparable mischiefs are prepared for the future, and greater than before, to the shame of the doers and to the injury of my lord the dauphin principally, who expected the kingdom by heirship and succession after our sovereign lord the king. Whereto he will have less aid and favour and more enemies and adversaries than before." Archives, Reg. du Parl., Conseil, xiv. 193, September, 1419.

but from one to another century; it is like the beginning of an age of barbarism. The brute instinct of physical wants pervades the whole work; there is a tone of dire want, a croaking voice of famine in every line. The author's mind is filled with nothing but the price of victuals, and the difficulties in the way of supplies; corn is dear, vegetables no longer arrive, fruits are beyond measure costly, the vintage is bad, the enemy gathers in our harvests. The whole book may be summed up in two phrases: "I am hungry; I am cold," those heart-rending exclamations which the author heard incessantly during the long winter nights.

Paris then left the Burgundians, who again possessed full authority in the town, to do as they thought fit. Young St. Pol, nephew to the Duke of Burgundy, and Captain of Paris, was sent, in November, to the King of England, with Maître Eustache Aloy, "in the name of the city, the clergy, and the commune." He received them extremely well, declaring that he desired nothing but the independent possession of what he had conquered, and the hand of the Princess Catherine; and he said graciously: "Am I not myself of the blood royal of France? If I become the king's son-in-law, I will defend him against all men living."*

He obtained more than he demanded. His ambassadors, encouraged by the inclinations of the new Duke of Burgundy, asserted their master's right to the crown of France, and that right the duke acknowledged (December 2, 1419). The King of England had spent three years in conquering Normandy; the death of Jean sans Peur seemed to give him France in one day.

The treaty concluded at Troyes in the name of Charles VI. secured to the King of England the hand of the daughter of the King of France, and the reversion of the kingdom. "It is agreed that immediately *after our decease* the crown and realm of France shall remain and *be perpetually* to our said son King Henry and his heirs. The faculty and *exercise of governing* and ordering the public affairs of the said realm shall be and remain, *during our life*, to our said son King Henry, with the counsel of the nobles and sages of the said realm . . . During our life the letters pertaining to matters of justice shall be written and shall proceed under our name and seal; nevertheless, for as much as extraordinary cases may occur . . . it shall be competent to our son . . . to write his letters to our subjects, wherein he shall order, prohibit, and command, on our behalf, *and on his own, as regent* . . ."

After this, was not the subsequent article a mockery? "All conquests which shall be made by our said son king, over the disobedient, shall be and shall be made *to our profit*."

This monstrous treaty concluded worthily with these lines, in which the king proclaimed the dishonour of his family, the father

* Tanquam verus gener Regis et ex claro priscorum Regum Franciæ (sanguine) ducens originem, sibi fidelis existeret contra quoscumque viventes. Relig., 152, v.

proscribed his son: "Considering the enormous crimes and misdemeanours perpetrated upon the said realm of France by Charles, *styling himself (soi-disant) dauphin* of Viennois, it is agreed that we, our said son the king, and also our very dear son Philip, Duke of Burgundy, *will in no wise treat concerning peace* or concord with the said Charles, nor will we treat by ourselves or others, except with the consent and counsel of all and each of us three, and of the three estates of the two realms aforesaid."*

The mother received prompt payment for the shameful phrase, *soi-disant dauphin.* Isabella immediately had two thousand francs a month assigned to her, payable out of the mint at Troyes.† For this price she denied her son, and gave up her daughter. The English took from the King of France, at one stroke, both his kingdom and his child. The poor girl was forced to wed a master, and brought him for dower her brother's ruin. She had to receive a stranger to her bed, and bear him sons accursed of France.

So little regard did he show her, that he set off for the siege of Sens, the morning after his wedding night.‡ Next, this implacable hunter of men hurried to Montereau, and not being able to reduce the castle, he had his prisoners hanged by the ditchsides.§ And this was in the first month of his marriage, a time when there is no heart but loves and forgives; his young French wife was pregnant; but this did not make him deal more gently with Frenchmen.

With all his impetuosity he was forced to have patience before Melun, where the brave Brabezan detained him many months. The King of England, employing all the means of which he could avail himself, took Charles VI. and the two queens to the siege, presenting himself as the son-in-law of the King of France, speaking in his father-in-law's name, and using his wife as a bait and a snare. All these clever devices were ineffectual. The besieged resisted valiantly; obstinate conflicts took place round the walls, and beneath them, in the mines and countermines, and Henry did not spare his own person. At last, however, provisions failed, and the garrison were constrained to surrender. Henry, according to his custom, accepted the capitulation, and put to death several burghers, all the Scotchmen who were in the place and even two monks.‖

During the siege he had got the Burgundians to deliver up to

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* See this document in three languages, Latin, French, and English, in Rymer, iv., P. ii., pp. 171, 179, May 21, 1420.

† Ibid., p. 178, June, 1420.

‡ As they were about to hold jousts in honour of the marriage, "He said, in the hearing of all, of his own accord, 'I pray my lord the king, whose daughter I have married, and all his servants, and I command my servants that to-morrow morning we be all ready to go and lay siege to the city of Sens, and there every one may joust.'" Journal du Bourgeois de Paris, xv. 275.

§ Auquel lieu le roi d'Angleterre fit dresser un gibet, où les dessus dits prisonniers furent tous pendus, voyant ceux du chastel. Monstrelet, iv. 258.

‖ Monstrelet, iv. 283.

him Paris and the four fortresses, Vincennes, the Bastille, the Louvre, and the Tour de Nesle. He made his entry in December, riding between the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy. The latter was dressed in mourning,* in token of grief and vengeance, perhaps also from a feeling of shame, for the unworthy part he played in thus introducing the foreigner. The King of England was accompanied by his brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Bedford, the Duke of Exeter, the Earl of Warwick, and all his lords. Behind him, among other banners, was carried his personal banner, the foxtail lance,† a cognizance, apparently, which he had adopted formerly, like a good fox hunter, in his hot youth; and now, in his maturity, a king and a victor, he retained with insolent simplicity the token of the hunter, in this great hunt of France.

The King of England was well received in Paris.‡ That dastard people (misery had made them so) hailed the stranger as they would have hailed peace itself. Churchmen met the two kings in procession, and presented them the relics to kiss. They were led to Notre Dame, where prayers were offered up for them at the high altar. From thence the King of France went to reside in his mansion of Saint Pol, whilst the real king, the King of England, established himself in the good fortress of the Louvre. (December 1420.)

He entered into formal possession as regent of France, by assembling the estates on the 6th of December, 1420, and making them sanction the treaty of Troyes.§

That the son-in-law might be sure of inheriting, it was necessary that the son should be proscribed. The Duke of Burgundy, and his mother, presented themselves before the King of France, sitting as judge in the Hôtel St. Pol, to make "great plaint and clamour of the piteous death of the late Duke John of Burgundy." The King of England was seated on the same bench as the King of France. Messire Nicolas Raulin demanded in the name of the Duke of Burgundy and his mother, that Charles, styling himself dauphin, Tannegui Duchatel, and all the murderers of the Duke of Burgundy, should be carted through the streets, with torches in their hands, to make *amende honorable.* The king's advocate spoke to the same effect, and the university supported the demand.‖ The king authorised the prosecution, and Charles having been cried and cited at

* Monstrelet, iv. 285.

† Et portoit en sa devise une queue de renart en broderie. Bourgeois de Paris, xv. 275. At his entry into Rouen it was a real fox's brush: Une lance à laquelle d'emprès le fer avoit attaché une queue de renart en manière de penoncel, en quoi aucuns sages notoient moult de choses. Monstrelet, iv. 140.

‡ Even the registrar of the parliament was carried away by the general feeling, if we may judge from his continual mention of processions and supplications for the weal of the two kings: Furent moult joyeusement et honorablement receuz en la ville de Paris. Arch. Reg. du Parl., Cons., xiv. 224.

§ Rymer, iv. ii. 192, Dec. 6, 1420. The parliament of England did the same on the 21st of May, 1421. Ibid., P. iv., p. 25. ‖ Monstrelet, iv. 289.

the Marble Table, to appear within three days before the parliament, was condemned by default, sentenced to banishment, and stripped of all right to the crown of France. (January 3, 1421.)*

CHAPTER III.

Sequel of the preceding Chapter—Council of Constance, 1414-1478—Death of Charles VI. and of Henry V., 1422—Two Kings of France, Charles VII. and Henry VI.

During the years 1421 and 1422, the Englishman resided frequently in the Louvre, exercising royal powers, wielding the prerogatives of justice and mercy, dictating ordonnances, and nominating royal officers. At Christmas and Pentecost he held public court and royal table with the young queen. The people of Paris went to see their majesties seated with their crowns on their heads, and around them in goodly order the English bishops, princes, barons, and knights. The famished multitude feasted their eyes on the sumptuous banquet and the costly plate, and then went away fasting as they had come, the maîtres-d'hôtel not offering a morsel to any one. It was not thus under our own kings, they said as they withdrew; on such occasions there was open table; all who chose sat down, and the attendants helped them liberally to the king's own viands and wines. But now the king and queen were at Saint Pol, neglected and forgotten.

The most discontented could not after all deny that this Englishman was a right royal personage, and looked every inch a king. His visage was lofty, his air coldly proud, but he constrained himself so far as to speak civilly to every one according to his condition, especially to churchmen. It was remarked, to his praise, that he never confirmed his assertions with oaths, but said merely, "Impossible," or, "It shall be so."† In general he spoke little. His replies were brief, "and cut like a razor."‡

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* The sentence pronounced by the King of France is by Rymer assigned the date of December 23, 1420: Considerant que *Charles soi-disant dauphin* avoit conclu alliance avec le Duc de Bourgogne.....declare les coupables de cette mort *inhabiles à toute dignité.* See also the violent manifesto of Charles VI. against his son: O Dieu véritable, &c., Jan. 17, 1419. Ord., xii. 273. A still more odious act is that which orders that the Parisians shall be paid what is due to them out of the property of the proscribed, so as to make Paris a participator in the profits of the confiscation. Ord., xii. 281. This reminds us of the English statutes which bestowed a part of the property of the Lollards on the parishes.

† Impossibile est; vel, Sic fieri opportebit. Relig., 153.

‡ Chronique de George Chastellain, ed. de M. Buchon, 1836, p. 26. In quoting Chastellain for the first time, I cannot forbear from thanking M. Buchon

His demeanour was above all becoming; when bad news were brought him, his countenance never changed, but he preserved the most lofty equanimity. The violence of his character and his inward passion, commonly suppressed, broke out more conspicuously on occasions of prosperity; the man was seen in his true colours at Azincourt. But at the time we are speaking of, he stood far higher still, so high, that there is scarcely a human head but would have grown giddy on such an eminence—King of England and virtual King of France, dragging after him his ally and servant, the Duke of Burgundy; his prisoners, the King of Scotland, the Duke of Bourbon, and the brother of the Duke of Bretagne, and the ambassadors of all the sovereigns of Christendom. The princes of the Rhine especially paid their court to him, for their hands itched for English money. The archbishops of Mayence and Trèves had paid homage to him, and were become his vassals.* The palatine and the other princes of the Empire, with all their German haughtiness, solicited his arbitrement, and were not far from acknowledging his jurisdiction. That imperial crown, which he had boldly assumed at Azincourt, seemed to have become on his head the real crown of the Empire and of Christendom.

A power like this had weight, as may well be supposed, at the council of Constance. There little England made itself be recognised at once as a quarter of the world, as one of the four nations in the council. Sigismond, the King of the Romans, closely allied with the English, thought to lead them, and was led by them. The captive Pope was committed to the custody, first of Sigismond, and afterwards of an English bishop; and Henry V., who had already so many French and Scotch princes in his prisons, possessed himself, furthermore, of that precious pledge of the peace of the Church.

In order to explain the part played by France and England in this council, we must begin further back. Melancholy as was then the state of the Church, we must speak of it, and leave for a while the Paris of Henry V. Our history is, besides, as much concerned in Constance as in Paris.

If ever council was ecumenic, that of Constance was so. For a while it seemed not unlikely that it would not be merely a representation of the world, but that the world, both ecclesiastical and lay, would be there assembled in person.† The council seemed to

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for having, with such sagacity, sought and gathered together the scattered members of that great and eloquent historian. Let us hope that he will soon publish the fragment that was still missing, and which M. Lacroix has recently discovered in Florence.

* Procuration of the King of England to the Palatine of the Rhine to receive the homage of the Elector of Cologne. Rymer, iv. i. 158, May 4, 1416. Another to the Palatine of the Rhine (a pensioner of England) to receive the homage of the Electors of Mayence and Trèves. Ibid, ii. 102, April 1, 1419.

† One hundred and fifty thousand persons are said to have repaired thither, and the horses of the princes and prelates were 30,000 in number. Cochlæus, Hist. Huss. lib. 2. Royko, Geschichte der Kirchenversammlung zu Kostnitz (Prag., 1796), i. 66.

answer well to that large definition of such a body, given by Gerson: "An assembly . . . which excludes no believer." But it was far from being the case that all were believers; that multitude was so true a representation of the world, that it contained specimens of all its moral wretchedness, all its flagrant vices. The fathers of the council who were to reform Christendom, could not even reform the mob of all sorts that followed in their train; they had to hold their sittings as if in the midst of a fair, surrounded by drinking shops and brothels.

Statesmen doubted much the utility of the council;* but the great man of the Church, Jean Gerson, persisted in believing it; he preserved, beyond all others, his steadfastness of hope and faith. Sick with the malady of the Church,† he could not resign himself to that fate without an effort. Pierre d'Ailly, his master, had found repose in the cardinalate. His friend Clemengis, who had written so much against the papal Babylon, went to see it, and found himself so comfortable there, that he became the secretary and friend of the popes.

Gerson longed earnestly and passionately for reform, heedless of what might be the cost. Three things were necessary to that end: 1. To re-establish the unity of the pontificate, and cut off the three heads of the papacy. 2. To fix and consecrate the dogmas of the Church; Wicliff exhumed, and burned in London,‡ seemed to reappear at Prague, in the person of John Huss. 3. It was necessary to ratify and consolidate the royal power and society itself, and to condemn the murderous doctrine of the Franciscan, Jean Petit.§

What rendered Gerson's position difficult, and fired him with an implacable zeal against his adversaries, was, that he had shared, or seemed still to share, many of their opinions. He, too, at another period, had pronounced, like Jean Petit, the homicidal words: "There is no victim more agreeable to God than a tyrant."‖ In his doctrines too respecting the hierarchy and the jurisdiction of the Church, he showed some analogy with the views of the innovators. John Huss, following Wicliff, maintained that it is lawful for any priest to preach without authority from either bishop or pope; and Gerson, even at Constance, had the right conceded to priests, and even to lay doctors, of voting with the bishops, and

* Petrus de Alliaco, de difficultate reformationis in concilio ap. Von der Hart, Concil. Constant., i., P. vi. 256. Schmidt, Essai sur Gerson, 37 (Strasb. 1839).

† In lecto adversæ valetudinis meæ. Gerson, epist. de reform. theologiæ, i. 122.

‡ This atrocious scene took place in London in 1412, the same year in which Jerome of Prague exhibited one so indecent in Bohemia, when he stuck the bull on the bosom of a prostitute. Vater, Synchronistische Tafeln der Kirchengeschichte, Halle, 1828.

§ According to some authorities Jean Petit was not a Franciscan but merely a lay clerk. Labbe, Chronol. Hist., P. i. 298. Bulæus, Hist. Univ. v. 895.

‖ Quoting Seneca, the tragic writer: Nulla Deo gratior victima quam tyrannus. Gerson, Considerationes contra Adulatores, iv. 624.

pronouncing judgment upon the Pope. He reproached John Huss with rendering the subordinate independent of authority, and he constituted that subordinate a judge of that very authority.

The three popes were declared to be deposed. John XXIII. was degraded and imprisoned; Gregory XII. abdicated; Benedict XIII. (Petro di Luna) alone, withdrawn into a fortress of the kingdom of Valencia, abandoned by France, and even by Spain, and no longer commanding any thing beyond his castle and his rock, nevertheless braved the council, judged his judges, saw them pass away, as he had seen so many others, and died invincible, at the age of nearly a hundred.

The council treated John Huss like a pope; that is to say, very ill. That doctor had been, in reality, since 1412, a sort of national pope in Bohemia. Supported by the whole nobility of the country, director of the queen's conscience, prompted secretly, perhaps, by Wenceslas,* as Wicliff seems to have been by Edward III. and by Richard II., the brother-in-law of Wenceslas, John Huss was a politician quite as much as a theologian. He wrote in the language of the country;† he defended the nationality of Bohemia against the Germans, and foreigners in general; he stood out against the popes, in their character of foreigners especially. In other respects he did not attack the very constitution of the papacy, as Luther did. On his arrival at Constance, he was absolved by John XXIII.

John Huss maintained Wicliff's opinions respecting the hierarchy, and like him desired a national, indigenous clergy, elected under local influence. In this he pleased the lords, who would have paramount weight in local elections, as old founders, patrons, and defenders of the churches. Huss was then like Wicliff, the man of the nobles. The knights of Bohemia wrote thrice to the council to save him;‡ and after his death, they armed their peasants, and began the terrible war of the Hussites.

In other respects Huss was much less the disciple of Wicliff than he himself supposed. He agreed with him as to the Trinity; but he did not assail the real presence, nor the doctrine of free will.§ At least, I do not perceive by his writings that as to these essential questions, he was so much in unison with Wicliff as the articles of condemnation would lead us to suppose.

In philosophy, far from being an innovator, John Huss was the champion of the old scholastic doctrines. Under his influence the

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* Wenceslas defended him against the accusations of the monks and the clerks. See his reply in Pfister, Hist. d'Allemagne, vi. 50.

† Tractatus et opuscula in Latino sive *vulgari Bohemico* per ipsum editos. Concil. Labbe, xii. 127.

‡ Royko, Gesch. der Kirchenvers. zu Kostnitz. ii. 5, 9, 10, 56.

§ He does not appear to have very fully understood these questions. He comments on the epistles of the apostles without perceiving how great is the difference between St. Peter and St. Paul, St. James and St. John, &c. See his second vol. *passim*. Hist. et Monum. Hussi et Hieronymi Pragensis, 2 vols. folio, Nuremberg, 1715.

university of Prague remained true to the realism of the middle ages, whilst that of Paris, under d'Ailly, Clemengis, and Gerson, was embracing the bold novelties of nominalism, discovered or revived by Occam. It was the religious innovator, John Huss, who defended the old philosophic creed of the schools. He supported it in his Bohemian university, whence he had expelled the foreigners, and in Oxford, and even in Paris, through his violent disciple, Jerome of Prague, who from his chair, his throne, braved the formidable university of Paris,* denounced the masters of Navarre for the nominalism they taught, and pointed them out as heretics in philosophy, and pernicious opponents of the realism of St. Thomas.

How far had this school question biassed and soured the minds of the best and holiest of our Gallicans? We dare not investigate this painful question. They themselves could not, perhaps, have clearly answered it. They accounted for their hatred to John Huss, on the ground of his participation in Wicliff's heresies.

The council opened on the 5th of November, 1414; on the 27th of May, Gerson wrote to the Archbishop of Prague, requiring him to deliver over Huss to the secular arm. "We must," he said, "cut short disputes that threaten the truth; we must with merciful cruelty employ fire and steel."† The Gallicans would have been very glad could the archbishop have spared the council the difficulty of executing that terrible task; but where was the man in Bohemia who could dare to lay hands on the favourite of the Bohemian knights?

John Huss was a brave man, of the same stamp as Zwingli; he seems, moreover, to have been very heedless and fool-hardy; he wished to see his enemies face to face; moreover, he trusted in the word of Sigismond, from whom he had a safe conduct, and he repaired to the council. There, with the exception of the Pope, he found every one hostile to him. The fathers, who by their violence against the papacy, found themselves placed in a very suspicious light in the eyes of the people, needed the display of some vigorous act against heresy, in order to prove their faith. The Germans saw not the least objection to burning a Bohemian, and the nominalists were quite reconciled to behold the death of a realist.‡ The King

* Royko, i. 112, John Huss, it was said, had defied the university of Paris: Veniant omnes magistri de Parisiis! Ego volo cum ipsis disputare qui libros nostros cremaverunt in quibus honor totius mundi jacuit. Concil. Labbe, i. 140.

† Securis brachii secularis....In ignem mittens....misericordi crudelitate. Nimis altercando....deperdetur veritas.... Vos brachium invocare viis omnibus convenit. Gerson, epist. ad archiep. Prag., May 27, 1414. Bulæus, v. 270.

‡ Pierre d'Ailly greatly contributed to the fall of John XXIII. (Royko, i. 88), to compensate for which he displayed so much the more zeal against the heretic, embarrassing him with extraordinary questions, and striving to make him admit that whoever does not believe in universals does not believe in transubstantiation.

of the Romans, who had promised him security,* seized this opportunity to destroy a man whose popularity might strengthen Wenceslas in Bohemia.

Those even who did not consider the Bohemian a heretic, condemned him as a *rebel.* Whether he had erred or not, they said, he ought to have retracted in obedience to the order of the council.† That assembly which had just thrice denied the Pope's infallibility, claimed for itself infallibility and omnipotence over private judgment. The ecclesiastical republic declared itself as absolute as the pontifical monarchy. Like it, it put the question between authority and liberty, majority and minority, a weak minority indeed, which in that assembly was reduced to one individual. That individual would not yield, but chose rather to perish.

It must have wrung Gerson's heart to consummate that sacrifice to spiritual unity, that immolation of a man. The year following he had to immolate another. Jerome of Prague had escaped, but when he learned how his master had died, he blushed to live, and returned to meet his judges. The council was placed under the necessity of either burning him, or belying its former sentence.‡

One of Gerson's cherished wishes, one of the blessings he expected from the council, was that it would solemnly condemn that right of killing which Jean Petit had preached. And to arrive at that conclusion, they had to begin by killing two men. Two ?—200,000, perhaps. That Huss, burned, resuscitated in the person of Jerome, and burned again, is so far from dead, that behold he now returns as a great people, an armed people, which carries forth the controversy at the sword's point. The Hussites, with sword, lance, and scythe, led by little Procop, and the indomitable one-eyed Ziska, put to flight the fine German chivalry, and when Procop is slain, the drum made of his skin still leads these barbarians, and defeats Germany with its deadly roll.

Our Gallicans paid dear for the reform of Constance, and they did not obtain it;§ it was cleverly evaded. The Italians, who at

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* The safe-conduct was dated Oct. 18, 1414. Art de Vérifier les Dates, i. 210 (ed. 1783).

† John Huss himself recounts to us the efforts that were made to obtain from him a complete surrender of human reason. Neither arguments nor examples were spared. Among other things repeated to him was the strange legend of a holy woman, who entered a convent of nuns in the garb of a man, and was accused, as a man, of having rendered one of the nuns pregnant; she owned herself guilty, confessed the fact, and reared the infant; the truth was not known until her death. Hussi Monumenta, epist. 31, ed. Nur., 1558.

‡ See the details of the execution of John Huss and Jerome: Monumenta Hussi, ii. 515, 521, 532, 535. Le Pogge, an eye-witness of Jerome's trial and sentence, was struck by his eloquence, and calls him Virum dignum memoriæ sempiternæ. This man, so high-spirited and obstinate, manifested a heroic gentleness at the stake; seeing a little peasant zealously engaged in bringing wood to the pile, he exclaimed: "O worthy simplicity, who deceives thee is a thousand times guilty!"

§ Clemengis wrote to them whilst the council was sitting, that they would

first had the other three nations against them, contrived to gain the English over to their side; and the latter, who had appeared so zealous, and had so loudly accused France of perpetuating the evils of the Church, agreed with the Italians in bringing about a decision, contrary to the advice of the French and the Germans, that the Pope should be elected before any measure of reform was adopted; in other words, that there should be no serious reform. This point being decided, the Germans joined the Italians and the English, and the three nations together elected an Italian pope. The French remained alone, duped, and fated inevitably to have the Pope against them, since they had thrown obstacles in the way of his election. It was honourable, nevertheless, to have been thus duped, whilst persevering in seeking a reform of the Church.

It was in 1417; the Constable d'Armagnac, a partisan of old Benedict XIII., was governing Paris in the name of the king and the dauphin. He made the latter order the university to suspend its judgment as to the election of the new pope, Martin V.; but his party was become so weak in Paris itself, in spite of the terrific means he had tried, that the university ventured to disregard the order, and approve of the election. It was eager to propitiate the Pope, for it saw that the system of free ecclesiastical elections, which it had so strongly supported, did not prove advantageous to university men. It had depressed the papacy, and exalted the power of the bishops, and these, in concert with the lords, caused to be elected to benefices incapable and illiterate persons, the younger sons of noble families, their ignorant chaplains, and the sons of their peasants, whom they tonsured for that express purpose. The popes, if they endowed priests of not very edifying character, at least rarely selected others than men of talent. The university declared it preferred that the Pope *should bestow benefices.** It was a curious spectacle to see the university, after having been so long the ally of the bishops, now returning to her mother, the papacy, and attesting the central power of the Church against the bishops, and the principle of local election. But the university had slain that pontifical power, and now returned to it only by abjuring its own maxims, denying and killing itself.

It was Gerson's fate thus to witness the end of the papacy and of the university. After the council of Constance, he retired, a broken man, not to France—there was no France—but the deep forests of

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not arrive at any result. Excidit spes unicuique umquam videndæ unionis.... Quis in re desperata suum libenter velit laborem impendere? Ibit schisma Latinæ ecclesiæ cum schismate Græcorum, in incuriam atque oblivionem. Nic. Clemeng. epist., ii. 312.

* Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Par., v. 307—309. An assembly of grandees and prelates, presided over by the dauphin, imprisoned the rector who had spoken against the manner in which they conducted ecclesiastical elections and conferred benefices. The parliament did not support the university, and the latter apologised. This was its death-blow as a popular power.

the Tyrol, and then to Vienna, where he was received by Frederick of Austria, the friend of the Pope whom Gerson had deposed.

Subsequently the death of the Duke of Bourbon encouraged Gerson to return, but only to the verge of France, to Lyons. It was a French town, lately belonging to the Empire, but always a town common to all, a commercial republic, whose privileges extended their protection to all parties, a common country for the Swiss, the Savoyard, the German, the Italian, as well as for the Frenchman. That conflux of rivers and nations, in sight of the distant Alps, that vast and dense town, with its gloomy streets, and its black flights of steps that seem as though they climbed up to the sky,* was a more lonely retreat than the solitudes of the Tyrol. There he shut himself up in a convent of Celestines, of which his brother was prior, and expiated by monastic docility his domination over the Church, tasting the blessedness of obedience, and the placid sweetness of no longer exercising a will, or feeling any longer the weight of personal responsibility. If at intervals he resumed his all-powerful pen, it was in search of means to calm the war that still racked his bosom, to reconcile mysticism and reason, to be scientifically mystic, and to rave with method. Doubtless, his great intellect at last perceived that this too was vain. It is said that in his latter years he could not bear to see any but children, as was finally the case with Rousseau and Bernardin de St. Pierre. He lived only with little ones, teaching them,† or rather himself receiving instructions from those innocent friends of the Saviour.‡ With them he learned simplicity, and unlearned the jargon of the schools. Simplicity and purity were two potent wings§ on which his spirit soared. On his tomb was inscribed a noble phrase, which sums up the history of that potent life, and effaces from it all that was not of God (happy he who merits to have such a phrase applied to him amidst the miseries of our nature): "Sursum corda."‖

The result of the council of Constance was a severe blow for France, a defeat heavier that can be told, a battle of Azincourt. After having so long had a pope of her own, a sort of French patriarch, through whom she acted again on her allies of Scotland

* Respecting Lyons and its mysticism, see the Picture of France in Vol. i. of this history.

† See his fine treatise De Parvulis ad Christum trahendis. Gerson, iii. 277. Though this treatise is conceived entirely in the spirit of the priest and the confessor, it is curious to compare it with Montaigne's Chapter on Education, and with Fénélon's and Rousseau's works.

‡ He reckoned on their intercession and assembled them once more the day before he died, to request they would say in their prayers: "Lord, have pity on your poor servant, Jean Gerson."

§ Imitatio Christi.

‖ Concerning Gerson's tomb and the devotional practices connected with it until the Jesuits made another influence paramount, see the Hist. de l'Eglise de Lyon, par St. Aubin, and a letter from M. Armé Guillon in the pamphlet of M. Gence, Sur l'Imitation polyglotte de M. Montfalcon. There exists but one portrait of Gerson, that which M. Jarry de Mancy has published in his Galerie des Hommes Utiles, from a MS.

and Spain, she was about to see the unity of the Church re-established in appearance, against herself, and to the advantage of her enemies. That Italian pope, the client of the Anglo-German party, would he not intrude into the affairs of France, and be the medium through which the stranger would dictate his orders to her?

England had conquered by policy, as well as by arms. She had had a great share in the election of Martin V.; she held his predecessor, John XXIII., in her hands, under the safe keeping of the Cardinal-bishop of Winchester, uncle of Henry V.* Henry had it in his power to exact from the Pope whatever he should think necessary for the accomplishment of his projects upon France, Naples, the Low Countries, Germany, and the Holy Land.

In that supreme greatness, which England seemed to have reached, there was, nevertheless, one thing to cause uneasiness. That greatness, be it not forgotten, she owed chiefly to the close alliance between episcopacy and royalty under the House of Lancaster; those two powers had agreed together to reform the Church, and to conquer schismatic France. Now, when the time for the reform was come, the English bishops showed but too plainly how little they cared about it; and again, the conquest of France was hardly begun, ere the good understanding between the two allies, episcopacy and royalty, was already compromised.

For a century past, England had been accusing France of being averse to all reform, and of perpetuating the schism. She talked thus, she who, by her statute of provisors, had early annulled the papal influence in ecclesiastical elections. Separated from the popes in this respect, it was easy for her to cast the reproach of schism in the teeth of the French. France, submissive to the Pope, desired to have a French pope in Avignon; England, independent of the Pope as to the essential question, wished for a universal pope, and liked rather to have him at Rome than anywhere else. As soon as there was no longer a French pope, the English ceased to give themselves any concern about reforming either the papacy or the Church.

The English had given out their victory for God's victory, and their king put on the first coinage he issued in France, the words, *Christus regnat*, *Christus vincit*, *Christus imperat*. He treated the French priests with great consideration, and therein he understood his own interest; those priests, who were at least as much priests as Frenchmen, would readily attach themselves to a prince who respected their cloth. But it was not the interest of the lord-bishops who accompanied the king as his advisers and his creditors; it would be for their advantage, should the flight of the French clergy leave a great number of benefices vacant, which they themselves might administer, or appropriate or confer on others. This is perhaps the ground on which we may account for the harshness which that English council, almost entirely ecclesiastical in constitution, evinced

* Rymer, iv. i. 34, 1418.

towards the priests found in besieged places. In the capitulation of Rouen, drawn up and negotiated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the famous Canon de Livet was excepted from the amnesty; he was sent into England, and if he did not perish, it was because he was rich, and compounded for his life. The monks were treated with still greater severity than the priests. Two were found in the garrison of Melun when it surrendered, and they were put to death. Upon the taking of Meaux, three monks of St. Denis were saved with the utmost difficulty, through the remonstrances of their abbot; but the famous Bishop Cauchon, the *âme damnée* of Cardinal Beaufort, cast them into horrible dungeons.*

All this was calculated to strike terror into beneficed absentees. Jean Courtecuisse, Bishop of Paris, durst not return to his bishopric; such absences left many benefices at the discretion of the lord-bishops, many fruits to gather. The king who, no doubt, would have been better pleased to see the absentees return and side with him, never ceased to recall them with threats of disposing of their benefices,† but they would not return. The benefices being then considered vacant, the lord-bishops bestowed them on their creatures, whence there came to be two titular incumbents to each benefice. After having so vehemently and so long accused France of perpetuating the pontifical schism, the English conquest was gradually creating a schism in the French clergy.

These great and lucrative speculations alone explain why in all Henry V.'s expeditions we see the great dignitaries of the English Church of England in close attendance on his camp. They seem to have forgotten their flocks; the souls of the islanders might shift for themselves, the English pastors were too much engrossed with the salvation of those of the continent. At the siege of Harfleur we find only the Bishop of Norwich as Henry's chief adviser; but after the battle of Azincourt the king, being in haste to return to France, put himself into the hands of the bishops, and appointed the two heads of the episcopal order, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal Beaufort, *to receive*, in the name of the crown, the feudal dues accruing from *wardships*, *marriages*, *and forfeitures for our approaching passage beyond sea*.‡ Before commencing another expedition, it was necessary to put Harfleur in a condition of defence;§ the king, who was perfectly acquainted with the course of things

* In horribili carcere cum vitæ austeritate detineri fecit. The Religieux de St. Denis, uninfluenced by the prejudices of his cloth, decides with his usual good sense, that, although monks, they had a right to resist the enemy: Minus bene considerans quæ canunt jura, videlicet vim vi repellere omnibus cujuscumque status....licitum esse, pugnareque pro patria. Relig., 176—7.

† Rymer, *passim*, ann. 1420—1422.

‡ Exitus et proficus de wardis et maritagiis, ac etiam forisfacturas.....Volentes quod H. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, H. Wintoniensi cancellario nostro, et T. Dunolmensi episcopis, ac.....militi nostro J. Rothenhale persolvantur. Rymer, iv. i. 150, Nov. 28, 1415.

§ Impressment of masons, tilers, &c., to go and fortify Harfleur. Id., 152, Dec. 16, 1415.

in France, being assured that Armagnac would endeavour to wrest from him that inestimable result of the last campaign. The bishops, who alone had always ready money, evidently made the necessary advances, taking as security an assignment of the proceeds of the profitable rights above mentioned.

Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, the uncle of Henry V., became by degrees the richest man in England, and perhaps in the world. We afterwards find him making such loans to the crown as would have surpassed the means of any king of those times to supply, sums of 20,000*l.* and 50,000*l.* at a time.* Some years after Henry's death, he was for a while the real King of France and England (1430—1432). Henry, in his lifetime, publicly upbraided him with usurping the prerogatives of royalty,† and he even thought that Beaufort longed for his death, and was disposed to hasten it.

He was mistaken, perhaps; but certain it is that however the two royalties, the military and the episcopal and financial, might have begun the work of conquest in concert, they could never remain joint possessors of its fruits, but would infallibly quarrel with each other. During the grand effort of the siege of Rouen, the king, having need of money, ventured to speak of reforming the habits of the clergy.‡ The bishops granted him an aid for the purposes of the war, but it was not gratis; in return for it they had several heretics delivered over to them.

In 1420, under pretext of an impending invasion by the Scotch, he obtained a half-tenth from the clergy of the north of England, and commissioned the Archbishop of York to levy the amount.§ This was the terrible year of the treaty of Troyes; he could have no hopes of extracting any thing from France, a ruined land, which in that very year was robbed of its last valuable possession, independence and national existence. On the contrary, he strove to attach Normandy and Guienne closely to England, on the one hand by exempting the Norman clergy from certain dues; on the other, by diminishing the duties paid in England by the dealers of the wines of Bordeaux.‖

But in 1421, money was indispensable, and to be procured at any sacrifice. Charles VII. held Meaux, and was besieging Chartres. The English had employed the whole of the preceding campaign in taking Melun. Henry V. was obliged to squeeze all he could from the two countries, from England, discontented and grumbling, and amazed at being called on to pay when it expected tributes,

* See a detailed catalogue of these loans in Turner, Hist. of England, iii. 52, note.

† Henry charged him among other felonies with counterfeiting the royal coin. See the letter of pardon he granted him. Rymer, iv. ii. 7, June 23, 1417. But victorious and popular as Henry V. then was, he feared that dangerous priest. He grants him a favour on the 11th of September, following, calls him his uncle, &c.

‡ Turner, iii. 104.

§ Rymer, iv., ii. 155, Oct. 27, 1420.

‖ Ibid., 153, 160, January, 22, March 22, 1420.

and from unhappy France, a corpse, a skeleton, in which there was no blood left to suck, but at most dry bones to gnaw. The king spared the pride of the English by calling the impost a loan, a *voluntary* loan, but it was levied per force, and without ceremony. In every county he selected certain wealthy persons who had to answer for the whole sum required of their county, indemnifying themselves as well as they could by their right of levying the amount upon the others; the names of those who refused *were to be sent to the king.**

As far as forms went, Normandy was treated with almost as much deference as England. The king convoked the three estates of Normandy to Rouen, and set forth to them *what he intended to do* for the general advantage. What he desired in the first place was to receive a tenth from the clergy; in recompense for which he limited the military powers of the captains of towns,† and restrained the excesses of the soldiery. The right of impressment was no longer to be exercised in Normandy, &c.

The English loan and the Norman tenth were together insufficient to pay that great army of 4000 men-at-arms and several thousand archers which he brought from England. It was necessary to have recourse to a measure which should affect all English France; the blow fell with tremendous force on Paris especially. Henry issued a coinage of high intrinsic value, and of a nominal value two or three times greater than that of the low class money in circulation, and he declared that he would for the future receive payments in no other coin; this was equivalent to doubling or trippling the taxes. The thing was still more fatal to the people than profitable to the treasury. Private transactions were most perplexingly disordered, and the whole year was occupied with a series of vexatious regulations for interpreting and modifying this grand vexation.‡

The cumbrous and devouring army which Henry brought with him was but too necessary to him. His brother Clarence had just been defeated and killed, with 2000 or 3000 English, in Anjou (battle of Baugé, March 23, 1421). In the north even the Count de Harcourt had taken up arms against the English, and was overrunning Picardy. Saintrailles and La Hire were advancing by forced marches to combine with him. All the men of family were gradually going over to the side of Charles VII.,§ to the party that made bold expeditions and adventurous forays. The peasants, it is true, who were the sufferers by these pillaging exploits, would in the long run declare for a master who could and would protect them.‖

The ferocity of the old Armagnac marauders was of service to

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* Rymer, iv. iv. 19, April 21, 1421.

† A knight was commissioned to make an inquiry into this subject. Ibid., 26, May 5, 1421.

‡ Ordon., xi., 115, 116, *passim.*

§ "At this time there was no lord or knight of name in France, English or other, and, therefore, were the Armagnacs so bold." Bourgeois de Paris, ann. 1423. Monstrelet, iv. 143.

‖ So at least say the historians of the Burgundian party, Monstrelet and

Henry's cause. He did a popular thing in besieging Meaux, the captain of which town, the bastard de Vaurus, a sort of ogre,* had filled the country round with indescribable terror. But as the bastard and his men expected no mercy, they defended themselves with desperate determination. From their walls they poured down all sorts of insults on Henry, who was present in person; they had carried up to the ramparts an ass, which they crowned and beat by turns; it was, they said, the King of England, whom they had made prisoner. These brigands exerted themselves admirably for France, for which, notwithstanding, they cared very little. They detained the English the whole winter, eight long months, before Meaux, till cold, want, and pestilence consumed that fine army. The siege began on the 6th of October, and on the 18th of December Henry, who already saw his forces diminishing, wrote urgently for fresh soldiers to Germany and Portugal. Englishmen were probably more costly to him than those foreigners. To induce the German mercenaries to take service with him rather than with the dauphin, he caused them to be told, among other things, that he would pay them in better coin.†

He could not reckon on the Duke of Burgundy. That prince appeared for a short while at the siege of Meaux, but soon withdrew, under pretence of going into Burgundy, and obliging the towns in his duchy to accept the treaty of Troyes. Henry had good reason to believe that the duke himself had secretly instigated their resistance to a treaty which annulled the contingent rights of the house of Burgundy to the crown, as well as those of the Dauphin, the Duke of Orleans and all the French princes. And why had young Philip made such a sacrifice to the friendship of the English? Because he thought he needed their aid to avenge his father and beat his enemy. But it was much rather they who had need of him. Fortune had forsaken them. Whilst the Duke of Clarence was getting himself beaten in Anjou, the Duke of Burgundy had been brilliantly successful in Picardy, where he had come up with the Dauphense Saintrailles and Gamaches, before they could form a junction with De Harcourt, and had defeated and made them prisoners.‡

The reciprocal ill-will of the English and the Burgundians was of old date. The latter had early suffered from the insolence of their allies. In 1416, the Duke of Gloucester being as it were a hostage in the hands of Jean sans Peur, of Burgundy, the Count de

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Pierre de Fenin: Et en y eurent plusieurs qui commencèrent à eux armer avec les Anglois, non pas gens de grande autorité. Monstrelet, ibid. Pierre de Fenin asserts even that "The poor people loved him beyond all others, for he was resolute to preserve the humbler sort against the gentle men." Fenin, 187, in Mademoiselle Dupont's excellent edition, 1837.

* Every one has read the horrible popular story of the poor pregnant woman whom one of the Vaurus caused to be tied to a tree, and who was delivered during the night and was eaten by wolves. Bourgeois de Paris, xv. 315.

† Rymer, iv. iv. 45, December, 18, 1421.

‡ Monstrelet, iv. 354.

Charolais, the duke's son, paid Gloucester a visit; the latter, who was talking at the moment to some Englishmen, never interrupted his conversation on the prince's arrival, and merely said good day to him, without even turning towards him.* Subsequently, in an altercation between Cornwall, the English marshal, and the brave Burgundian captain, Hector de Savenise, the English general, who was at the head of a strong body of men, did not hesitate to strike the captain with his gauntlet. Things like these leave behind them deep-rooted hatreds: the Burgundians did not conceal theirs.

The individual most compromised, perhaps, of the Burgundian party, was the Sire de l'Ile Adam; the same who had retaken Paris and permitted the massacres. He thought, at least, that his master the Duke of Burgundy would profit by them; but the latter, as we have seen, gave up Paris to Henry V. L'Ile Adam could hardly conceal his ill-humour. One day he presents himself before the King of England, dressed in a coarse gray frock. The king did not overlook this. "L'Ile Adam," said he, "is that the garb of a marshal of France?" The other, instead of apologising, said that he had put on the garment on purpose to come by the boats on the Seine. "How now," said the English monarch, haughtily, "dare you look a prince in the face when you speak to him?" "Sire," said the Burgundian, "such is our custom with us French; when one speaks to another, whatever be his rank, with his eyes on the ground, we say he is not an honest man, since he cannot look one in the face." "It is not the custom in England," said the king, drily. But he took the hint; a man who spoke so stoutly did not seem likely to remain long on the English side. L'Ile Adam had once taken Paris; perhaps he would attempt to do so once more, in case of a rupture between Henry and the Duke of Burgundy. Shortly afterwards the Duke of Exeter, Captain of Paris, found some pretext for laying hand on the Burgundian, and marched him off to the Bastile. The populace assembled, shouted, and seemed disposed to effect a rescue; whereupon the English made a murderous charge upon them, as upon an army of the foe.†

Henry wished to put L'Ile Adam to death, but the Duke of Burgundy interceded for him. What was killed, never to revive again, was the English party in Paris.

The change is palpable in the "Journal du Bourgeois." National feeling awakes in him, he rejoices at a defeat of the English;‡ and

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* Monstrelet, iii. 401.

† Monstrelet, iv. 277, 309. In this way the Parisians came at last to understand that the English were the foe. This had already been notified to them by the difference of language: the English ambassadors "requested the president to set forth this statement, because *every one could not easily understand their French speech.*" Arch., Reg. du Parl., Conseil, xiv. 215, Mai, 1420.

‡ Le peuple les avoit en trop mortelle haine les uns et les autres. Journal du Bourgeois, 96, 4to edition.

begins to be distressed at the fate of the Armagnacs, who die without confession.*

The King of England, doubtless foreseeing a rupture with the Duke of Burgundy, seems to have wished to secure some posts against him in the Low Countries. He entered into negotiations with the King of the Romans to obtain Luxembourg, and then sought to conclude a strict alliance with Liege.† It will be recollected that it was precisely by the acquisition of the same territory, and by the same alliance, that the house of Orleans made that of Burgundy its mortal enemy.

To act in this manner against an ally who had been so serviceable, and to prepare for himself a war in the north while unable to bring that in the south to a prosperous issue, was a strangely imprudent course. What, then, were the King of England's resources?

According to his budget, as made out in 1421 by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Beaufort, and two other bishops, his revenue amounted to but 53,000*l.* sterling, his current expenses to 50,000*l.* (21,000*l.* for Calais alone, and the adjoining march).‡ This left an apparent surplus of 3000*l.*; but out of this small sum he had to defray the expenses of the artillery, of fortifications and constructions, embassies, the keeping of prisoners, the cost of his household, &c. &c. In this account nothing was set down for interest on the old debts of Harfleur, Calais, &c., which were progressively increasing.§

Henry's situation was becoming very gloomy. This conqueror, this dominator of Europe, was about to fall gradually under the most humiliating domination—that of his creditors. On the one hand, he carried about in his train that cumbrous council of lord bishops, who could not fail to become every day more necessary and more imperious; on the other hand, the men-at-arms and the captains who had recruited for him and brought him men, were obliged to dun incessantly for their arrears.‖

Henry V. had gathered the fruits of his victory in distress and penury. England encountered, in her action on Europe in the fifteenth century, the same obstacle as had met France in the fourteenth. France, too, had then vigorously stretched forth her arms north and south, towards Italy, the Empire, and the Low Countries. Her strength had failed in the mighty effort, her arms had dropped powerless, and she had remained in that state of languor in which she was surprised by the English conquest.

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* Fut faite grant feste à Paris.....Mieux on dust avoir pleuré....Quel dommaige et quelle pitié par tout chrestienté. Journal du Bourgeois, 94, Aug. 3, 1422.

† Rymer, iv. iv. 38, July 17, 1421; p. 73, Aug. 6, 1402.

‡ Pro Calesio et marchiis ejusdem, xxi. M. marcas; pro custodiâ Angliæ viii. M. marcas; pro custodiâ Hiberniæ ii. M. D. marcas. Rymer, ibid., 27, May 6, 1421.

§ Et nondum provisum est, &c. Ibid.

‖ They were so clamorous after the death of Henry V., that the council of regency was obliged to assign them by way of payment *the third and the third of the third* of whatever the king might have gained personally in the wars, booty, prisoners, &c. Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. 1422, 215. (Folio, 1816.)

The English had persuaded themselves, when they undertook the war, that France could defray its cost; but they found the country already desolated. Penury and wretchedness had been increasing there for fifteen years, and ruin had been heaped on ruin. So little did they extract from the conquered country, that they were obliged to import the means of preserving themselves from perishing in it. Where, then, was money to be had? We have already said the Church was then the only wealthy body. But how should the house of Lancaster, which had waxed in greatness beneath the shadow of that Church, and by pulling down its enemies, how should that house have turned against the Church, and taken upon itself the part of those very enemies, those heretical levellers, it had given to the flames?

England had for a century reproached France with making a tool of the Church, and diverting ecclesiastical property to profane uses; she had undertaken to put an end to such a scandal, the English Church and monarchy had united for this work, and they had prostrated France. This being done, what became of the victors? They were in the very predicament in which they had found the vanquished, and subjected to the same necessities which they had objected to the latter as a crime; but in addition to this, they had the shame of their self-contradiction to endure. If the king of the priests withheld his hand from the wealth of the priests, he was undone. Thus was beginning to appear, as it really was, weak and ruinous, that colossal fabric, the foundations of which English pharisaism had thought to cement with the blood of the English Lollards and the French schismatics.

Henry V. saw all this but too clearly; he had no hope left. Rouen had lost him a year, Melun a year, Meaux a year. During that interminable siege of Meaux, whilst he was seeing his fine army dissolving away around him, word was brought him that the queen had been delivered of a boy at Windsor Castle. He evinced no joy, and comparing his own destiny with that of the child, he said, with prophetic sadness, "Henry of Monmouth will have had a short reign and will have conquered much; Henry of Windsor will reign long and will lose all. God's will be done!"

It is related that, whilst his mind was filled with these gloomy forebodings, a hermit appeared before him, and said, "Our Lord, who desires not your destruction, has sent a holy man to me, and this is what the holy man says: 'God commands that you cease from tormenting his Christian people of France; if not, you have not long to live.'"*

Henry was still young, but he had toiled much in this world, his time for rest was come; he had never had any since his birth. He was attacked, after his winter campaign, with an acute irritation of the bowels, a malady very common in those days, and called St.

* Chronique de Georges Chastellain, 115, ed. Buchon, 1836.

Anthony's fire. Dysentery ensued.* The Duke of Burgundy, however, having applied to him for aid towards a battle he was about to fight, Henry was afraid that the young French prince would again be singly victorious, and he answered him, "I will not send, I will come." He was already very weak, and had himself carried in a litter, but he could not proceed further than Melun, and they were obliged to carry him back to Vincennes. Being warned by the physicians that his end was at hand, he commended his son to his brothers, and gave them two wise counsels; first, to conciliate the Duke of Burgundy, and secondly, in any treaty that might be made, to manage always so as to keep Normandy.

He then had the penitential psalms read to him, and when they came to the words of the *Miserere*, "Ut ædificentur muri Hierusalem," the martial spirit of the dying man flashed out even through his devotion: "Oh! had God granted me my full term of life," he said, "and to finish the war of France, I would have conquered the Holy Land."†

It seems as though in his last moments he felt some doubts of the lawfulness of his conquest of France, some need of quieting his conscience. So, at least, we should surmise from the words he subjoined, as if in reply to some mental objection: "It was not ambition or worldly vainglory that prompted me to fight. My war has been approved by holy priests and wise men; in waging it I have not perilled my soul." He expired shortly afterwards. (Aug. 31, 1422.)

England, whose sentiments he had expressed with his dying lips, rendered him the like testimony. His body was conveyed to Westminster with incredible sorrow—not as that of a king and a conqueror, but as the relics of a saint.§

He died on the 31st of August; Charles VI. followed him on the 21st of October.‡ The people of Paris shed tears for their poor mad king as freely as the English for their victorious Henry V. "The whole people were in the streets weeping and crying, as if each had lost the friend he most loved. Truly, their lamentations were like those of the prophet, 'Quomodô sedet sola civitas plena populo!' The petty folk of Paris cried, 'Oh, most dear prince, never shall we have one so good! Never shall we see thee more! Cursed be death! We shall never have ought but war since thou hast left us. Thou art gone to rest; we remain in tribulation and sorrow.'"‖

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* The opposite party gave out that he died of the morbus pedicularis. Bernier, Mémoires sur Senlis.

† He had sent the Chevalier Guillebert de Launey to reconnoitre the country, from whom we have a report Sur plusieurs visitations de villes, pors et rivières, tant as par d'Egypte, come de Surie, l'an de grace 1422, le commandement, &c. Turner, ii. 477.

‡ Comme s'ils fussent acertenez qu'il fût on soit saint en paradis. Monstrelet, iv. 410.

§ "After a fourth or fifth attack of quartan fever." Arch., Reg. du Parl. Conseil, xiv. 259.

‖ Journal du Bourgeois, xv. 325.

Charles VI. was carried to St. Denis, "poorly accompanied for a king of France; there were only his chamberlain, his chancellor, his confessor, and some subordinate officers." One prince only attended the funeral, and that was the Duke of Bedford.* "Alas! his son and his kinsmen could not be there to accompany him, and were *lawfully* excused therefrom."† That fine family was nearly extinct; the three eldest sons were dead; of the daughters, the eldest had married the unfortunate Richard II., and after him the Duke of Orleans, a prisoner for life in England; the second, wife to the Duke of Burgundy, had died of sorrow; the third had been constrained to wed the enemy of France. The sole surviving son of Charles VI. was proscribed and disinherited.

When the corpse was lowered into the grave, the ushers at arms broke their wands and threw them into the grave, and reversed their maces. Then Berri, king at arms of France, cried out, over the grave, "May it please God to have mercy on the soul of the very high and very excellent Prince Charles, King of France, sixth of the name, our *natural* and sovereign lord."‡

After having spoken of the death of the king, we must mention that of the people. From 1418 to 1422, the depopulation was frightful. The history of those dismal years runs in a murderous circle; war leads to famine, famine to pestilence, and pestilence again brings round famine. It is like that night of the Exodus, in which the angel passes and repasses, touching each house with the sword.

In the year of the Paris massacres (1418), penury, terror, and despair brought on an epidemic, which is said to have carried off 80,000 souls in that town alone.§ "Towards the end of September," says an eye-witness, with appalling plainness of language, "people died so thick and fast, that it was necessary to make great pits in the cemeteries, in which they were put by thirties and forties, packed like bacon, and barely sprinkled over with a little earth. Nothing was to be seen in the streets but priests conveying our Lord's body to the dying."

In 1419 there was no harvest to gather; the husbandmen had died or fled; little had been sown, and that little was ravaged. The dearness of provisions became extreme. It was hoped that the English would re-establish some degree of order and security, and

* Chastellain (ed. Buchon, 1836), p. 117. Monstrelet, iv. 417.

† Juvenal des Ursins, 396. ‡ Monstrelet, iv. 419.

§ As was found by the parish priests. Monstrelet, iv. 119. The grave-diggers . . affirmed . . that they had buried more than 100,000 persons. Bourg. de Paris, xv. 251. A little before this he states that 50,000 persons perished in the first five weeks. To these probably exaggerated statements he adds another that seems more deserving of confidence. The cordwainers, on the day of assembly of their brotherhood, counted the deaths that had occurred in their trade, "and found that there had died in those two months fully 1800 masters and journeymen." Ibid.

that provision would grow less scarce; but, on the contrary, a famine took place. "When the hour of eight came, there was such a throng at the doors of the bakers, that one must have seen it to believe it. . . . You would have heard all over Paris piteous lamentations of little children, crying, 'I am dying of hunger.' Twenty or thirty children together, boys and girls, were seen on a dung-hill, dying of cold and hunger; and there was no heart so hard but would have sorely pitied them, hearing them cry by night, 'I am dying of hunger.' Some of the good burghers bought three or four houses, which they turned into hospitals for the poor children."*

In 1421 there was likewise famine, and that more severe than before. The dog-killer was followed by poor people, who, as fast as he killed, devoured the whole carcase, "flesh and guts."† The depopulated fields became peopled with a different sort of inhabitants; flocks of wolves overran them, scratching up the ground and dragging forth the dead bodies; they entered Paris by night, as if to take possession. The town, growing daily more and more desert, seemed as if it would soon be all their own; it is said that there were no fewer than 80,000 houses left uninhabited.‡

There was no remaining any longer in Paris. Taxation there was too intolerable. Mendicants (another tax) flocked thither from all parts, and at last there were more mendicants than persons of any other class; the latter preferred to depart, and leave all they had behind them. The agricultural labourers, in like manner, threw down their spades and quitted their fields, saying among themselves: "Let us fly to the woods, and herd with the deer . . . . good bye to wives and children. . . . . Let us do the worst we can. Let us put ourselves into the Devil's hand."§

When men have come to that pass they weep no more; there is an end to tears, or there mingle even with tears gleams of hellish joy and savage laughter. It was the most tragical characteristic of

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* Journal du Bourgeois de Paris, xv. 297. † Ibid., 300.

‡ A number evidently exaggerated. At the same time we must not forget that there were then proportionally more houses than at present, because they were very small, and there was hardly a family but had its own.—It results from the details specified in the life of Flamel, that the depopulation had begun in 1406. Villain, Hist. de Flamel, 355.

§ Journal du Bourgeois, 309. We regret that we cannot, for want of space, follow with regard to these melancholy years the advice which M. de Sismondi gives the historian, with so much deep insight into human nature :—"Let us not be in a hurry; when the narrator hurries, he gives a false idea of history. . . . Those years, so barren of virtues and of great examples, passed as slowly for the unfortunate subjects of the realm as those that appear resplendent with heroism. While they were elapsing, some were spent by the advance of age, others were superseded by their children: the nation was no longer the same. . .The reader never notices this progress of time, if he does not also see how that time was filled up: for him its duration is always proportioned to the number of facts presented to him, and in some sort to the number of pages he peruses. He may be told, indeed, that years have passed away in silence, but he does not feel their lapse." Sismondi, xii. 216.

the times, that in the gloomiest moments there were alternations of frantic gaiety.

The beginning of that long series of evils, "of that woful dance," as the Bourgeois de Paris says, was the madness of Charles VI., and contemporaneously therewith the too famous masquerade of the satyrs, the piously burlesque mysteries, and the Bazoche farces.

The year in which the Duke of Orleans was murdered, was distinguished by the organisation of the corporation of minstrels.* That corporation, quite indispensable of course in so joyous a period, became important and respectable. Treaties of peace were cried through the streets with a mighty strumming of violins; hardly any six months passed in which a peace was not cried and sung.†

The eldest son of Charles VI., the first dauphin, was an indefatigable player on the harp and the spinet. He had a great staff of musicians; and in addition to these, he used to call in the aid of the choir-boys of Notre Dame. He sang, danced, and "balled" ("balait"), night and day,‡ and that even in the year of the Cabochiens, whilst they were killing his friends. He killed himself, too, by dint of singing and dancing.

This apparent gaiety in the saddest moments, is not a trait peculiar to our history. The Portuguese chronicle informs us that the king, Don Pedro, in his terrible mourning for Ines, which lasted his life long, felt a strange appetite for dancing and music. There were but two things for which he had any relish left, executions and concerts; and the latter he required to be stunning, violent, full of metallic instruments, whose piercing voices should tyrannically predominate, silence the inward voice, and stir the body as with an automaton movement. He had long silver trumpets made expressly to that end. Sometimes, when he could not sleep, he took his trumpets and torches, and went dancing about the streets; whereupon the people likewise got out of bed, and whether it was from compassion or from the contagious influence felt by their southern blood, they all fell to dancing together, people and king, until he had had enough of it, and the dawn sent him back exhausted to his palace.§

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* It seems that people used to strive with each other for the services of fiddlers: "having begun to attend a festivity or the celebration of a marriage, they shall be bound to remain until it is ended." Archives, Ordinatio super officio de Jongleurs, &c., April 24, 1407. Registre J., 161, No. 270.

† This custom was very ancient—Et fut criée parmi Paris à quatre trompes et à six ménestriers (Sept. 19, 1418).... Et tous les jours à Paris, espécialement de nuit, faisoit on très grant feste pour la dite paix, à ménestriers et autrement (July 11, 1419). Bourgeois de Paris, 240—260.

‡ This was made matter of loud complaint against him by the butchers. Le Religieux de St. Denis and the registrar of the parliament speak to the same purpose. See *suprà*.

§ Chroniques de l'Espagne et du Portugal, publiées par M. Ferd. Denis (1840), I., 121, 122.

It seems an ascertained fact, that in the fourteenth century dancing became involuntary and maniacal in many countries. The violent processions of the Flagellants set the first example.* The great epidemics, and the terrible and lasting shock they gave to the nerves of the survivors, easily gave occasion to St. Vitus's dance.† These phenomena are, as we know, contagious. The spectacle of the convulsions acted with so much the more force, as there was nothing in men's souls but convulsion and vertigo; and then the sick and the hale danced together promiscuously. They would catch each other violently by the hand, in the streets and the churches, and foot it round in a ring. Many a one who at first laughed at this sight or looked on coldly, became at last bewildered, his head reeled, and he, too, reeled and danced with the rest. The rings went on multiplying, interlacing; they became bigger and bigger, more and more heady, fast, and furious, as though they were huge coiling reptiles, that momently swelled to view. There was no stopping the monster, but its joints might be lopped; the electric chain was broken by one falling with feet and fists on some one of the dancers. This rude dissonance interrupting the harmony, they found themselves free, otherwise they would have gone on reeling until utterly exhausted, and have danced themselves to death.

This phenomenon of the fourteenth century does not occur again in the fifteenth; but in the latter we find, in England, France, and Germany, a strange amusement, which reminds us of those great popular dances of the sick and dying. It was called the dance of the dead, or *danse macabre*.‡ It was a great favourite with the English, who introduced it amongst us.§

There was lately to be seen at Bale,|| and there is still to be seen at Lucerne, and at La Chaise Dieu, in Auvergne, a series of pictures

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* Respecting the *black pestilence*, the Flagellants, and their hymns, *see* book vi. of this history, p.181. The learned and eloquent Lettré has given in the Revue des Deux Mondes (Fevrier, 1836, t. v. de la ive. série, p. 220) a highly important article : Sur les grandes épidémies.

† M. Larrey, who has written an interesting paper on the St. Vitus's dance, ought, perhaps, to have mentioned that this disease was common in the fourteenth century. Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences, xvi. 424--37.

‡ That is to say, cemetery dance, according to M. Van Praet (Catalogue des livres imprimés sur vélin) ; some derive this word from the Arabic Magabir, Magabaragh (cemetery) ; others from the English words Make, Break, joined together to imitate the clashing and crackling of bones. It was supposed at the end of the fifteenth century that Macabre was a man's name ; this is the least probable opinion of all.

§ Perhaps they also introduced the blind men's dance, and the blind men's tournament : " Four blind men were placed in a park, all armed ; and there was in the same place a stout pig which they were to have if they could kill it. So it was done, and they waged this so queer battle ; for they gave each other such great blows...." Journ. du Bourgeois, 353, ann. 1425.

|| Also at the cemetery of Dresden, at St. Mary's in Lubeck, at the new Temple in Strasburg, under the arches of the castle of Blois, &c. The oldest, perhaps, of these paintings was that of Minden in Westphalia, dated 1383.

representing Death engaging in the dance with men of every age, every condition, and hurrying them along with it. These pictured dances were destined to be realised in action.* They certainly owed their origin to some of those sacred dramatic performances which were exhibited in the churches, in front of them, in the cemeteries, or even in the streets during processions.† The efforts of the bad angels to seduce and carry away souls, as still everywhere to be seen represented in the bas-reliefs of churches,‡ no doubt gave the first idea of them. But in proportion as strength of Christian feeling declined, this spectacle ceased to be religious, it no longer awoke any thought of judgment, salvation, or resurrection,§ but became a dry moral exhibition, a piece of crude materialist philosophy. The leading figure was no longer the Devil, the son of sin and of corrupted will, but Death, death fatal, material, and embodied under the form of a skeleton. The angular and awkward forms of the human skeleton call up, as we know, at the first glance, a thousand ludicrous images of life; but the hideous *rictus* retaliates by assuming an ironical air. Less strange even in its form than in the oddness of its attitudes, it is and is not man. Or if it is he, the horrible mountebank seems to parade, with atrocious cynicism, that utter nudity which should remain for ever veiled beneath the earth.

The spectacle of the dance of the dead was enacted in Paris|| in 1424, in the cemetery of the Innocents. That narrow space in which the enormous city for so many ages accumulated the remains of almost all its inhabitants, had been at first both a cemetery and a laystall, haunted at night by robbers, and in the evening by wantons, who plied their trade among the tombs. Philip Augustus enclosed it with walls, and to purify it, dedicated it to St. Innocent, a child crucified by the Jews. In the fourteenth century the churches were already very full, and it became the fashion among the good burghers to bury their dead in the cemetery. A church

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* Living art, art in action, has everywhere preceded art portrayed. (See the fourth following note.) This fact was clearly discerned by Vico, among others. Concerning the art of dancing, see particularly Bonnet's curious work, Histoire de la Danse, 12mo, Paris, 1723.

† See Charles Magnin, Origines du Théâtre, iii.

‡ Iconographie Chrétienne, par MM. Didron et Alexandre Lenoir.

§ I have spoken of these dramas at the end of book iv. of this history. In another place I have mentioned a charming pantomime, significant of the Resurrection, occurring in the processions of Messina. Introd. à l'Histoire Universelle, p. 187, 2e. éd., from Blount, Vestiges of Ancient Manners discoverable in modern Italy and Sicily, p. 158.

|| "Item, in the year 1424 was performed the *Danse Marâtre* at the Innocents, and it was begun about the month of August, and was finished at the following Lent." Bourgeois de Paris, p. 352. "In the year 1429 the cordelier Richart, preaching at the Innocents, was mounted on a scaffold nearly a fathom and a half high, with his back turned towards the charnel-houses, opposite the *charonnerie* at *the place of the danse macabre*." Ibid., 384. I am of opinion with Félibien and MM. Dulaure, de Barante, and Lacroix, that it was at first a spectacle and not merely a painting as M. Peignot will have it: this is the natural

was built there. Flamel was a contributor,* and he placed on the portal some odd, inexplicable signs, which were said by the people to stand for certain grand mysteries of alchemy. Flamel also subscribed to the construction of those charnel-houses, which were built all round the church. The principal tombs were beneath the arches of these charnel-houses, and above them were a floor and garrets in which were suspended the half-rotten bones that were turned up out of the graves;† for space was scanty, the dead had little rest; in that living earth a corpse became a skeleton in nine days. Such, however, was the flux and reflux of dead matter, and such the deposit it left behind, that at the period when the cemetery was destroyed, the soil had risen eight feet above the neighbouring streets.‡ Out of the alluvium of ages had grown up a mountain of death, which overtopped the living.

Such was the suitable theatre of the *Danse Macabre.* It was begun in September, 1424, when the heat had diminished, and the first rain had rendered the smell of the place less offensive. The performances lasted many months.

Whatever disgust both the place and the spectacle might inspire, it was matter suggestive of much thought to see in that fatal period, in a town so frequently and so cruelly visited by death, the hungry, sickly, scarce living multitude, merrily making death itself a matter of spectacle, attending with insatiable avidity to its moralizing buffooneries, and enjoying them so heartily as to tread heedlessly upon the bones of their fathers, and on the gaping graves they were themselves about to fill.

After all, why should they not have laughed in the meanwhile? It was the true gala of the period, its natural comedy, the dance of great and small. Not to speak of those millions of obscure men who took their part in it in certain years, was not that a curious round that had been danced by kings and princes, Louis d'Orleans, and Jean-sans-Peur, Henry V., and Charles V.! What a sportive trick, what a humorous pastime of death, to have put the victorious Henry within a month of the crown of France! After a whole life of toil, he wanted a little month only to survive Charles VI. No! not one month granted him, not one day! And he did not even

progress, as I have remarked in a preceding note: spectacle first, then painting, then books of engravings with explanations.—The first known edition of the Danse Macabre (1485) is in *French;* the first Latin edition (1490) was put forth by a *Frenchman;* but it says Versibus *Alemannicis* descripta. See M. Peignot's curious work, so interesting in a bibliographical point of view, Recherches sur les Danses des Morts et sur l'Origine des Cartes à jouer. Dijon, 1826.

* See Félibien, Sauval, and above all Vilain, Hist. de Flamel, pp. 32, 101—134.

† The exterior ground floor, backed against the gallery of tombs, and supporting the loft in which the bones were dried, was occupied by shops of sempstresses, haberdashers, scriveners, &c.

‡ Mémoire de Cadet de Vaux, Rapport de Thouret, and Procès verbal des Exhumations du cimetière des Innocens, quoted by M. Héricart de Thury, in his Description des Catacombes, p. 176—178.

die in battle, but took to his bed with dysentery, and died of hemorrhoïds.*

If any one had remonstrated against these mockeries and derisions practised by death, as being somewhat too cruel, death would not have been without an answer. It would have said that, rightly considering the case, it would be found to have killed only those who had no life in them. The conqueror was dead from the moment the conquest flagged and could make no further progress; Jean-sans-Peur, when, driven to the end of all his shifts and tergiversations, and seen at length in his true colours by his own followers, he beheld himself for ever disgraced and powerless. Parties, and party leaders, all had fallen beyond recovery. The Armagnacs, smitten at Azincourt and in the massacres of Paris, endured a still heavier blow through their own crime at Montereau. The Cabochiens and Burgundians had been obliged to confess they had been duped, and that their Duke of Burgundy was the friend of the English; they had been forced, they who thought themselves all France, themselves to become English. Thus every one survived his principles and his faith; moral death, which is the real death, was in all hearts. There remained none but dead men to be spectators of the dance of the dead.

The English, even, the victors, could not but be sullen and gloomy as they contemplated their favourite spectacle. England, which had gained by its conquest the privilege of having for king a child who was French by the mother's side, seemed like enough to a dead realm, especially if the boy should resemble his grandfather Charles VI. And yet in France that boy was an Englishman, he was Henry of Lancaster; his royal title was the national death of France.

When, some years afterwards, this young Anglo-French king, or rather neither the one nor the other, was led into deserted Paris by Cardinal Beaufort, the train passed before the Hôtel St. Paul, where Queen Isabella, the widow of Charles VI., was at a window. They told the royal child that was his grandmother; the two shadows looked at each other; the pale-faced boy raised his hat and saluted; the old queen bowed humbly to him, but turning away burst into tears.†

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* Monstrelet, iv. 107. Juvenal des Ursins, 394. This mocking humour of death-struck contemporaries. A gentleman, Messire Sarrazin d'Arles, seeing one of his people returning from the funeral of Henry V., asked him if the king had his breeches on. "Oh, by my troth, no, monseigneur." "Never trust me, good friend," said the other, "if he did not leave them in France!" Monstrelet, iv. 412.

† Et tantost elle s'inclina vers lui moult humblement et se tourna d'autre part plorant. Journal du Bourgeois, 453.

BOOK THE TENTH.

CHAPTER I.

Charles VII.—Henry VI.—The "Imitation"—The Maid of Orleans.
1422—1429.

"THE deadest deaths" are the best, said a sage; they are the nearest to resurrection.

It is a great source of strength to hope no longer, to be freed from the alternations of exultation and fear, to die to pride and desire. To die thus is rather to live.

This living death of the soul renders it calm and intrepid. What should he fear in this world, who is not of this world? What can all its threats avail against a spirit?

The "Imitation of Jesus Christ," next to the Gospel, the finest of Christian works, came forth, like the Gospel, from the womb of death. The death of the ancient world, and the death of the middle ages, produced those germs of life.

The first known manuscript of the "Imitation" appears to belong to the end of the fourteenth century, or the beginning of the fifteenth.* After 1421 copies become innumerable; twenty have been found in a single monastery. The infant art of printing was employed chiefly in reproducing the "Imitation." There are two thousand Latin editions of it, and one thousand French. It has been translated sixty times into French, thirty into Italian, &c.†

This common book of all Christianity has been claimed by each

* De Imitatione Christi, ed. Gence, 1826, descriptio codicum MSS., p. xiii. Gence considers the Mœlck MS., 1421, as the oldest. Hase thinks that the Grandmont MS. may belong to the end of the fourteenth century. Bibl. Roy., fonds de St. Germain, 837.

† Undoubtedly there has been a larger number of translations and editions; I here mention only the number of those that have come to the knowledge of one of our most learned bibliographers, Barbier, Dissertation sur soixante traductions Françaises, etc., p. 254 (1812). Gence collected evidence of a great number of editions from the Italian archives (Catalogues de la Congrégation de Index), at the time when those archives were removed to Paris.—Amongst the translators of the Imitation we find two names that strike us with surprise, Corneille and Lamennais. The heroic and polemic genius had nothing in common with the book of peace and humility.

people as a national work. The French point out Gallicisms* in it; the Italians, Italianisms;† the Germans, Germanisms.‡

All the sacerdotal orders, which are like so many nations in the Church, in like manner prefer conflicting claims to the "Imitation." The priests claim the authorship for Gerson,§ the regular canons for Thomas de Kempen,‖ the monks for one Gersen, a Benedictine.¶ Many others might also assert similar pretensions. There are in the work passages from all the saints, all the doctors;** Saint François de Sales is the only one who has seen clearly through the obscurities

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* De Imitatione, ed. Gence, Index grammaticus.

† Gregory cites a few of them; it is true that several of these words are not specially Italianisms, but common to all the neo-Latin languages. Gregory, Mém. sur le véritable auteur de l'Imitation, publié par M. Lanjuinais, 12mo, 1827, pp. 23, 24.

‡ Schmidt, Essai sur Gerson, 1839, p. 122. Gieseler, Lehrbuch, ii., iv. 348.

§ If it be assumed that the author or last reviser of the Imitation was the greatest man of the fifteenth century, then it was certainly Gerson. The venerable Gence devoted his life to the support of this thesis. To maintain it, we must suppose that Gerson's taste changed greatly during his retirement at Lyons. The books, De parvulis ad Christum trahendis, and the Consolatio Theologiæ, which, however, belong to that period of his life, are generally composed in the pedantic form of the time. In some of his sermons and his lesser French works, particularly in that addressed by him to his sisters, we find a nervous and simple turn of thought which would not be unworthy of the author of the "Imitation;" nevertheless, there are still instances of subtilising and bad taste even in this latter work. Speaking of the Annunciation he says, that the Virgin "shut the door of discretion," &c. Gerson, iii. 810—841.

‖ Thomas de Kempen has in his favour the testimony of his three fellow-countrymen, John Busch, Peter Scott, and John Trittenheim, all of the fifteenth century. It seems, however, very difficult to conceive that this laborious copyist should have achieved so lofty a flight; his *Soliloquium Animæ* does not warrant the supposition. Christ, he says, *has taken me on his shoulders and taught me like a mother, breaking me the spiritual nuts, and putting them into my mouth.* This profusion of images (and what images!) is unworthy, as M. Faugère well remarks, of the man who could have written the Imitation. Eloge de Gerson, which obtained the prize, &c. (1838), p. 80.

¶ The supposed Gerson was created by the Benedictines of the seventeenth century, and adopted by Rome out of dislike to Gerson. M. Gregory has expended much talent in the effort to give him a breath of life. He starts the ingenious hypothesis, that the Imitation, in its first rough sketch, must have been a school programme. I am disposed to think rather that it arose out of a monastic manual. M. Daunou has clearly demonstrated the weakness of M. Gregory's system (Journal des Savants, December, 1826, October, November, 1827). The only document on which he relies, the Arona MS., belongs, in the opinion of two excellent paleographers, M. Daunou and M. Hase, to the fifteenth and not to the thirteenth century.

** M. Gence ransacks every author, sacred and profane, for passages having any relation, however remote, with the words of the Imitation; he runs the risk of damaging the reputation of his favourite book, by making it appear to be but a cento. Suarez thinks that the first three books were written by Jean de Verceil, Ubertino de Casal, and Pietro Renalutio, that Gerson added the fourth book, and Thomas de Kempen arranged the whole. This eclecticism is very arbitrary. The only thing specious I find in it is, that the fourth book, which is of a much more sacerdotal tendency than the rest, may very possibly not be by the same hand. J. M. Suarez, Conjectura de Imitatione, 1667, 4to, Romæ.

that envelop this question. "The author," he says, "is the Holy Spirit."*

The time in which it was produced has been no less matter of controversy than the author of the work, and the nation that gave him birth. The thirteenth, the fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries contend for this honour. It was in the fifteenth century the book first made a noise and became popular, but it seems to bear internal evidence of an earlier origin, and of having been prepared by the antecedent centuries.†

How should it have been otherwise? Christianity, in its very essence, is nothing else than the imitation of Christ.‡ Christ came down to encourage us to ascend. He has set before us our highest model in himself.

The life of the saints was but imitation; the monastic rules are nothing else; but it was not until a late period that the word imitation could be uttered. The book we so call, bears in many manuscripts a title which must be very old: Books of Life. *Life* is synonymous with *rule* in monastic language.§ May not this book have been in its first form a *rule of rules*, a blending together of all that was most edifying in each several rule?‖ It seems especially impressed with the spirit of wisdom and moderation that characterised the great order, that of St. Benedict.

Those experienced masters of the inward life soon felt that in order to guide the soul into a way of real, solid improvement from which there should be no relapse, it was requisite to proportion the spiritual food to the disciple's strength, to give milk to the weak, bread to the strong. Hence the three degrees (known, indeed,

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* See also in Gence's edition (p. liii.) the witty and paradoxical note he has extracted from a MS. by the Abbé Mercier de Saint Léger.

† "There were in the middle ages two existences, the one warlike, the other monastic. On the one side, the camp and war; on the other, worship and the cloister. The warlike class found its exponent in the chivalric epopœas; that which watched and prayed in the cloisters felt also the need of expressing its thoughts, feelings, and habits, of embodying its dreamy effusions, and the melancholy born of a solitude tempered by religion; and who knows but that the *Imitation* was the interior epopœa of monastic life? who knows but that it was formed by little and little, suspended and resumed, and that it is, in short, the collective work bequeathed to us by medieval monachism as its most profound expression, its most glorious monument?" Such is the opinion put forth by M. Ampère in his course. I am fortunate in concurring with my ingenious friend. I add only that it appears to me this monastic epopœa can have terminated only in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

‡ Antiquity had a glimpse of the idea of imitation. The Pythagoreans defined virtue as Ὁμολογία πρὸς τὸ θεῖον; and Plato as Ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν (Timæus and Thaetetes). Theodore of Mopsueste, more of a stoic than Christian, said flatly: "Christ had nothing more than myself; I can make my nature divine by virtue."

§ Particularly among the regular canons of St. Augustine. Gence, p. xxvii.

‖ These rules are not merely monastic codes; they contain many moral precepts and religious effusions. See *passim* the collections of Holstenius, &c.

to antiquity) which formed the natural division of the book on the Imitation: life purgative, illuminative, unitive.

Correspondent to these three degrees seem to be the various titles which the work still bears in the manuscripts. Some, struck by the aid it affords towards destroying the old man within us, entitle it Reformatio Hominis. Others already taste in it the intense sweetness of grace, and call it Consolatio. Lastly, man, raised up, cheered, and reassured, takes confidence in that God who has dealt with him so tenderly, dares to look upon and take Him for his model; owns the greatness of his own destination, and rises to the bold conception of *imitating God;* and the book acquires the title of Imitatio Christi.

The goal was thus early marked out, but it was missed at first, from the very impetuosity and excess of the desire to reach it.

Imitation, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was either too material or too mystic. The most ardent of the saints—that one who most, perhaps, of them all was smitten to the heart with the love of God, St. Francis—stopped short at the mention of Christ in poverty, Christ bleeding and bearing the stigmata of the Passion. The Franciscan Ubertino de Casal, Ludolph, and even Tauler, still propose to us to imitate all the physical circumstances of the life of our Lord.* When they quit the letter and rise to the spirit, love leads them astray, they exceed imitation and seek for union, oneness between man and God. Such, undoubtedly, is the bias of the soul; it seeks but to perish to itself, that it may thenceforth exist but in the beloved object.† And yet all would be lost for passion, if its short-sighted desires were gratified, and it were allowed to

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* Nothing can be less judicious, or even sillier, than the manner in which Ubertino chooses to interpret the Gospel. The ox, he says for instance, signifies that we should ruminate on what Christ has done for us; the ass, &c. Arbor Crucifixi Jesu, iii. 3. Tauler himself, a writer of a later period, falls again into these ridiculous expositions: Via per sinistri pedis vulnus est sitibunda nostræ sensualitatis mortificatio. Tauler, ed. Coloniæ, p. 809. As for Ludolph, he surcharges the Gospel with romantic embellishments which are by no means edifying: he gives the following portrait of Jesus Christ: "He had hair of the colour of a very ripe hazel nut, inclining to the green and black hue of the sea, curled and hanging over his ears and waving on his shoulders; the hair was parted in two on the middle of his head, after the manner of the Nazareez, the forehead plain and very pleasing, the face without wrinkle, spot, or stain, and moderately red; the nose tolerably long; the mouth of a becoming sizé and without any fault; the beard not long, but sufficient, and of the colour of the hair, and forked at the chin; his aspect simple and mortified; his eyes clear. He was terrible in reproving, and mild, amiable, and delightful in admonishing: in his gaze all gravity. He sometimes wept, but never laughed.....He was potent and reasonable in speaking; his words few and well-seasoned, and in all things well composed." Ludolphus, Vita Christi.

† Anima magis est ubi amat quam ubi animat, says St. Bernard. Respecting this tendency of the soul to lose itself in God, and the necessity of resisting it, see St. Bonaventure, Stimuli amoris, 242, and Rusbrock, De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum, ii. 333.

attain to perfect unity; from that condition love would be excluded; to love, there must be two.

Such was the rock on which all the mystics split during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the great Rusbrock himself who wrote against the mystics.

The great and admirable merit of the "Imitation," in the form in which it was finally fixed (perhaps about 1400), is moderation and wisdom. In it the soul moves between two perils, materialism and mysticism; it touches those rocks on either hand, and does not strike upon them, but passes on, as if it saw not the danger; passes on in its simplicity.—Take note that simplicity is not instinctive, it is rather the consummate fruit of wisdom; like that *second ignorance* of which Pascal speaks, that ignorance which comes after knowledge.

This simplicity, combined with profundity, is particularly the characteristic of the third book of the "Imitation." The soul, detached from the world in the first book, is fortified in solitude in the second. In the third, there is no more solitude; the soul has near it a companion, a friend, a master—and the gentlest of all. A gracious struggle ensues, an amicable and pacific war between extreme weakness and the infinite might which is now all goodness. We follow, with sustained emotion, all the alternations of this fine course of religious gymnastics; the soul falls, rises, falls again, weeps; but He comforts it: "I am here," He says, "to aid thee evermore, if thou rely on Me . . . . Courage! all is not lost . . . . Thou feelest thyself often troubled, tempted; what then?—it is because *Thou art man and not God—thou art flesh and not angel.** How could it be that thou shouldst always remain in the same state of virtue? The angels were not able to do so in heaven, nor the first man in Paradise."

This compassionate apprehension of our weaknesses and backslidings, sufficiently proves that this great work was composed when Christianity had been long in existence, when it had acquired experience and infinite indulgence. Everywhere in it we discern a potent maturity, a rich, mellow, autumnal savour; no trace there of the asperities of youthful passion. This point could not have been reached without having previously loved many times, ceased to love, and then loved again. It is love conscious of itself, and deeply enjoying that knowledge; love tempered to harmony, and never more to perish by love's frenzy.

I know not if the *first* love is the most ardent, but the greatest and most profound love is assuredly the *last*. It has often been seen how, towards the middle period of life, and after that period was already past, all the passions and all the thoughts came at last to gravitate together and centre in one only. In such cases know-

* Homo es et non Deus,
Caro es, et non Angelus.
Imitatio iii., 57, p. 268, ed. Gence.

ledge, multiplying the individual's ideas and points of view, is then but a complex mirror, in which passion reproduces its own image without end, reflected from a thousand points, and fired by its own reflection. Such are at times the late loves of the wise, those vast and profound passions which none may fathom. Such, and profounder still, is the passion we find in this book; great as the object it aspires to, great as the world it abandons. The world? It has perished. This tender and sublime converse takes place on the ruins of the world, on the grave of the human race.* The two who survive love each other with a love made infinite by the annihilation of all things else.

We can hardly imagine that religious passion should have reached of itself, and uninfluenced from without, to such a sense of solitude. It seems more likely that if the soul is thus perfectly weaned from all things here below, it is because it has felt itself forsaken by them. I discern here not merely the voluntary death of a sainted soul, but an immense widowhood, and the death of an antecedent world. That void, which God fills up, is the quondam site of a world that has foundered utterly, body and substance, church and country. An Atlantis must have disappeared to make such a desert.

Now let us ask, how came this book of solitude to be a popular book? How was it enabled, in speaking of monastic contemplation, to contribute to restore movement and action to the human race?

It was because, in that moment of uttermost despair, when all men's spirits were prostrate, and death seemed at hand, the great book issued from its solitude with its priestly voice, and evoked the people in the very language of the people. A French version, vernacular, bold, and inspired, passed into circulation. It appeared under the true title of the moment, "Internal Consolation."

The "Consolation" is a practical work, and made for the people. It does not contain the last term of religious initiation, the dangerous fourth book of the "Imitatio Christi."

The "Imitatio," in the general arrangement of its four books, observes a sort of ascending scale (abstinence, ascetism, communion, union). The "Consolation" starts from the second degree, from the sweetness of the ascetic life; it proceeds to seek strength in divine communion, and then descends again to abstinence and detachment, that is to say, to practice. It ends where the "Imitatio" begins.

If the general plan of the "Consolation" does not exhibit, like that of the "Imitatio," the noble character of a progressive initiation, on the other hand its form and style are greatly superior. The lumbering rhymes and rude cadences affected in the "Imitatio," scarcely

* Granville's magnificent design seems to promise in its title the development of this dramatic situation; but it does not keep the promise, nor could it. This materialist epopœa is not so much *The Last Man* as *The Death of the Globe*. See, for Granville's life, M. Nodier's fine article in the Dict. de la Conversation, xxxi.

appear anywhere in the French "Consolation." Its style presents exactly that character which charms us in the sculptures of the fifteenth century, freshness, simplicity, and (even thus early) elegance; the freshness and point of Froissart, but with a far more vivid and rapid movement,* as of a deeply earnest soul. Add to this, that in certain passages of the French we perceive a delicacy of heart, of which the original shows no trace.†

What must have been the emotion of the people, of the women, the wretched (the wretched were then all conditions of men), when for the first time they heard the divine word, no longer in the language of the dead, but as a *living* word; not as a ceremonial formula, but as the quick voice of the heart, their own voice, the marvellous manifestation of their secret thoughts! This alone was already a resurrection. Humanity raised its head, it loved, and was willing to live. "I shall not die, but live, and behold the works of God!"

"My loyal friend and spouse,‡ friend so sweet and *debonnaire!* who will give me the wings of true liberty, that I may find in thee repose and consolation? . . . O Jesus, light of eternal glory, sole stay of the pilgrim soul, for thee is my desire without voice, and my silence speaks . . . Alas! why tarriest thou! Come and console thy poor one. Come, come, no hour is joyous without thee . . .

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* The rhythm appears to me to be generally the same as Gerson's in his sermons. I should be inclined to believe him the author not of the "Imitatio," but of the "Consolation."

† I will adduce only one example, but that very remarkable: "If thou hast a good friend and profitable to thee, thou must leave him voluntarily for the love of God and be separated from him. And let it not trouble or anger thee, *if he leave thee,* as THROUGH OBEDIENCE or other reasonable cause. For thou shouldst know that we must finally in *this world* be separated one from the other *at least by death, until we shall have arrived in that fair city of Paradise, out of which we shall* NEVER DEPART FROM ONE ANOTHER." Consolacion, i., c. 9, f. xii. v. ed. 1520. "Ita et tu aliquem necessarium et dilectum amicum pro amore Dei disce relinquere. Nec graviter feras, quùm ab amico derelictus fueris, sciens quoniam opportet nos tandem ab invicem separari." Imitatio, ii., c. 9, 98, ed. Gence. The French version does not say "*Disce relinquere,*" but "Ne te trouble pas ou couroucе *s'il te laisse,*" and adds touchingly "*Si'l te laisse comme* PAR OBEISANCE." (There is in these words a whole elegy of the cloisters; the purest friendships were there regarded as crimes.) Finally, it speaks with charming sweetness of "Cette belle cité de paradis.....de laquelle nous *ne partirons jamais l'un d'avec l'autre.*"

‡ The Latin is far from evincing this noble confidence; it fears to kindle the monastic imagination, and says: "O mi dilectissime sponse, amator *purissime!*" How much purer is the French; "Mon *loyal* ami et époux!" The Latin, for the more tameness, adds a superfluity: Dominator universæ creaturæ." Imit., iii. 21, 171. Internelle Consolacion, ii. 26, 56, ed. 1520, 12mo. This edition, which appears to me to be a reprint of the quarto without a date, is the most modern that we can read; that of 1522 is already spoiled both in style or orthography. It is to be wished that this fine book may be at last reproduced in its original form, suppressing the glosses which from edition to edition have crept into the text. M. Onésime Leroy has discovered an important MS. of the "Consolacion" at Vincennes. Onés. Leroy, Etudes sur les Mystères et sur les MSS. de Gerson, 1837, Paris.

Ha! I feel, Lord, thou art returned,* thou hast had pity on my tears and my sighs . . . Praise be to thee, true Wisdom of the Father! everything praises and blesses thee, my body, my soul, and all thy creatures!†

The circulation of this popular book was rapid. The human race felt, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, a wholly new appetite for reproducing and diffusing thought, and was seized with a sort of mania for writing. Scriveners made their fortunes, the most successful being, not as formerly, those who wrote the fairest hands, but those who were most rapid. Writing, executed with ever increasing speed was in danger of becoming illegible.‡ The manuscripts, until then secured by chains§ in the churches and convents, had broken the chain and passed from hand to hand. There were few who could read, but whoever could, read aloud; the ignorant listened with so much the more avidity, and retained whole books in their fresh and eager memories.

Men were forced to read, listen, and think alone, since religious instruction and preaching were almost everywhere wanting. The ecclesiastical dignitaries left those duties to hirelings. We have seen that during two winters and two Lents, in 1405 and 1406, there was no sermon in Paris, and scarcely any church service.

And when the clergy did speak, what did they say? They proclaimed their dissensions and mutual antipathies, and cursed their adversaries. Is it wonderful that the religious soul withdrew within itself, and would no longer hearken to the discordant voice of the doctors, but to one only voice, that of God? "Speak, Lord, thy servant hearkens . . . The Children of Israel said of old to Moses, 'Speak thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God speak with us, *lest we die.*' This is not my prayer, O Lord. No, let not Moses

* The Latin wants this animated movement, and is here languid and disjointed in comparison with the French.

† I have suppressed a trivial but very energetic passage, such as we should expect to find in a book intended for the people. "You alone are my joy, and without you there is no meat worth tasting."

‡ Petrarch complains of this in the middle of the fourteenth century. The same complaints are repeated by Clemengis in the fifteenth, particularly as to the indistinctness and the continuity of the writing, which made but one word of each line: "Surrexerunt scriptores quos cursores vocant, qui rapido juxta nomen *cursu* properantes, nec per membra curant orationem discernere, nec pleni aut imperfecti sensus notas apponere, sed in uno impetu velut hi qui in stadio currunt.... ut vix antequam ad metam veniant, pausam faciant.....Oro ne per *cursorios* istos, ut ita dicam, broddiatores id describi facias." Nic. Clemeng. epist. ii. 306. In the year 1304 the king was obliged to prohibit the use of abbreviations by the notaries, otherwise their writing would have become a sort of algebra: "Non apponant abbreviationes....; cartularia sua faciant in bono papyro," etc. Ordon., i. 417, July, 1304.

§ "Enchaînés et attachés ès chayères du chœur." Vilain. Hist. du St. Jacques la Boucherie, 62, 63. Sometimes even for the greater security, they were placed in iron cages; a breviary requiring repairs in 1406, a smith was employed to file through two bars of the cage in which it was enclosed. Ibid.

speak to me, nor any of the prophets.* . . . They give the letter; Thou, thou givest the spirit. Speak thou thyself, Eternal Truth, *that I may not die.*" †

What constitutes the strength of this book is, that with all this noble Christian liberty there is no polemical spirit, and barely a few allusions to the woes of the time. The pious author maintains a respectful silence as to the infirmities of old mother church.‡

Whether the "Imitation" be or be not a French book,§ it was in France its action was exerted. This is evident not only from the great number of the French versions (more than sixty!), but above all from the fact that the principal version is French, an eloquent and original version, which made the monastiic book a popular one.

After all, there is a higher argument and one that is final as to this idle dispute. The "Imitation" was given to that people that could no longer dispense with the "Imitation." Useful elsewhere, this book was here matter of supreme necessity. No nation had gone down lower into death; none had more need of exploring the soul, so that it might discover the source of life concealed within it; none could better understand the first passage in the book: "The kingdom of God is in you, says our Lord Jesus Christ. Go back then with all thy heart unto thyself, and leave

* "Non loquatur mihi Moyses, aut aliquis ex prophetis; sed Tu," etc. Imitatio., iii. 2, 119, ed Gence.

† These bold turns of thought will have appeared more dangerous in the vulgar tongue, which is, no doubt, the reason why the MSS. of the "Consolacion" have almost all disappeared. It was printed before 1500 without date, and then in quick succession (perhaps under the Lutheran influence) in 1522, 1525, 1527, 1533, 1542. The Calvinists who so much multiplied books in the vulgar tongue, did not care to reprint this one, apparently because they found nothing in it sufficiently hard on the subject of predestination. The Catholic clergy, on the other hand, thinking they perceived in this popular book of the fifteenth century a sort of foretaste of Protestantism, gradually took it away from the poor nuns, to whom it had been a sweet habitual nutriment. Thus they were deprived of what for them had constituted the charm of religion in the middle ages, first the sacred dramas, and then books. This intellectual Lent went on increasing in rigour with the augmenting jealousies of the church. It is impossible not to be touched, on reading in this woman's book (ed. 1520, copy in the Bibl. Mazarine) the marginal notes and prayers inscribed in it by the nuns to whom it belonged, and who bequeathed it one to another as their sole treasure.

‡ "Senescenti ac propemodùm effœtæ matri Ecclesiæ." Tauler (from St. Hildegarde), 815-6, ed. Colon.

§ It is a Christian and universal book, not a national one. Could it be national, it would be French rather than of any other nation. It has not the Petrarchal flight of the Italian mystics, still less the whimsical flowers of the Germans, their depth concealed beneath puerile forms, and their dangerous softness of heart. There are more sentiments than images in the "Imitation;" that is French. In literature the French are draughtsmen rather than painters, or if you will, they paint in camaieu. I read in Clemengis: "Non ineleganter quidam dixit: Color est vitare colorem." Epist. 96.—I have spoken my opinions at more length elsewhere on our language and literature. Origines du Droit, Introd., cxvii.—cxxii.

this wicked world. Wherever thou be, thou hast no permanent abode here . . . Thou art a stranger and a pilgrim; thou shalt not have rest anywhere, save at heart when thou art truly joined to God. Why dost thou look here and there in search of rest? Let thy dwelling be in heaven through love, and give but a passing regard to the things of this world, for they pass and come to nothing, and thou too like them."*

To whom could this language of sublime melancholy and profound solitude be better addressed than to the people and country where there was nothing left but ruins? God seemed to speak to France, and to say to her, as he said to the dead man, "From eternity I have known thee by thy name;† thou hast found grace, I will give thee rest."

Nothing short of this goodness was requisite to cheer hearts that were so near despair. The Universal Church had broken down, the National Church had perished; a foreign Church (terrible temptation to blasphemy!) had entered by conquest and murder into possession of France; the foreign master had appeared as "king of the priests."‡

France, after having suffered so much through the mad pride of fools, had with the English made acquaintance with another kind, the pride of the wise; it had endured the pious lectures of Henry V. between the carnage of Azincourt and the executions of Rouen. But this was nothing in comparison with the rest; it beheld in the real kings of England, its bishops, the strange spectacle of wisdom without the spirit of God. The king of the priests being dead, it had, in the natural progress of things, the priest king,§ the realization of a terrible ideal unknown to preceding ages, the royalty of usury in the churchman's person, murderous violence in pharisaism —a Satan! but under a new form: no longer the old figure of Satan, ashamed and fugitive;—no, Satan authorised, decent, *respectable*, Satan rich and fat on his bishop's throne, dogmatising, judging and reforming the saints.

Satan had become that reverend personage; the opposite part was left to our Lord. He was to be brought before that grave chief justice by the constables, as a miserable *parish runaway;* what do I say? as a heretic or sorcerer, as violently suspected of being confederate with the devil, or a devil himself; our Lord was to let himself be condemned and burned as a devil by the devil. To that pass must things come. Then will the amazed spectator behold that worthy, honest judge become confused in his turn, lose countenance, and writhe in his ermine. Then every man will resume his natural part; the drama will have been completed, the mystery consummated.

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* Internelle Consolacion, l. i., c. 1. † Te ipsum novi ex nomine.

‡ Princeps Presbyterorum. Walsingham, 399.

§ Respecting the Cardinal Winchester, see p. 478, and the whole fourth chapter of book x.

The Imitation of Jesus Christ and his passion, reproduced in the Maid of Orleans, such was the redemption of France.

An objection may now be raised which by-and-by would be made by no one. No matter; now we can answer it.

The spirit of this book is resignation. That spirit, diffused through the people, must apparently have calmed and lulled it, instead of inspiring it with the heroism of national resistance. How is this seeming opposition to be explained?

On this principle, that the resurrection of the soul is not that of such or such a virtue; no, all the virtues hold fast together. Resignation did not return singly to the French, but with it hope, which is also of God, and with hope, faith in justice. The spirit of the "Imitation" was, for clerks, resignation and *passion;* for the people it was *action*, the heroic impulse of a simple heart.

Nor let us wonder if the people here appeared in a woman's person; if from patience and the gentler virtues a woman passed to those of manliness and war, and the female saint became a soldier. She has herself divulged the secret of this transformation; it is a woman's secret: THE PITY there was of the realm of France.*

This was the cause, let us never forget it, the supreme cause of this revolution. As for the secondary causes, political interests, and human passions, we shall speak of them likewise: all must try their strength, charge up to the mark, succumb, and confess their impotence, thus paying homage to the great moral cause which alone rendered them efficacious.

CHAPTER II.

(SEQUEL.)

Charles VII.—Henry VI., 1422-1429—Siege of Orleans.

THE young king, brought up by the Armagnacs, found in them his chief support, and so shared their unpopularity. These Gascons were the most veteran soldiers in France, but the greatest and most cruel plunderers. The hatred they inspired in the north would have been sufficient to create there a Burgundian and English party. The brigands of the south seemed more of foreigners than the foreigners.

Charles VII. next made trial of the foreigners themselves, of those who had gained experience in the English wars. He called the Scotch to his aid. These were the most mortal enemies of England,

* Procès de la Pucelle, interrogatoire du 15 Mars 1431, p. 123 (ed. Buchon 1827.)

and their hatred might be relied on as much as their courage. The greatest hopes were built on these auxiliaries. A Scotchman was made Constable of France, another Count of Touraine. Notwithstanding, however, their incontestable bravery, they had often been beaten in England. They were not only beaten in France, at Crevant* and Verneuil (1423, 1424), but destroyed: the English took care that none of them escaped. It was asserted that the Gascons, out of jealousy against the Scotch, had not supported them.†

The English narrowly escaped giving Charles VII. an ally far more useful and important than the Scotch; I mean the Duke of Burgundy. There were two English governments—that of Gloucester, in London, and that of Bedford, in Paris; and so little concert was there between the two brothers, that at the selfsame time Bedford married the Duke of Burgundy's sister, and Gloucester was commencing war against him.‡ A word as to this romantic story.

The Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders, never thought himself secure of his Flanders, until he should have flanked it with Holland and Hainaut. These two counties had fallen into the hands of a girl, the Countess Jacqueline. The Duke of Burgundy married her to a cousin of his own, a sickly boy, hoping full surely that no issue would come of the marriage, and that the countess's inheritance would devolve on himself. Jacqueline, who was a handsome young woman, did not resign herself to so irksome a fate,§ but left her sorry mate, nimbly crossed the Straits, and herself proposed marriage to the Duke of Gloucester.‖ The English, who face the Low Countries, and have always had their eyes fixed on them, could not withstand the temptation. Gloucester committed the folly of accepting the proposal [1423]. He was a man of small mind, ambitious and incapable; he had formerly aspired to the throne of Naples; he saw his brother Bedford reigning in France, whilst in England his uncle the cardinal was reducing his protectorate to nothing. He espoused Jacqueline's cause, thus beginning against the Duke of Burgundy, the indispensable ally of the English, a war which, for the latter, was a question of actual existence, a war without treaty, in which the sovereign of Flanders would risk his last man. This was hazarding English France, and putting Bedford in peril; considerations, indeed, for which Gloucester cared little.

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* For the *mass of the victory* founded at Auxerre, and the curious privilege granted to the house of Chastellux, see Lebeuf, Hist. d'Auxerre, ii. 283: Mellin, Voyage, i. 163; Michelet, Origines du Droit, 485.

† Amelgard says (ii. 24, p. 27), that the French were consoled for the loss of the bloody battle of Verneuil, by the extermination of the Scotch.

‡ Bedford himself was not afraid to displease the Duke of Burgundy, by causing the parliament of Paris to annul a decision of the Flemish courts. Arch. Trés. des Chartes, 1423, April 30, i. 573.

§ Chastellain's charming though somewhat lengthy and somewhat romantic narrative is worth reading.

‖ She told Gloucester gaily that she wanted a husband and an heir. Vossius, Annal. Holl., xix. 528. Dujardin et Sellius, iii. 426.

The incensed Duke of Burgundy concluded a secret alliance with the Duke of Bretagne, and then he made two pecuniary demands on Bedford; 1. The dowry of his first wife, daughter of Charles VI., 100,000 crowns! 2. A pension of 20,000 crowns, which Henry V. had promised him as an inducement to recognise the latter's right to the crown.* What could Bedford do? He had no money; instead of it, he offered an inestimable possession, worth more than any sum of money, Peronne, Montdidier, and Roye, Tournai, St. Amand, and Mortaigne; that is to say, his whole barrier on the North. [September, 1423.]†

Bedford had always to pay for every new folly of Gloucester's. The latter, as Jacqueline's knight, challenged the Duke of Burgundy to single combat in 1424. This bravado had no other result than nearly causing Bedford's ruin. The bands of Charles VII. came and lodged themselves in the very heart of English France, in Normandy; a pitched battle was fought before they could be expelled. It took place on the 17th of August [1424, Verneuil]. In June, Bedford had regained the good-will of the Duke of Burgundy by an enormous concession, having pledged his eastern frontier to him, Bar sur Seine, Auxerre, and Mâcon.‡

All northern France was greatly in danger of thus falling bit by bit into the Duke of Burgundy's hand; but suddenly the wind shifted. The sapient Gloucester, in the midst of this war begun for Jacqueline, forgets that he has married her, forgets that at that very moment she is besieged in Bergues, and weds another, a fair Englishwoman.§ This new folly had the effect of an act of wisdom. The Duke of Burgundy consented to be reconciled to the English, and made a show of believing all Bedford told him; the essential thing for him was to be able to despoil Jacqueline, and occupy Hainaut, Holland, and afterwards Brabant, the succession to which could not but soon be opened.

Charles VII., therefore, derived little advantage from this event which seemed likely to be so profitable to him. The only benefit that accrued to him from it was, that the Count of Foix, Governor of Languedoc, comprehended that the Duke of Burgundy would sooner or later turn against the English, and declared that his conscience

* Arch. Trés. des Chartes, J. 249, 12 and 13, September, 1423.

† "Donnons, transportons, et délaissons les villes, chasteaulx et chastellenies de Peronne, Roye et Mondidier....la ville, cité, et bailliage de Tournay, Tournesis, Saint Amand, et Mortaigne." Ibid., September, 1423. Tournai, it is true, was not in the hands of the English, but the Duke of Burgundy undertook to reduce it.—The history of the republic of Tournai is yet to be written. See ibid., J, 528, 607, and Bibl. Roy. MSS. Collection d'Esnans, vol. c.

‡ The duke engaged to make restitution, "in case within the said space of two years he does not prove the sums due to him by the said king." Arch. T. des Chartes, J. 247, Juin, 1424.

§ Some English ladies presented a petition in favour of Jacqueline, to the House of Lords (Lingard, ann. 1425.) This popular scene, so solemnly burlesque, looks very much as if it had been got up by Winchester, to aggravate the scandal of the affair, and give the last blow to his nephew.

obliged him* to recognise Charles VII. as legitimate king. He placed Languedoc in subjection to him, with the clear understanding that the king should draw from it neither money† nor troops, and should not in anywise interfere with the little royalty which the Count of Foix had contrived for himself in that province.

The friendship of the houses of Anjou and Lorraine seemed to promise more direct advantage to the party of Charles VII. The head of the house of Anjou was then a woman, Queen Yolande, relict of Louis II., Duke of Anjou, Count of Provence, and pretender to the throne of Naples; she was the daughter of the King of Aragon, by a lady of Lorraine, of the house of Bar. The English having committed the egregious mistake of troubling the houses of Anjou and Aragon, as regarded their pretensions to the throne of Naples, Yolande formed against them an alliance of Anjou and Lorraine with Charles VII. She married her daughter to the young king, and her son Réné to the only daughter of the Duke of Lorraine.

The latter marriage seemed very difficult to bring about. Charles the Bold, Duke of Lorraine, had been a violent enemy of the houses of Orleans‡ and Armagnac; he had married the Duke of Burgundy's relation; and at the massacre of 1418 he had received the constable's sword from Jean sans Peur. In 1419 we find him suddenly changed, and become a foe to the Burgundians, and a thorough Frenchman.

To comprehend this miracle, it must be known, that in that everlasting warfare which filled up the whole existence of Lorraine in the middle ages,§ the two rival houses, Lorraine and Bar, had worn out their strength, and become nearly consumed. There remained of them but two old men, the Duke of Bar, an aged cardinal, and the Duke of Lorraine, whose only child was a daughter. The cardinal secured his duchy to his nephew Réné, and with a view to uniting together the whole country, sought for Réné the hand of the heiress of Lorraine, in the name of God and of peace. The duke, ruled

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* He applied for a written opinion on this point of law to the celebrated judge of Foix, the jurisconsult Rebourt, who after having maturely examined the respective rights of Charles VII. and Henry V., decided in favour of the former. Bibl. Roy. MSS. Doat, ccxiv., 34, 52, March 5, 1423,

† D. Vaissette, Hist. du Languedoc, iv. 474, ann. 1428.

‡ And of the royal house of France in general, with which he was always contending for the marches of Champagne. Charles the Bold made a will in 1408, excluding all Frenchmen from his inheritance. In 1412, irritated by a decree which the parliament dared to pronounce against him, he tied the king's pennon to his horse's tail, and trailed it after him. See the little story narrated by Juvenal to the honour of his father, the advocate-general, and the disgrace of the Dukes of Burgundy and Lorraine. Juv. des Ursins, 247.

§ Though constantly at war with France, these princes of Lorraine and Bar never missed an opportunity of dying for her ; whenever there was a great battle to be fought, they were sure to be with us. Their history is uniformly heroic : killed at Crécy, killed at Nicopolis, killed at Azincourt, &c. See D. Calmet, Hist. de Lorraine, ii., *passim*.

by a French mistress,* consented to bestow his daughter and his dominions on a French prince of that house of Bar, which had so long been an enemy of his own.

The English had contributed to this result by inflicting an insult of the sorest kind on the Duke of Lorraine. Henry V. had demanded his daughter in marriage,† and had wedded the daughter of the King of France, while at the same time he alarmed the duke by seeking to obtain possession of Luxembourg, in the close vicinity of Lorraine. The resentment of Charles the Bold became augmented when, in 1424, the Burgundians, the auxiliaries of the English, seized the town of Guise in Picardy, which belonged to him. Thereupon he assembled the estates of his duchy, and made them recognise Lorraine as a female fief, and his daughter, the wife of Réné of Anjou, as his heiress.

The greatness of the house of Anjou, and its close alliance with Charles VII., ought apparently to have strengthened the royal cause. But that house had too much to do in Lorraine and Italy. The selfish and politic Yolande wished to gain time, keep fair with the English, and not give them grounds for entering the patrimonial territories of the house of Anjou, at least not until her sons should have made good their footing in Lorraine and Naples.

She was, nevertheless, of service to her son-in-law, Charles VII. By her sage counsels she removed the old Armagnacs from about him; she had the address to win the Bretons back to him, and caused the constable's sword to be conferred on the Count of Richemont, brother of the Duke of Bretagne. Richemont accepted it only on condition that the king should dismiss from about him the murderers of the Duke of Burgundy.

It was the Bretons who had saved the kingdom in the time of Duguesclin. Charles VII., combining together the Bretons, Gascons, and Dauphinois, had thenceforth the real military strength of France on his side. Spain sent him Aragonese, Italy Lombards. But the war sped feebly for all that; money was wanting, and union still more so. The king's favourites frustrated Richemont's first enterprises; not, indeed, with impunity, for the stern Breton put to death two of them within six months, without form of trial.‡

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* Perhaps this mistress, who turned up so opportunely for the interests of the house of Anjou and Bar, was bestowed on the duke by the unscrupulous Yolande, just as she gave Agnes Sorel to her son-in-law (a rival to her own daughter!) She stimulated the young king through Agnes Sorel's counsels, and, perhaps, lulled the old Duke of Lorraine through those of the adroit Alizon. Alizon du May was of "very shameful" birth, says Calmet; but then she was beautiful, witty, and moreover very fruitful; in a few years she bore her old lover five children. So according to the chronicle, "she ruled the duke just as she pleased." Chr. de Lorraine, Preuves D. Calmet, last vol., p. xii.

† Id., Hist., &c., ii. 680.

‡ See the terrible story of the Sire de Giac, who poisoned his wife and then made her gallop till she was dead. When he was taken by Richemont, and was about to be killed, he begged they would first cut off one of his hands which he

Since a favourite was necessary to the king, he gave him one of his own choosing, young Trémouille,* and the first use the latter made of his ascendancy, was to dismiss Richemont. The king, strange to say, forbade his constable to fight for him; the king's men and Richemont's were on the point of drawing their swords against each other.

Thus Charles VII. found his cause less advanced than ever. He tried what he could do with the Gascons, the Scotch, and the Bretons, all brave men, all indisciplinable. Neither the coolness of the Duke of Burgundy towards the English, nor the apparent submission of Languedoc, nor the reconciliation of the houses of Anjou and Lorraine, had effectively strengthened his hands. His party seemed incurably divided, and for ever powerless.

The English, well acquainted with this disorganized condition of the enemy, judged the time suitable at last for forcing the barrier of the Loire, and drew round Orleans all their own disposable forces, and all they could procure.

These amounted on the whole to not more than 10,000 or 11,000 men;† but the assembling of even such a body was a great effort in the then state of their affairs. The Duke of Gloucester was keeping England disturbed by his quarrels with his uncle Cardinal Beaufort.‡ In France, Bedford could squeeze no money out of a country so completely ruined;§ and the great English lords and their men were only to be attracted thither or retained by incessantly bestowing on them fresh grants of lands and fiefs,‖ and thus continually increasing the dissatisfaction of the French nobility. The Parisian chronicler remarks, that at this time there were scarcely any French gentlemen left in the English party; all had gradually gone over to the other side.

The English army seemed scanty in numbers for such a task as inclosing Orleans and blockading the Loire; but at least they were the best soldiers the English had ever had in France, and they made up for the want of numbers by prodigious engineering works. They formed round the town, not a continuous inclosure as Edward III.

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had given to the devil, lest with that hand the devil should carry off his whole body. Hist. d'Arthur de Richemont, Collect. Petitot, viii. 445.

* The king said to him: "You give him to me, fair cousin, but you will repent of it; for I know him better than you." Ibid., 440.

† According to a very probable estimate. Jollois, Hist. du Siége d'Orleans. 45, 4to, 1833.

‡ They were on the point of giving battle to each other in the streets of London. See the cardinal's warlike letter. Turner, Hist. Eng. ii. 500,

§ Ten thousand marks promised to the English garrison of Picardy and Calais, out of the ransom of the king of Scotland, the duty on wool, &c. Bibl. Roy. MSS. Bréguigny, 58, ann. 1426, July 25.

‖ M. Berriat Saint Prix (Hist. de Jeanne d'Arc, 159) has collected from the Trésor des Chartes the amount of the gifts in land, annual revenues, &c., made within a few years by the Duke of Bedford to the English lords, Warwick, Salisbury, Talbot, Falstoff, Arundel, and Suffolk; Bedford did not forget himself.

had done round Calais, but a series of bastilles, capable of commanding the spaces between them. The plan of these works, which an accomplished engineer has laid down from the reports of the time, is really formidable.*

Each bastille was commanded by one of the first lords of England; those in the direction of Beauec by the Earl of Salisbury, the commander of the siege, the Suffolks, and the bravest of the brave, old Lord Talbot. The strong and triple fortress on the south, beyond the Loire, at the most dangerous point, was commanded by a less known, but a determined man, William Glasdale, a furious enemy of France, who had sworn if he entered the town that he would kill all within it, men, women, and children.† The very name of these English forts plainly enough bespoke the firm resolution not to abandon the siege happen what might. One was called Paris, another Rouen, another London. What a shame it would have been for the English to surrender London!

These bastilles were not mute fortresses but, as it were, living enemies, who, along with abuse and bravadoes, poured into the town volleys of stone balls, weighing from 120 to 160 pounds.

Other more remote bastilles were the fortified places of the neighbourhood; Montargis, Rochefort, Le Puiset, Beaugency, Meung, which the besiegers had secured by way of preliminary, and which were become English fortresses.

Orleans was worth these great efforts. It was not only the centre of France, the elbow of the Loire, and the key to the south—these advantages are those pertaining to its situation; but as regards the population itself, it was the very life and heart of a party. At the time when the ravages of the Armagnacs made all the towns go over to the Burgundian party, Orleans remained steadfast. When the reaction against that party took place in Paris, it was to Orleans the princes sent the wives and children of the fugitives whom they wished to detain as hostages.

The burghers exhibited extraordinary zeal. They consented without difficulty to let their faubourgs be burned, that is to say, a whole town larger than the town proper, and I know not how many convents and churches,‡ which would have been so many posts for the English. Nor were they merely passive in their zeal; they taxed themselves and cast cannons; and though their franchises dispensed them from receiving a garrison, they asked for one, and received all that were sent to them, 4000 or 5000 soldiers of all nations, Gascons (Saintraille, La Hire, Albret), Italians (Signore Valperga),

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* Jollois, Hist. du Siége d'Orleans, 24—40. See particularly the maps and plans.

† Chronique de la Pucelle, ed. Buchon, 1827, p. 286.

‡ St. Aignan, St. Michel, St. Michel des Fossés, St. Avit, St. Victor, the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, the Carmelites, St. Mathurin, St. Loup, St. Marc, &c. &c. L'Hist. et Discours au vray du Siége, etc., Orleans, 1606, p. 9.

Aragonese (Don Mathias and Don Coaraze), Scotch (a Stuart), lastly, the Bastard of Orleans, and sixty pieces of artillery.

There were some Lorrainians, sent perhaps by the Duke of Lorraine, or by his son-in-law young Réné of Anjou, Duke of Bar.

Orleans saw itself besieged with heroic cheerfulness. The English not having been able to close the approaches on the side of la Sologne, provisions continually arrived in the town, on one occasion 900 swine. The inhabitants laughed at the English balls, which seldom killed; it was positively asserted, that a ball had taken off a man's shoe without hurting his foot. The cannon of Orleans, on the contrary, did wonders; they had terrible names; one of them was called *Riflard* (sweep-clean).* Among them, too, was the celebrated culverin of a skilful Lorrainian cannoneer, Maître Jean; the two, man and culverin, made the finest hits. The English came at last to know this Maître Jean; he never ceased killing them except to make game of them; from time to time he would drop down and pretend to be dead: his body was carried off into the town; the English were in ecstasy, when, behold, back he would come, alive and merry, and fire upon them worse than ever.†

Fiddlers were not wanting. The townspeople sent some to the English to diminish their spleen during the tedious winter time. Dunois also sent Suffolk a good furred cloak in return for a plate of figs.‡

What made the Orleans men still more merry was, that one day when Salisbury, the commander-in-chief, was visiting the forts, Glasdale pointed out Orleans to him, and said, "My lord, you see your town."§ He looked, but saw nothing, for a ball closed up his eye and carried off part of his head. The shot had come from a tower called *Notre Dame;* now, Salisbury had recently pillaged Notre Dame de Cléry.‖

The siege continued with various success from the 12th of October, 1428, to the 12th of February, 1429, with sundry episodes in the way of *sorties*, feigned attacks, conflicts about provision entering the town, and even duels, to amuse the two parties and try their respective mettle. Once, there were two Gascons matched against two Englishman and our men had the advantage. Another day, the pages of the two armies fought; the English pages gained the day. Six Frenchmen presented themselves at the English bastilles to joust, but the challenge was not accepted.

They went on slowly completing their fortifications, and it was to be foreseen, that the town would be at last almost entirely shut in. However careless the king might appear about saving the appanage of the Duke of Orleans, it was clear, that once that city had fallen,

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* Ibid., 12. † Ibid., 13. ‡ Ibid., 12, 48.

§ Chroniques de France dicte de St. Denis, imp. à Paris, par Anthoine Verard, 1493, iii. 143. According to Grafton, this lucky shot was fired by a child, the son of the gunner who had gone to dinner. Grafton, 531.

‖ L'Hist. et Discours, &c., 6, 8.

the English would advance unhindered into Poitou, Berri, and the Bourbonnais, would live at the expense of those provinces, and ruin the south after having ruined the north. The Duke of Bourbon sent his eldest son, the Count of Clermont, under whom some Scotch forces and some lords of Touraine, Poitou, and Auvergne were to succour Orleans, cast provisions into it, and even hinder the arrival of provisions in the English camp. The Duke of Bedford sent a supply from Paris under the conduct of the brave Sir John Falstoff; and he had availed himself of the old Cabochien enmity of Paris to Orleans, to add to his English detachment a considerable number of Parisian arblast men, and the provost of Paris himself.* They took with them 300 waggonloads of provisions, particularly herrings, an article indispensable in Lent. Troops and waggons all marched in narrow file, and nothing could have been easier than to break their line and destroy them. The Gascon La Hire, who was in advance of the French, burned with impatience to fall upon them, but received express orders not to do so from the prince, who was advancing slowly with the main body of his force. Meanwhile, the English had taken the alarm, and Falstoff had drawn his men together under cover of the waggons and a line of sharp stakes which these provident English always carried with them. The English archers were posted on the right, the Parisian arblast men on the left. In spite of all the Count of Clermont could say, his men were carried away by their impetuous rancour; the Scotch leaped from their saddles to fight the English on foot, and the Armagnac Gascons rushed upon their old enemies the Parisians; but the latter stood their ground. The Scotch and Gascons having thus broken their ranks, the English issued from behind their temporary ramparts, pursued them, and killed three or four hundred. The Count of Clermont remained immovable. La Hire was so furious, that he turned back upon the English who dispersed in the pursuit, and killed some of them.

The count's party had to return to Orleans after this unlucky engagement, to which the Orleanese, always satirical, gave the name of the *battle of the herrings;* in fact, the balls had burst the barrels; and the field was strewn with herrings more than with the slain.

Slight as was this check, it discouraged every one. The most knowing hastened to quit a town that seemed lost. The young Count of Clermont had the weakness to withdraw with his 2000 men; the Admiral and the Chancellor of France thought it would be a sad thing if the king's great officers should be taken by the English, and they too departed.

As the men-at-arms no longer hoped for human aid, and the priests did not reckon very confidently on divine succour, the Archbishop of Rheims took himself off, and the Bishop even of Orleans left his flock, to defend themselves as they could.†

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* Ibid., 33. Bourgeois de Paris, ed. Buchon, xv. 380.

† L'Hist. et Disc., 46.

They all went away on the 18th of February, assuring the burghers that they would soon return in strength. Nothing could stay them. The Bastard of Orleans, who with equal skill and valour defended the appanage of his house, had in vain been telling them since the 12th, that a miraculous succour should be looked for, that a daughter of God, who promised to save the town, was coming from the Marches of Lorraine. The archbishop, an ex-secretary of the Pope,* and an old diplomatist, paid little heed to this talk about miracles.

Dunois himself did not reckon so exclusively on aid from on high, as to neglect employing a very human and very politic means against the English. He sent Santrailles to the Duke of Burgundy, to beg him, as a relation of the Duke of Orleans, to take the latter's town into his keeping. The duke, Philip the Good, had just become master (in addition to the strong position of Namur) of Hainaut and Holland, those two wings of Flanders, his possession of which the English so injudiciously disputed. He was now asked to accept the grand and important possession of the centre of France, and he did not refuse the offer. He went straight to Paris, and told the affair to Bedford, who answered drily that he had not toiled for the Duke of Burgundy's behoof.† The latter, much offended, recalled all the troops he had at the siege of Orleans.

We know not whether the English lost many men by the departure of the Burgundians. They had just completed their works round the city. The Burgundians marched off on the 17th of April; on the 15th the English had finished their last fort on the Beauce side, that which they called Paris; and on the 20th, they completed that of St. Jean le Blanc, on the Sologne side, which blockaded the Upper Loire, whence the inhabitants of Orleans had, until then, derived their supplies.

Supplies arriving with difficulty, discontent began in the town; many no doubt were of opinion that the town had made quite enough sacrifices for the sake of its lord, and that it was better Orleans should become English than cease to be. Things did not stop there. It was discovered that a hole had been made in the wall of the town; treachery was manifestly at work.

Besides all this, Dunois could expect no help from Charles VII. The Estates, assembled in 1428, had voted money and summoned the tenants of fiefs to fulfil their feudal duties. Neither money nor men had arrived. The receiver-general had but four crowns in his chest.‡ When Dunois sent La Hire to ask for aid, the King, who made him sit down to dinner with him, had nothing, it was said,

* John XXIII.; chancellor of France since 1425. Gallia Christiana, ix. 135.

† "Saying that he would be very sorry to have beaten the bushes that others might have the birds." Jean Chartier, 18.

‡ "Nisi quatuor scuta." Deposition of the receiver's widow, Marguerite la Touroulde, Procès MS. de la Pucelle. Révision.

to give him except a chicken and a sheep's tail.* Whatever be the truth of this anecdote, the desperate situation of Charles VII. is proved by the exorbitant offer he had made the Scotch, of ceding Berri to them as the price of a fresh succour.†

We are not well acquainted with the intrigues that divided the little court of Charles. The divisions in it had naturally augmented in this its extreme distress. The old Armagnac advisers, whom Richemont and the king's mother-in-law had for awhile removed, were in the way to regain their credit. That southern party would have been well pleased to have a king of the south holding his court at Grenoble.‡ The Duchess of Anjou, the king's mother-in-law, on the contrary, could not preserve Anjou if the English definitively passed the Loire. So far there was a community of interests between her and the house of Orleans. But the house of Anjou had so many other interests, so various and divergent, that she thought it expedient always to keep on fair terms with the English, and to negotiate perpetually. When the defence of Orleans appeared to be desperate (May, 1429), the old Cardinal de Bar hastened to treat with Bedford, in the name of his nephew, Réné of Anjou, lest he should lose the inheritance of Lorraine, calculating that Réné could disavow his proceedings, should the affairs of Charles VII. at any future time assume another aspect.§

The impending ruin of Orleans had frightened the other towns of the Loire. The nearest, Angers, Tours, and Bourges, sent provisions to the besieged; Poctiers and La Rochelle, money; then, when the alarm increased, the Bourbonnais, Auvergne, and even Languedoc sent the Orleanists saltpetre, sulphur, and steel.‖

Gradually all France became interested in the fate of one town, and moved with sympathy for the brave resistance of the men of Orleans and their fidelity to their lord. Orleans was pitied; so too was its duke. What! the English were not satisfied with keeping him a prisoner all his life, but they would take away his appanage, and ruin him and his children. This new calamity revived the memory of the many other misfortunes of that house; there was not a man but had sung in his childhood the laments which were then current on the death of Louis of Orleans.¶ The captive

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* Vigiles de Charles VII., par Martial de Paris. This rhymed chronicle is said to have become so popular that it was even sung in the country parts.

† Treaty of November 10, 1428, Barante, v. 256, 3d ed. Dupuy asserts that the county of Saintonge was given to the King of Scotland and his heirs male, to hold in homage and peerage of France. Bibl. Roy. MS. Dupuy, 337, November, 1428.

‡ Thomassin alleges that the council had determined the king to retire into Dauphiné. It must not be forgotten that Thomassin was a Dauphinois, one of the advisers of the dauphin Louis (XI.).

§ Archives T. des Chartes, J. 582.

‖ Jollois has published the receipts (p. 52) Archives de la Ville d'Orleans, comptes de la commune, ann. 1428-9.

¶ Cantilenas lugubres super morte dolorosâ et à proditoribus nephandis pro-

Charles of Orleans could not defend his town, but his ballads crossed the Straits and prayed for him.

It is a touching fact and honourable to human nature, that amidst the most terrible distresses, desolation, and famine, when wolves kept possession of the fields, when, as a contemporary says, there was not a house left standing outside the towns, from Picardy to Germany; the people had still a feeling left for the woes of others; it bestowed its pity on a captive prince, a poet, the son of a murdered man, and himself doomed to the life-long death of captivity and exile.*

These compassionate sentiments prevailed especially among the women. Less swayed by interest, they are more true to misfortune. In general, they were not politic enough to bear the foreign yoke with resignation; they remained good Frenchwomen. Duguesclin knew there was nothing more French in France than the women, when he said, "There is not a spinner in France but will spin for my ransom."

One of the first examples of resistance had been set by a woman, the lady of La Rocheguyon, who long defended that fortress, her property, and who, when forced to surrender it, refused to do homage for it to the English. The latter dared to propose to her that she should marry a traitor, Guy Bouteillier, who had betrayed Rouen; they wished to place a man of their own in the important fortress of La Rocheguyon. He had the fortress but not the lady, who chose rather to resign all, and depart in poverty with her children.†

The women had remained, the priests again became, French. They had come at last to perceive that, with all their fine show of deference to the Church,‡ the English were its real enemies. After having endeavoured to tax the Church of England, Bedford made upon that of France the exorbitant demand that it should give up to the king,

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ditorei perpetrata. Relig. 878. It is true that laments were also composed on the death of the Duke of Burgundy. We read in a letter of grace that a canon of Reims, finding one of these laments at the end of a genealogy of Henry VI., took out his knife in a fit of passion, and cut off the verses; the king forgave him on condition of his making by way of expiation, "two handsomer tablets, which shall be fixed with iron holdfasts, the one in the town of Reims, the other in its syndic house." Archives, T. des Chartes, Regis., clxxiii. 676, ann. 1427.

* This popular sentiment was vividly expressed by the Maid of Orleans, who said it was her mission to deliver not only Orleans, but *the Duke of Orleans.* Procès, deposition of the Duke d'Alençon. Notices des MSS., iii. 366.

† Monstrelet, iv. 176. It is just to add that the women were not alone in that resistance. Monstrelet speaks of the brave brigand Tabary (iv. 112); the Bourgeois mentions a *roturier* captain of St. Denis, who was killed by those who envied him (ed. Buchon, 241); the Religieux names the Norman Braquemont, who with the fleet of Castile defeated that of the English (MS. Baluze, iv. 159); and lastly, he relates that Jean Bigot, a Norman, when Henry V. was in the height of his prosperity and seemed invincible, collected some men, killed four hundred English, and sent their flags to Notre Dame de Paris, that the Englishman, when he made his entrance there, might see his own banners. Ibid., iv. 147.

‡ Bedford had procured himself the title of canon of the cathedral of Rouen. Deville, Descr. des Tombeaux de Rouen.

for the necessities of the war, all the possessions and revenues that had been bestowed upon it within the last *forty* years. These two proposals brought mischief upon the English. They succeeded to the reputation for impiety under which the Armagnacs had laboured. The pillage of some churches made them the objects of the people's execration.*

The greatness of the Lancasters had no solid basis; it rested on two falsehoods. In England they had said: "We ask nothing of the Church but its prayers," and they wanted to lay hold on the wealth of the Church. In France they had said: "We are the true heirs of the throne, usurped since Philip of Valois; we are the true kings of France, we are French." Such an expression might have deceived, coming from the lips of Edward III., who was a Frenchman by the mother's side, and who spoke French. But it happened curiously enough that it was precisely upon the accession of Henry V., that the House of Commons began to embody its acts in English.† When these pretended Frenchmen did us the favour to use our language,‡ they so mauled and disfigured it, that they seemed as much foes to the language as to the nation.

Notwithstanding all this, the English had one thing in their favour, namely, that their young king, Henry VI., was certainly a Frenchman by the mother's side, and grandson of Charles VI., whom he resembled but too much as regarded the weakness of his mind. The legitimacy of Charles VII., on the other hand, was very doubtful; he was born in 1403, in the high-tide of his mother's intercourse with the Duke of Orleans; and she herself had acquiesced in the acts in which he was called *soi-disant* dauphin. Henry VI. had not yet been crowned at Reims, but neither had Charles VII. The people in those days recognised a king but by two things, royal birth, and the crown placed on his head with the Church's solemn sanction. Charles VII. was not king according to religion, nor was he sure that he was so according to nature. This question, of no moment for politicians of that class who decide after their own interests, was everything for the people, who are willing to obey only the right.

A woman had obscured this great question of right, and by a woman it was cleared up.

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* The English government was very harsh, as we see even from the pardons granted by it:—remission to a schoolmaster of a fine of thirty-two gold crowns he had incurred, *for having reared the son of an Armagnac* (Arch. T. des Chartes, J. reg. clxxiii. 19, 1424); letters of pardon to a monk, who had afforded *surgical aid to a wounded Armagnac* (ibid., 692, 1427); to a student *who had studied law at Angers* (ibid., 689); to two brothers who had been *visited* by an Armagnac man-at-arms; he had got into their dwelling through a window to assault them (ibid., reg. clxxv. 197, 1432); life granted to a mason of Rouen, who had said, that if the dauphin recovered the town, there were means to hinder the English in the castle from making sorties (ibid., clxxiv. 14, 1424).

† A. Thierry, Hist. de la Conquête, iv. 279, ed. 1826. Hallam, Europe during the Middle Ages.

‡ See *suprà*, p. 481 note.

CHAPTER III.

The Maid of Orleans (La Pucelle), 1429.

THE originality of the Maid of Orleans, and what determined her success, was not so much her valour or her visions, as her good sense. Through all her enthusiasm, this daughter of the people saw the question clearly, and was able to solve it.

She cut the knot which the politic and the men of little faith could not untie. She declared, in God's name, that Charles VII. was the true heir, and she set him at ease as to his legitimacy, of which he himself had doubts. That legitimacy she sanctified, taking her king straight to Reims, and gaining over the English, by the celerity of her movements, the decisive advantage of the coronation.

It was not very unusual to see women take up arms. They often fought in sieges,* witness the thirty women wounded at Amiens,† and also Jeanne Hachette. In the time of the Maid, and in the same years, the women of Bohemia were fighting against the men, in the wars of the Hussites.‡

Neither, I repeat, did the Maid's originality consist in her visions. Who was without such in the middle ages? Even in that prosaic fifteenth century, excessive suffering had strained men's minds to a singularly intensive pitch. In Paris we see one friar Richard stirring up the whole people by his sermons to such a degree, that the English expelled him at last from the town.§ The Breton Carmelite, Conecta, was listened to at Courtrai and Arras by masses of 15,000 or 20,000 men.‖ In the space of a few years before and after the Maid, all the provinces had their inspired beings. Pierette, a Breton woman, converses with Jesus Christ.¶ Here we have a Maria d'Avignon,** there a Catharine de la Rochelle;†† elsewhere a little shepherd brought by Saintrailles from his native place, who has stigmata on his feet and hands,‡‡

* The examples are innumerable. Let us mention only the two Dames de Lalaing (1452, 1581). The second of them defended Tournai against the greatest captain of the sixteenth century, the Prince of Parma. Reiffenberg, notes to the Belgian edition (6th) of Barante, v. 341.

† See vol. i.

‡ "And the women took up arms like devils, full of all cruelties, and several of them were found dead in the engagements." Monstrelet, iv. 366.

§ Bourg. de Paris, xv. 119—22, D'Artigny, Voltaire, and Beaumarchais supposed that this Richard might have taught Joan of Arc her lesson. See the peremptory refutation by M. Berriat St. Prix, in his Hist. de la Pucelle, 242.

‖ Meyer, Annales rerum Flandricarum, 271.

¶ De Bretaigne bretonnant. Bourg. de Paris, xv. 134, 1430.

** Notices des MSS., iii. 347. †† Procès, ed. Buchon, 1827, 87.

‡‡ Journal du Bourgeois, xv. 411, 1430. Jean Chartier, 47.

and sweats blood on holidays, like the *béate de Tyrol* of the present day.*

Lorraine would seem to be one of the last provinces in which such a phenomenon might have been expected to present itself. The Lorrainers are brave fighting men, but much addicted to intrigue and craft. If the great Guise saved France before he became the disturber of her peace, it was not by visions he did so. We find two Lorrainers at the siege of Orleans, and both of them display the facetious temperament of their witty fellow-countryman, Callot. One of them was Maître Jean, the gunner, who shammed death so cleverly; the other, a knight, who was taken prisoner by the English and loaded with chains, and who, after their departure, returned pickaback on an English monk.†

La Lorraine des Vosges, indeed, is of a more sedate character. This elevated part of France, whence rivers flow down on all sides to all the seas, was covered with forests so vast, that the Carlovingians esteemed them the most suitable for their imperial hunts. In their glades rose the venerable abbeys of Luxeuil and Remiremont; the latter governed, as we know, by an abbess who was a princess of the Holy Empire, had her officers and a whole feudal court, and had her feudal sword carried naked before her by her seneschal. The Duke of Lorraine had for a long while been the vassal of this female sovereign.

It was at Dom Remy, just between Lorraine of the Vosges and that of the plain, between Lorraine and Champagne, that the beautiful and brave girl was born, who was to wield the sword of France so well. There are four places of the name of Dom Remy along the Meuse, within a circle of three leagues, three of them belonging to the diocese of Toul, and one to that of Langres.‡ Probably these four villages belonged, in more ancient times, to the domains of the abbey of St. Remy de Reims.§ It is well known that our great abbeys had, in the Carlovingian times, possessions still more remote in Provençe, Germany, and England.‖

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* See the Christian Mysticism of J. Goerres and Guido Goerres' articles in the Historisch-politische Blaetter, Munich, 1839. However remote the point of view of these two illustrious writers may be from ours, we owe the most serious attention to facts so curious and so conscientiously observed.

† Hist. au vray du Siége, 92, ed. 1606.

‡ There is also another Dom Remy, but further from the Meuse.

§ A diploma of the year 1090 reckons Dom Remy la Pucelle among the possessions of the abbey. Verin, Archives admin. de Reims, 242. This estate was afterwards alienated; but the village priest seems for a long while to have been nominated by the monastery of St. Remy. (Varin, from D. Martel, Hist. MS. de Reims.) The fact is more important than it seems. The Maid of Orleans having been born in an old fief of St. Remy, we can understand why Reims and the coronation became the leading ideas of her mission. She called Charles VII. only *dauphin* until he had been crowned.

‖ See, among other works, M. Varin's erudite introduction. Arch. de Reims, xxiii.

This line of the Meuse is the March of Lorraine and Champagne, the object of so much contention between the king and the duke. Joan's father, Jacques Darc,* was a worthy Champenois.† Joan no doubt took after her father; she had none of the Lorrainian asperity, but rather the gentleness of Champagne, its simplicity mingled with sense and acuteness, as you find it in Joinville.

A few generations earlier, Joan would have come into the world as the serf of the abbey of St. Remy; one century earlier, as the serf of the Sire de Joinville, who was lord of the town of Vaucouleurs, on which the village of Dom Remy was dependent. But in 1335 the king obliged the Joinvilles to cede Vaucouleurs to him.‡ It was then on the great highway from Champagne to Lorraine, the direct road to Germany, and not only so, but also the central point where these routes, and those leading along the Meuse, crossed each other. It was, so to speak, the frontier of the parties; there was near Dom Remy a last village of the Burgundian party; all the rest was for Charles VII.

This March of Lorraine and Champagne had in all times suffered cruelly from war; in the long war between the east and the west, between the king and the duke, for the possession of Neufchâteau and the adjoining places; then in the war of the north and south, between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs. The recollection of these merciless wars has never been effaced. Not long ago there was to be seen near Neufchâteau an old tree of ill-omened name, the branches of which had no doubt borne many a human fruit: *The Oak of the Partisans.*

The poor people of the marches had the honour of being direct subjects of the king; that is to say, they belonged in reality to no one, no one sustained or cared for them; they had no lord, no protector, but God. A population thus situated is serious and thoughtful; it knows that it can be sure of nothing, neither of property nor of life. It sows, and the soldier reaps. Nowhere does the peasant concern himself more anxiously about the affairs of the country; no one has a greater interest in them than he, so painfully is he affected by the slightest shocks. He is continually inquiring, pondering, and forecasting; at the same time he is prepared to endure whatever may befal; he is patient and brave. The women even become so; they have good need to be so, amidst all those soldiers, if not for their lives, at least for their honour, like the comely and robust Dorothea of Göthe.

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* This is the orthography observed by Jean Hordal, the descendant of a brother of the Maid. Hordal, Johannæ Darc Historia, 1612, 4to. This being the case, the name can hardly be derived from that of the village of Arc.

† Of Montier en Der. A German is said to have lately found means to give this family an illustrious Italian origin.

‡ Charles VI. annexed it inseparably to the crown in 1365. There are still to be seen in Champagne, near Vaucouleurs, great stones set up by the Emperor Albert and Philip the Fair, to serve as landmarks of their empires. Dict. géogr. de Vosgien, chanoine de Vaucouleurs, ed. 1767. Lebrun de Carmettes, i. 323.

Joan or Jeanne was the third daughter of a peasant,* Jacques *Darc*, and of Isabelle of *Romée*.† She had two godmothers, one of whom was named *Jeanne*, the other *Sibylle*. The eldest son having been named *Jacques* (James), another *Pierre* (Peter), the pious parents gave one of their daughters the more exalted name of St. John (*Jean*).‡

Whilst the other children accompanied their father in his field work or tended cattle, the mother kept Joan at home for sewing or spinning.§ She did not learn to read or write, but she knew all her mother could teach her of sacred things.‖ She acquired religion not as a lesson or a ceremony, but in the homely popular form of a winter's night's tale, as the simple faith of a mother. What we thus imbibe with the milk we suck and with our growing blood, is a living thing, is life itself.

Respecting Joan's piety we have a touching testimony, that of Haumette, her bosom friend and companion from childhood, three or four years her junior. "Many's the time," she says, "I have been at her father's, and have slept with her out of fondness for her.¶ She was a very good girl, simple and gentle; she loved to frequent the churches and sacred places. She used to spin and attend to the business of the house like other girls. . . She often confessed. She used to blush when they told her she was too devout and went too much to church." A labouring man who was examined stated

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* Three sculptured escutcheons are still to be seen over the door of the cottage in which Joan Darc resided; that of Louis XI., who had the cottage embellished; that which was, no doubt, conferred on one of her brothers with the surname of Du Lis; and a third, in which there is a star with *three ploughshares*, to signify the Maid's mission and the humble condition of her parents. Vallet Mém. adressée à l'Institut Historique sur le nom de famille de la Pucelle.

† The name *Romée* was often assumed in the middle ages by those who had made the pilgrimage to Rome.

‡ This baptismal name is that of a great number of celebrated men of the middle ages: John of Parma (supposed author of the Everlasting Gospel), John Fidenza (St. Bonaventure), Jean Gerson, Jean Petit, Jean d'Occam, John Huss, John Calvin, &c. It seems to bespeak a sort of mystical tendency in those families that bestowed it on their children. The selection of a name is a matter of singular importance in all religious ages (See Michelet, Origines du Droit), *à fortiori* among the Christians of the middle ages, who placed the child under the patronage of the saint whose name he bore. I have already spoken in Book iii. of the name of John, and in Book vii. of the opposition between John and James.

§ Being asked had she learned any art or trade, she said yes, and that her mother had taught her to sew, and that she did not think there was any woman in Rouen who could teach her more in that way [than she knew]. She did not go to the fields to tend the sheep or other beasts.—Since she grew up and had sense, she did not tend them..... whether she did so in her youth or not, she does not remember." Procès, interrog. du 22 et 24 Févr. 1431, 58, 69 ed. Buchon, 1827. Joan's own testimony should, I think, be preferred to that of the witnesses on the second trial, who moreover deposed so long after the events.

‖ "That no one but her mother taught her her belief." Ibid.

¶ "Stetit et jacuit amorosè in domo patris sui." Dép. de Haumette, Procès MS. de Révision.

that she used to tend the sick and give to the poor. "I know it well," he said, "I was a child then, and it was she that tended me."

Every body knew her charity and her piety. They saw clearly she was the best girl in the village. What they did not know was, that in her the life from above always absorbed the other life, and suppressed all vulgar development. Hers was the divine gift to remain a child in soul and body. She grew up, became strong and comely, but never knew the physical miseries of her sex.* They were spared her, to the advantage of her mental growth and religious inspiration. Born under the very walls of the church, with the sound of its bells for her lullaby, and her spirit nurtured on legends, she was herself a legend, brief and pure from birth to death.

She was a living legend. But the vital force, thus exalted and concentrated, nevertheless became creative. The girl unconsciously *created*, so to speak, and realised her own ideas; she made them actual beings, and imparted to them, from the treasury of her virgin life, a splendid and all-powerful existence, such as eclipsed the miserable realities of this world.

If *poetry* means *creation*, here was undoubtedly the highest poetry. We must see by what degrees, and from what humble beginnings she reached that lofty goal.

Humble indeed, but already poetic. Her village was close on the verge of the great forests of the Vosges. From the door of her father's dwelling she looked on the old *oak wood*.† The fairies haunted that wood; their favourite spot was a certain fountain near a great ash called the fairies' tree, or the tree of *the ladies*.‡ The children used to hang garlands on it and sing to it. These, somewhile ladies and mistresses of the forest, could no longer, it was said, assemble at the fountain; they had been excluded from it for their sins.§ The church, however, always retained a jealous fear of the old local divinities, and the curé used to go once every year and read a mass at the fountain in order to drive them away.

Joan was born amidst these legends and popular dreams. But the country presented besides another kind of poetry, savage, atrocious, and, alas! too real, the poetry of war. War! That word alone embodies all emotions. It does not, indeed, every day bring havoc and pillage, but its most constant horrors are rather fearful expectation—the tocsin, the sudden startling from sleep, and the dull red glare of conflagration rising afar over the plain. A terrible but poetic condition! The most prosaic of men, the lowland Scotch, were poets amid the hazards of the Border; from that cheerless desert, which still seems accursed, sprang the wild and hardy flowers of ballad poetry.

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* "Has heard from many women that the said Maid.....had never had...." Deposition of her old esquire, Jean Daulon. Procès MS. de Révision.

† "Que on voit de l'huys de son père." Procès, 24 Févr. 1431, p. 71.

‡ Ibid., 69.

§ "Propter eorum peccata." Procès de Révision, Dép. de Béatrix.

Joan had her share in the romantic adventures of those restless times. She saw poor fugitives arrive in the hamlet, and the kind-hearted girl assisted towards their reception, gave up her bed to them, and lay down in the hayloft. Her kindred, too, were once obliged to save themselves by flight. Then, when the inundation of brigands had passed off, the family returned and found the village sacked, the house devastated, and the church burned down.

Thus she knew what war meant. She understood that anti-Christian state of things, and adhorred that reign of the devil, in which every man died in mortal sin. She asked herself, would God always allow this? would he not put an end to these miseries? would he not send a liberator, a Gideon, or a Judith, as he had so often done for Israel? She knew that the people of God had more than once been saved by a woman, and that He had said that the woman should bruise the serpent. She had seen St. Margaret with St. Michael, in the sculptures on the portico of the church, trampling the dragon under foot.* If, as every one said, the ruin of the kingdom was the work of a woman, an unnatural mother, it might be that its salvation should proceed from a girl. This very fact was foretold in one of Merlin's prophecies, a prophecy which, variously enriched and modified in the several provinces, had become thoroughly Lorrainian in the country of Joan Darc. It was a girl of the Marches of Lorraine that was to save the realm.† The prophecy had probably received this embellishment, in consequence of the recent marriage of Réné of Anjou with the heiress of the Duchy of Lorraine, which was in reality a very fortunate event for France.

One summer's day, a fast day, Joan, being in the garden at noon with her father, close by the church,‡ saw a dazzling light in that direction, and heard a voice saying, "Be a good child, Joan, and go often to church." The poor girl was greatly frightened.

Another time she again heard the voice and saw the light; but now she discerned in it noble figures, one of which had wings and seemed a sage counsellor. He said to her, "Joan, go to the aid of the King of France, and thou wilt restore him to his kingdom." She answered, trembling all over, "My Lord, I am but a poor girl; I cannot ride the war-horse,§ nor lead men-at-arms." The voice replied, "Thou shalt go to M. de Baudricourt, Captain of Vaucouleurs, and he will take thee before the king. St. Catherine

* See the Acts of the Bollandists, July 20. The devil appears to St. Margaret under the form of a dragon, which she puts to flight with the sign of the cross. She escapes from her husband's house in man's attire: Tonsis crinibus in virili habitu. Legenda aurea Sanctorum, c. 97, ed. 1489.

† This Maid was to come from the Bois *Chenu;* now there was a wood so called close by Joan Darc's village: Quòd debebat venire puella ex quodam nemore *canuto* ex partibus Lotharingiæ. First witness at Rouen inquest, Notices des MSS., iii. 347.

‡ Procès, 22 Févr. § Ibid.

and St. Margaret will be with thee to help thee." She remained stupified and in tears, as if she had already beheld her whole future destiny.

The sage counsellor was none other than St. Michael, the stern archangel of judgment and battle. He returned again, cheered her courage, "and related to her the pity there was in the realm of France."* Then came the white figures of female saints, surrounded with innumerable lights, their heads adorned with rich crowns, their voices sweet and melting even to tears. But Joan wept above all when the saints and angels left her. "I should have been very glad," she said, "if the angels had taken me away with them."†

If she wept in moments of so great blessedness, it was not without reason. Beautiful and glorious as were these visions, her life was changed from the instant she first beheld them. She, who until then had heard but one voice, her mother's, of which her own was the echo, now heard the mighty voices of angels! And what did the heavenly voice command? That she should forsake that mother, that dear home of her childhood. She, whom a single word disconcerted,‡ was now to go among men, to talk with men, with soldiers. She was to quit, for the great world and for war, that little garden under the shadow of the church, where she heard only its bells;§ and where the birds ate out of her hand. For such was the alluring atmosphere of gentleness that encompassed the young saint, the animals and the birds of the air approached her,‖ as of yore she gathered round the Fathers of the Desert, in the confidence of God's peace.

Joan has told us nothing of the first inward conflict she sustained; but it is evident it took place, and endured a long while, since five years elapsed between her first vision and her departure from the home of her parents.

The two authorities, the parental and the celestial, commanded contrary things. The one would have her remain in obscurity, humility, and toil; the other, that she should depart and save the realm. The angel told her to take up arms: her father, a plain, blunt, honest peasant, swore that, rather than his daughter should go off with the war folk, he would drown her with his own hands.¶ One or other she was compelled to disobey. This was doubtless her greatest conflict; those which she sustained against the English must have been but sport in comparison with it.

She encountered not only resistance but temptation in her own family. They tried to marry her, in the hope of bringing her back

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* Procès, 15 Mars. † Ibid., 27 Févr.

‡ Sæpe habebat verecundiam, etc. Procès de Révision, Dép. de Haumette.

§ Her fondness for the sound of the bells was a sort of passion: Promiserat dare lanas....ut diligentiam haberet pulsandi. Ibid., Dép. de Perrin.

‖ Bourgeois de Paris, xv. 387, ed. 1827.

¶ Procès, ed. 1827, p. 97.

to a more rational way of thinking. A young man of the village alleged that she had promised him marriage when she was still a child; and as she denied the fact, he cited her before the ecclesiastical judge at Toul. It was supposed she would make no defence, but would submit to be cast by the court and married; but to every one's great astonishment, she went to Toul, appeared in court, and spoke—she who had always held her peace.

To enable her to escape from the control of her family, it was necessary she should find in her family itself some one to believe her; this was a most difficult problem. Failing to persuade her father, she made a convert of her uncle, who took her away with him, under the pretext of her nursing his wife in her lying-in. She prevailed on him to go to the Sire de Baudricourt, Captain of Vaucouleurs, and ask his support for her; but the man of war gave the peasant a very bad reception, and told him the only thing to be done was "to slap her well,"* and take her home to her father. She was not cast down by the rebuff, but determined to depart, and her uncle was constrained to accompany her. The decisive moment was come; she quitted her family and her native village for ever; she embraced her friends, especially her dear little friend Mengette, whom she commended to God's keeping; but as for Haumette, the friend she loved above all others, she preferred to depart without seeing her.†

She arrived then in the town of Vaucouleurs, dressed in her clumsy red peasant garments,‡ and went along with her uncle to lodge with the wife of a wheelwright who took a liking to her. She had herself taken into Baudricourt's presence, and said to him boldly, that "she came to him on the part of our Lord, to bid him tell the dauphin to keep his ground steadily, and not give battle to his enemies; for our Lord would grant him succour in midlent. The kingdom did not belong to the dauphin but to our Lord; nevertheless, it was our Lord's will that the dauphin should become king, and that he should hold the kingdom in trust." She went on to say, that in spite of the dauphin's enemies he would be king, and she would take him to be crowned.

The captain was amazed, and suspecting there was some devilry at work, he consulted the parish priest, who apparently entertained the same doubts. Joan had not spoken of her visions to any churchman.§ The priest, therefore, accompanied the captain to the wheelwright's house with his stole on, and adjured Joan to depart if she was sent by the evil spirit.‖

But the people did not doubt; their admiration was extreme; persons flocked from all parts to see her. A gentleman, wishing to

* Daret ei alapas. Notices des MSS., iii. 301.

† Nescivit recessum....Multum flevit. Procès MS. de Révision, Dép. de Haumette.

‡ Pauperibus vestibus rubeis. Ibid., dép. de Jean de Metz.

§ Procès, 97. ‖ Apportaverat stolam....adjuraverat. Ibid.

try her, said, "Well, well, my dear, there is no help for it; the king will be driven out and we must become English." She complained to him of Baudricourt's refusal; "And yet," said she, "I must be with the king before midlent, though I wear my legs to the knees to reach him; for no one in the world, neither kings, nor dukes, nor the Scotch king's daughter, can recover the kingdom of France, and succour there is none for it, save myself, though I would rather remain and spin with my poor mother; for this is not the work I am used to; but I must do it because it is my Lord's will."—"And who is your Lord?"—"He is God!" The gentleman was touched, and promised, "by his troth, with his hand in hers, that under God's guidance he would convey her to the king." A young gentleman was also moved to declare that he would follow that holy maid.

It appears that Baudricourt sent to ask leave of the king.* Meanwhile, he conducted Joan to the Duke of Lorraine, who was ill and wished to consult her. He got nothing from her but advice to appease God's anger by becoming reconciled with his wife. He gave her encouragement notwithstanding.†

On her return to Vaucouleurs, she found a messenger from the king, who brought the permission she desired. The disaster of the battle of the Herrings disposed the king to accept every means of which he could avail himself! Joan had predicted the battle on the very day when it took place. The people of Vaucouleurs, entertaining no doubt of her mission, clubbed together to buy her a horse.‡ The captain gave her only a sword.

She had at this moment one more obstacle to surmount. Her parents had almost lost their senses on hearing of her approaching departure; they commanded her with threats to remain, and made the utmost efforts to oblige her to desist from her purpose. But she withstood this last trial, and had a letter written to them, wherein she prayed them to forgive her.

It was a rough and very perilous journey she was about to make. The whole country was overrun by armed bands belonging to either party. There was now neither road nor bridge; the rivers were swollen; it was the month of February, 1429.

To set off in this way, with five or six men-at-arms, was enough to make a girl tremble. An English or a German girl would never have ventured on such a step; its *indelicacy* would have shocked

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* Cf. Lebrun and Laverdy on this important point. I am far from believing that Joan was *elected and singled out*, as some say of the good and brave Andrew Hofer (Lewald, Tyrol, 2r. Band, 1835). But I can readily imagine that the Baudricourt consulted the king, and that his mother-in-law, Queen Yolande of Anjou, concerted with the Duke of Lorraine how they might make good use of the girl. She was encouraged on her departure by the Duke of Lorraine, and was received on her arrival by Queen Yolande, as we shall presently see.

† Chron. de Lorraine, ap. D. Calmet. Preuves, ii. vi.

‡ Equum pretii xvi. francorum. Procès. MS. de Rév., dép. de Jean de Metz.

them. But Joan was not affected so; she was too pure to have any alarms of that kind. She had adopted man's attire, which she never again laid aside; its shape and its close fastening were the best protection for her. She was young and comely, nevertheless; but those even who saw her most familiarly, felt that there was around her a barrier of religion and awe, which none might pass. The youngest of the gentlemen who formed her escort, declares that when he slept by her side, his mind was never crossed by the shadow of a bad thought.

She passed with heroic serenity all through a region either deserted or infested by soldiers. Her companions regretted much that they had set out with her; some of them thought she was, perhaps, a witch, and were very much inclined to leave her. But as for her, she was so perfectly at ease, that she wanted to stop in every town to hear mass. "Fear nothing," she said, "God clears my way for me; it was for this I was born." And again, "My brethren of Paradise, tell me what have I to do."*

The court of Charles VII. was far from being unanimous in the Maid's favour. That inspired girl, just come from Lorraine, and patronised by the Duke of Lorraine, could not fail to strengthen with the king the party of the queen and her mother, the Lorraine and Anjou party. An ambush was laid for Joan at some distance from Chinon, and she escaped from it only by miracle.†

So strong was the opposition against her, that after she was actually arrived, the council continued for two days to discuss the question whether or not the king should see her. Her enemies thought to postpone the matter indefinitely, by having it decided that inquiries should be made respecting her in her native place. Fortunately, she had friends also, the two queens, no doubt, and above all, the Duke d'Alençon, who, having recently come out of the hands of the English, was very impatient to carry the war into the north, and recover his duchy. The inhabitants of Orleans, to whom Dunois had been promising this marvellous aid, since the 12th of February, sent to the king and claimed the Maid's presence.

The king received her at last, surrounded with the greatest pomp; which, in all probability was adopted with the hope of disconcerting her. It was evening; fifty torches blazed in the hall; a number of lords, and more than three hundred knights, were assembled round the king. Every one was curious to see the witch or the prophetess.

The witch was eighteen years of age;‡ she was a handsome girl,§

* Sui fratres de paradiso. Procès MS de Rév., dép. de Jean de Metz.

† Ibid.

‡ She declared in February, 1431: "That she was nineteen or thereabouts." Procès, p. 54. Twenty witnesses deposed to the same effect. See the summing up of the whole evidence in Berriat Saint Prix, 178.

§ Mammas quæ pulchræ erant. Dépositions, Notices des MSS., iii. 373. Lebrun de Charmettes would make her a perfect beauty. Grafton the Englishman, on the contrary, says, in his amusing rage, that it was easy enough for her to remain a maid, "because of her foule face." Grafton, p. 534. The portrait

and very desirable, rather tall, with a sweet and penetrating voice.*

She presented herself humbly "as a poor shepherd wench,"† distinguished the king at the first glance from the crowd of lords among whom he had purposely mingled; and though he insisted, at first, he was not the king, she embraced his knees. But as he was not yet crowned, she styled him only dauphin: "Gentle dauphin," she said, "my name is Jehanne la Pucelle. The King of Heaven sends you word by me, that you shall be anointed and crowned in the town of Reims, and you shall be lieutenant of the King of Heaven, who is King of France." The king then took her aside, and after a moment's conversation, they both changed countenance. She said to him, as she afterwards related to her confessor: "I tell thee from the Lord, that thou art the *true heir* of France, and *son of the king*."‡

A fact that increased the astonishment she had already excited, and inspired a sort of awe, was that the first prediction she uttered was verified within the very hour. A man-at-arms, who saw her and was pleased with her person, coarsely expressed his unchaste desires, imprecating God's name after the common fashion of soldiers. "Alas!" she said, "thou deniest Him, and art so near death!" He fell into the water a moment afterwards, and was drowned.§

Her enemies objected, that possibly she might know the future, but know it through the inspiration of the devil. Four or five bishops were brought together to examine her, but they, of course not wishing to commit themselves with any of the parties into which the court was divided, had the inquiry transferred to the university of Poitiers. There were in that great town a university, a parliament, and a multitude of able men.

The Archbishop of Reims, Chancellor of France, and president of the king's council, summoned doctors and professors of theology, some of them priests, others monks, and ordered them to examine the Maid.

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of Jeanne Darc on the margin of a copy of the Procès, is only the registrar's scribbling. See facsimile of the MSS. in the Bibl. Roy., in the 2d ed. of Guido Goerres, "Die Jungfrau von Orleans," 1841.

* Philippus Bergam, De claris mulieribus, cap. clvii.; on the authority of an Italian lord, who had seen the Maid at the court of Charles VII. Ibid., 369.

† Paupercula bergereta. Procès MS. de Révision, dép. de Gaucourt.

‡ Fifteenth witness. Notices, 348. According to a more recent but very probable narrative, she reminded him of a fact known only to himself: That one morning, in his oratory, he had besought of God the grace to recover his kingdom *if he was the lawful heir*, if not, then that of not perishing or falling into captivity, but being able to escape into Spain or Scotland. Sala, Exemples de Hardiesse, MS. Français de la Bibl. Roy. 180. Lebrun, i. 180—183. It seems to follow from her replies, which indeed are very obscure, that that crafty court abused her simplicity, and that, in order to confirm her belief in her visions, it had a sort of mystery enacted before her, in which an angel appeared carrying the crown. Procès, pp. 77, 94—95, 102—106, ed. 1827.

§ Notices des MSS., iii. 348.

The doctors being introduced and seated in a hall, Joan sat down on the end of the bench, and replied to their questions. She recounted the apparitions and the words of the angels, with dignified* simplicity. A Dominican met her with a single objection, but it was one of weight: "Jehanne, thou sayest it is God's will to deliver the people of France; if such is His will He has no need of men-at-arms." The observation did not confound her. "Ah! *mon Dieu*," said she, "the men-at-arms will do battle, and God will give the victory." Another person was not so easily satisfied. This was Friar Séguin, a Limousin, professor of theology in the university of Poitiers, "a very sour man," says the chronicle. He asked her, in his Limousin French, "What language the celestial voice spoke?" Joan answered with rather too much sharpness, "A better one than yours." "Dost thou believe in God?" said the enraged doctor; "well then, God will not have us put faith in thy words unless thou show a sign." She answered, "I am not come to Poitiers to perform signs or miracles; my sign shall be to raise the siege of Orleans. Let me have men-at-arms, few or many, and I will go."†

Meanwhile it happened at Poitiers as at Vaucouleurs; her sanctity blazed forth among the people, and in a moment all were her partisans. The women, high and low, visited her at the house of the wife of a parliamentary advocate, with whom she had taken up her abode, and they all left her full of emotion. The men, too, went to see her; councillors, advocates, and old case-hardened judges, suffered themselves to be taken to the inspired girl, without believing her story; and when they had heard, they wept just as the women had done,‡ and said, "This girl is sent by God."

The examiners themselves called on her with the king's equerry, and as they recommenced their endless examination, citing learned texts, and proving to her from all the sacred authors that she was not to be believed, "Hark you," said she, "there is more in God's book than in yours... I know neither A. nor B.; but I am come, by command of God, to raise the siege of Orleans, and to crown the dauphin at Reims... Previously to this, I must write to the English, and summon them to depart. God will have it so. Have you paper and ink? Write; I will dictate. . .§ To you, Suffort, Classidas, and La Poule, I summon you, in the name of the King of Heaven, that you be gone to England.‖" They wrote submissively; she had gained the mastery over her very judges.

Their opinion was that the girl might be lawfully employed; and the same reply was received from the Archbishop of Embrun,

* Magno modo. Dép. de Frère Séguin, Notices des MSS. iii. 349.

† Notices des MSS., ibid.

‡ Pleuroient à chaudes larmes. Chron. de la Pucelle, p. 300, ed. 1827.

§ Deposition of the eye-witness Versailles. Not. des MSS., iii. 350.

‖ This letter and the others dictated by the Maid, are certainly authentic. They exhibit a heroic character which no one could have counterfeited, and a quite French vivacity, like that of Henry IV., but with these two things besides—simplicity and sanctity. See the letters in Buchon, de Barante, Lebrun, &c.

who had also been consulted.* The prelate called to mind that God had often revealed to virgins, the sybils for instance, what he had concealed from men. The devil could not make a compact with a virgin; it behoved, therefore, to ascertain whether she was really a virgin. Thus learning, driven to bay, unable or unwilling to pronounce upon the delicate distinction between good and evil revelations, humbly submitted its decision on spiritual things to the verdict of the body, and made this solemn ghostly question depend on the sexual mystery.

The doctors not knowing what to say, the ladies decided for them.† The good Queen of Sicily, the king's mother, accomplished the ridiculous examination, with the aid of some ladies, to the honour of the Maid. Some Franciscans who had been sent to her native place to collect information, brought back the most satisfactory accounts. There was no more time to be lost. Orleans was crying out for help; Dunois was sending message upon message. The Maid was equipped, and a sort of establishment was formed for her. First of all they gave her for squire Jean Daulon, a brave knight of mature years, who belonged to the Count de Dunois, and was the most respectable among his followers. She had also a noble page, two heralds-at-arms, a seneschal, and two valets; her brother, Pierre Darc, had also joined her suite. Jean Pasquerel, a friar, hermit of the order of St. Augustin, was assigned her for confessor. The monks in general, especially the Mendicants, supported this marvel of inspiration.

A marvel it was, indeed, for the spectators to see Joan Darc for the first time in her white armour, mounted on a handsome black horse, with a little axe,‡ and St. Catherine's sword by her side. She had sent messengers to search for the sword behind the altar of St. Catherine de Fierbois, where it was actually found. In her hand she carried a white standard marked with fleurs-de-lis, and representing God with the world in His hands, and on either side two angels, holding each a fleur-de-lis. "I do not wish," she said, "to use my sword to kill any one;"§ and she added that although

* Lenglet du Fresnoy, from the MS. of Jacques Gelu, De puellâ Aurelianensi, MSS. lat. Bibl. Regiæ, 6199.

† Fut icelle Pucelle baillée à la royne de Cecile, etc. Notices des MSS., iii. 351.

‡ "Et fit ladite Pucelle très bonne chère à mon frère et à moy, armée de toutes pièces, sauve la teste, et la lance en la main. Et après que nous feusmes descendus à Selles, j'allay à son logis la voir, et fit venir le vin, et me dit qu'elle m'en feroit bien tost boire à Paris, et semble chose toute divine de son fait, et de la voir et l'oïr.... Et la veis monter à cheval armée toute en blanc, sauf la teste, une petite hache en sa main, sur un grand coursier noir.... et lors se tourna vers l'huis de l'église, qui estoit bien prochain, et dist en assez voix de femme: Vous les prêtres et les gens d'église, faites processions et prières à Dieu. Et lors se retourna à son chemin en disant, *Tirez avant, tirez avant,* son estendart ployé, que portoit un gracieux page, et avoit sa hache petite en la main." Lettre de Gui de Laval à ses mère et ayeule. Labbe, Alliance chronol., 672.

§ Nolebat uti ense suo, nec volebat quemquam interficere. Procès MS. de Rev. dép. de frère Seguin.

she loved her sword, she loved her standard "forty times more." Let us compare the two parties at the moment she was sent to Orleans.

The strength of the English had greatly diminished during the long winter siege. After Salisbury's death, many men-at-arms whom he had engaged, thought themselves free, and went away. The Burgundians, moreover, had been recalled by their duke. When the principal bastille of the English was stormed, into which the defenders of some of the other bastilles had retired, there were found in it 500 men. It is probable that in all their numbers were 2000 or 3000; nor was the whole of this small force English; there were in it also some Frenchmen, in whom the English no doubt put little confidence.

Had these forces been combined, they would have been a considerable body, but they were dispersed in a dozen bastilles or bastions,* that for the most part had no communications with each other. The arrangement proves that until this time, Talbot and the other English captains had been more indebted for success to their gallantry and good fortune than to their military skill. It was evident that these little isolated fortresses would be weak severally against the great and extensive city they pretended to blockade; and that the numerous population of Orleans, inured to war by a lengthened siege, would at last besiege the besiegers.

When we read the formidable list of the captains who threw themselves into Orleans—La Hire, Saintrailles, Gaucourt, Culan, Coaraze, Armagnac;—when we see that, independently of the Bretons under Marshal de Retz, and Marshal de St. Sévère's Gascons, Florent d'Illiers, Captain of Châteaudun, had brought all the nobles of the vicinity to take part in this short expedition, the deliverance of Orleans seems less miraculous.

One thing, however, was by all means wanting to enable these great forces to act with advantage, an essential, indispensable thing —unity of action. Dunois might have created this, had no more been requisite to that end than address and intelligence; but this was not enough. An authority was requisite, one surpassing that of the crown; the king's captains were not habituated to obey the king. God alone could bring their wild indomitable tempers into subjection. The God of that age was the Virgin, much rather than Christ.† The case demanded the presence of the Virgin come down to earth, a virgin popular, young, fair, gentle, and bold.

War had changed men into wild beasts, and these beasts required to be turned again into men, Christians, docile subjects. A great and difficult change! Some of these Armagnac captains

* Monstrelet exaggerates at random; he says *sixty* bastiles: he makes the number of the English killed in the southern bastiles *seven or eight thousand*, &c.

† I have already noticed this fact, and will return to it presently.

were perhaps the most furious men that ever existed. It is enough to instance one of them, whose name alone excites horror, Giles de Retz, the original of Bluebeard.*

There remained, however, an available hold upon the souls of these perverted beings; they had cast off humanity and nature, but had not been able entirely to free themselves from the bonds of religion. The brigands, it is true, contrived to reconcile religion and brigandage in the oddest possible fashion. One of them, La Hire, the Gascon, said, very originally, "If God were to turn man-at-arms, he would be a plunderer." And when he was setting off to gather booty, he used to put up his short Gascon prayer, in which he did not take much pains to specify what he asked for, supposing, of course, that a hint would be sufficient for Heaven: "Lord God, I beseech thee, do for La Hire, what La Hire would do for thee, if thou wast captain, and if La Hire was God."†

It was a ludicrous and touching thing to see the sudden conversion of the old Armagnac brigands. They did not stop short halfway in their amendment. La Hire no longer ventured to utter an oath; but the Maid, compassionating the violence he did himself, allowed him to swear "by his staff." The devils had all at once been transformed into little saints.

She had begun by insisting that they should renounce their wanton women, and should confess.‡ Then in the course of her march along the Loire, she had an altar erected in the open air, at which she took the communion, and so did they. The beauty of the season, the loveliness of a Touraine spring, must have singularly contributed to enhance the Maid's religious power over her new converts. They themselves had grown young again; they had completely forgotten their late selves, and felt once more, as in their better years, full of generous ardour and hope; all young like her, all children. With her they entered heartily on a new life. Whither was she leading them? that mattered nothing. They would have followed her not to Orleans alone, but just as readily to Jerusalem. The English, too, were free to share in that expedition, if they would; in a letter sent to them, she graciously proposed that they should unite and all set off together, English and French, to deliver the Holy Sepulchre.§

The first night they bivouacked, she lay down in full armour, as there were no women about her; but she was not yet habituated to

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* See *infrà*, Book xi., c. 1.

† Mémoires concernant la Pucelle, Coll. Pet. viii. 127.

‡ Ibid., 163. Procès MS. de Révision, dép. de Dunois.

§ Vous, Duc de Bedford, la Pucelle vous prie et vous requiert que vous ne vous faictes mie destruire. Si vous lui faictes raison, encore *pourrez vous venir en sa compagnie*, l'où que les Franchois feront le plus bel fait que oncques fut fait pour la Xhrestpienté. Lettre de la Pucelle, Lebruni, 450, from MS. 5965 Bibl. Roy.

such hardships, and she was ill in consequence.* As for danger, she knew not what it meant. She wanted to cross over to the north side of the river, and march along the English bank and between the bastilles of the invaders, who, she asserted, would not stir. Her followers would not listen to her advice, but marched along the left bank, so as to pass two leagues above Orleans. Dunois came out to meet her: "I bring you," she said, "the best succour ever sent to any one, the succour of the King of Heaven. It comes not from me, but from God himself, who, at the entreaty of St. Louis and St. Charlemagne, has had pity on the town of Orleans, and will not suffer that the enemy should have both the duke's body and his town at once."†

She entered the city slowly at eight in the evening (April 29), the crowd scarcely allowing her to advance. Every one strove eagerly to touch at least her horse. They gazed on her "as if they saw God."‡ Talking gently to the people all the while, she proceeded to the church, and then to the houses of the Duke of Orleans' treasurer, an honourable man, whose wife and daughter gave her welcome. She slept with Charlotte, one of the daughters.

She had entered the town along with the provisions, but the army marched down stream again, to cross at Blois. She would, nevertheless, have had an immediate attack made on the English bastilles; but as she could not effect this, she sent a second peremptory message to those on the north side, and then proceeded to repeat her summons to those on the south. Glasdale, the captain, abused her in the coarsest terms, calling her cow-girl and ribald.§ In their hearts they believed her to be a witch, and were greatly afraid of her. They kept her herald, and were thinking of burning him, in hopes that this would, perhaps, break the charm. They deemed it right, however, in the first place to consult the University of Paris; Dunois, however, threatened to retaliate on their heralds, whom he had within his grasp. As for the Maid, she entertained no fear on her herald's account, but sent answer saying, "Go, say to Talbot that if he will arm, so will I. . . . If he can take me, let him burn me."

The army not arriving, Dunois ventured forth in search of it. The Maid, left behind in Orleans, found herself really mistress of the

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* Multum læsa quia decubuit cum armis. Pr. MS. de Rév., dép. de Louis Contes. † Ibid., dép. de Dunois. Notices des MSS., iii. 353.

‡ She seemed at the very least an angel, a creature to whom the physical wants of our nature were unknown. She sometimes passed a whole day on horseback without dismounting, or eating or drinking anything except in the evening a little bread and some wine and water. See the depositions, and the Chronique de la Pucelle, ed. Buchon, 1827, p. 309.

§ The insults offered her by the English affected her very keenly. Hearing herself called "the whore of the Armagnacs," she wept bitterly and called God to witness; then feeling comforted she said, "I have heard from my Lord." Notices des MSS., iii. 359.

town, as if all authority had ceased. She rode round the walls, and the people followed her without fear.* The following day she closely reconnoitered the English bastilles, and the whole multitude, men, women, and children, went also and had a look at those famous forts, where not a creature moved. She led them back to St. Croix to vespers. She wept during the celebration of the service, and every one wept with her.† The people were beside themselves; they no longer feared any thing; they were intoxicated with religion and war, and possessed by one of those formidable fits of fanaticism in which men are capable of doing and believing any thing, and are scarcely less terrible to their friends than to their enemies.

The Archbishop of Reims, chancellor of Charles VII., had detained the little army at Blois. The old politician was far from conceiving the existence of such an irresistible enthusiasm, or perhaps he feared it. It was, therefore, much against his will that he came to Orleans. The maid went out to meet him, with the people and the priests singing hymns. The procession passed and repassed before the English bastilles; and the army entered the town, protected by some priests and a girl. [May 4, 1429.]‡

Joan, who, in the midst of her enthusiasm and her inspiration, had much shrewdness of apprehension, very clearly discerned the inimical temper of the new comers, and saw that there was a desire to act without her, at the risk of ruining all. Dunois having acknowledged that there was reason to fear the arrival of a fresh English force under Sir John Falstoff, "Bastard, bastard," she said, "in God's name, I command thee to let me know when thou shalt have ascertained the arrival of this Falstoff; for if he passes without my knowing it, I will have thy head cut off."

She was right in surmising that there was a design to act without her. As she lay by Charlotte's side, she suddenly started up, exclaiming, "My God! the blood of our people is running on the ground. It was ill done! Why was I not wakened? Quick! my arms, my horse!" She was armed in a moment, and finding her young page playing below, "Ah! wicked boy," she said, "you would not tell me that the blood of France was shed." She galloped off at full speed, and met men already wounded, which they were carrying back from the field. "Never," said she, "did I see French blood but my hair stood on end."‖

The fugitives faced round on her arrival. Dunois, who had also not been called, arrived on the ground at the same time. The bastille (one of those on the north side) was attacked again. Talbot strove to succour it; but fresh forces issued from Orleans; the Maid put herself at their head, and Talbot withdrew his men. The bastille was carried.

Many English who had assumed priestly attire in order to escape,

* L'Hist. et Disc., &c., p. 80.
† Pr. de Rév. MS. dép. de Compaing. ‡ Ibid., dép. de Frère Pasquerel.
§ Dép. de Daulon. Notices des MSS., iii. 355.
‖ Que mes cheveux ne me levassent en sus. Ibid.

were brought back to the Maid, and placed in safety in her own quarters;* she knew the ferocity of the men of her party. This was her first victory, the first time she looked on a field of slaughter. She wept as she beheld so many men who had died without confession.† She sought confession for herself and her followers; and declared that she would take the communion on the morrow, being the feast of the Ascension, and pass the day in prayer.

Advantage was taken of this resolution to hold a council without her, wherein it was determined that this time the besiegers should cross the Loire and attack St. Jean le Blanc, the bastille which most impeded the introduction of provisions into the town, and that a false attack should be made at the same time on the other side. Those who were jealous of the Maid, spoke to her only of the false attack, but Dunois acknowledged the whole scheme to her.

The English then did what they ought to have done before. They concentrated their strength. With their own hands burning the bastille which was to have been attacked, they retired upon the other two on the South side, the Augustins and the Tournelles. The former was instantly attacked and carried, the success in this instance again being partly due to the Maid. The French were seized for a while with a panic, and rushed back towards the floating bridge; but the Maid and La Hire disentangled themselves from the throng, threw themselves into boats, and took the English in flank.

There remained the Tournelles. The victors passed the night before it; but they obliged the Maid, who had eaten nothing all day (it was Friday), to recross the Loire. Meanwhile the council had assembled. The Maid was told in the evening that it had been unanimously resolved that since the town was now fully victualled, they should wait for a fresh reinforcement to attack the Tournelles. It is difficult to believe that such could have been the real intention of the leaders, for delay was extremely dangerous, since the English might at any moment be succoured by Falstoff. Probably the intention was to deceive the Maid and deprive her of the honour of the triumph she had so powerfully contributed towards securing. She disappointed them.

"You have been to your council," she said, "and I have been to mine;"‡ then, turning to her chaplain, "Come to-morrow at daybreak, and do not leave me again; I shall have much to do; blood will flow from my body; I shall be wounded over the breast."

In the morning her host tried to detain her. "Stay, Joan," he said, "here is a fish that has just been caught; let us eat it together." "Keep it," she replied gaily, "keep it until when I come back over the bridge after having taken the Tournelles; I will bring you a Goddem who will eat his share of it."§

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* Ibid., dép. de Louis Contes. † Ibid., Dép. de Frère Pasquerel.

‡ Vos fuistis in vestro concilio, et ego in meo. Ibid., Notices des MSS. iii. 359.

§ Ibid. Deposition of Colette, the wife of Milet the treasurer, with whom she lodged.

She then rode to the Bourgogne gate with a multitude of men-at-arms and burghers; but the Sire de Gaucourt, grand-master of the king's household, kept it shut. "You are a wicked man," said Joan, "whether you will or not, the men-at-arms shall pass through." Gaucourt saw plainly that before such an impassioned throng his life hung but by a thread; besides, his own men would no longer obey him. The crowd opened the gate, and forced another near it.

The sun was rising on the Loire when the whole concourse threw themselves into the boats. On arriving, however, at the Tournelles, they felt that they wanted artillery, and they sent for some to the town. At last they attacked the outward rampart which protected the bastille. The English defended themselves valiantly.* The Maid, perceiving that the assailants were beginning to show signs of weakness, jumped into the ditch, seized a ladder, and was in the act of applying it to the wall, when an arrow struck her between the neck and the shoulder. The English sallied out to seize her, but she was carried off by her own party. Being removed from the scene of action, laid on the grass and disarmed, she saw how deep her wound was (the point of the arrow projected behind); she was frightened and shed tears.† But suddenly she rises up; her saints have appeared to her; she sends away the men-at-arms, who thought to *charm* the wound with words, and declares that she will not be cured against the will of God. She only allowed a little oil to be poured on the wound, and confessed.

Meanwhile no progress was made, and night was at hand. Dunois himself gave orders to sound a retreat. "Wait yet," she said, "eat and drink," and she went to prayer in a vineyard. A Basque had taken out of the hands of the Maid's squire that standard of hers, which struck such dismay into the enemy. "When the standard touches the wall," said she, "you will be able to enter." "It is touching it." "In then! all is your own." And just as she had predicted, the assailants in a frenzy of enthusiasm, climbed the wall "as though by one step." The English were at this moment attacked on two sides at once.

Meanwhile the men of Orleans, who watched the fight from the other side of the Loire, could contain themselves no longer. They threw open their gates and rushed to the bridge, but there was an arch broken; they pushed a rickety plank across the opening, and a knight of St. John ventured to pass over the frail spar in full armour. The bridge was hastily repaired, and the whole multitude hurried to the other side. The English, seeing such a human sea rushing upon them, thought the whole world had come together against them.‡ Their senses grew bewildered; some of them

* Sembloit....qu'ils cuidassent être immortels. L'Hist. et Disc., &c., 67.

† Timuit, flevit....Apposuerunt oleum olivarum cum lardo. Notices des MSS., iii. 360.

‡ So they said that evening when they were brought into Orleans. L'Hist. et Disc. au vray, 89.

beheld St. Aignan, the patron of the town, others the Archangel Michael.* Glasdale endeavoured to retreat from the rampart to the bastille, across a small bridge; but it was shattered by a shot, and the Englishman fell into the water and was drowned, before the eyes of the maid he had so vilified. "Oh!" said she, "how I pity thy soul!"† There were 500 men in the bastille, all of whom were put to the sword.

Not one Englishman remained south of the Loire. Next day, Sunday, the besiegers on the northern side abandoned their bastilles, their artillery, their prisoners, and their wounded comrades. Talbot and Suffolk conducted the retreat steadily and in good order. The Maid would not allow them to be pursued, since they retired of their own accord; but before they withdrew out of sight of the town, she had an altar erected on a plain, at which mass was celebrated, and the people returned thanks to God in the presence of the enemy. [Sunday, May 8.]‡

The effect of the deliverance of Orleans was prodigious; every one beheld in it the agency of a supernatural power. Many attributed it to the devil, but the majority to God; it began to be generally believed that Charles had right on his side.

Six days after the siege, Gerson published and distributed a treatise, in which he proved that this marvellous event might, without any violation of reason, be ascribed to God.§ The good Christine de Pisan also wrote to congratulate her sex.‖ Many treatises, rather favourable than otherwise to the Maid, were published, and even by subjects of the Duke of Burgundy, the ally of the English.¶

Charles VII. should have seized this propitious opportunity,

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* According to the Orleanese tradition preserved by Le Maire (Hist. d'Orleans), it was in memory of this apparition that Louis XI. instituted the order of St. Michael, with the motto "Immensi tremor Oceani." Nevertheless, Louis XI. says nothing about it in the foundation ordonnance. The motto no doubt has reference only to the celebrated pilgrimage: *In periculo maris.*

† Clamando et dicendo, "Classidas, Classidas, *ren ty, ren ty* Regi cœlorum! Tu me vocasti *putain.* Ego habeo magnam pietatem de tuâ animâ, et tuorum." Incepit flere fortiter pro animâ ipsius et aliorum submersorum. Notices des MSS., iii. 362.

‡ The siege had lasted seven months, from Oct. 12, 1428 to May 8, 1429. Ten days sufficed for the Maid to deliver the town, which she entered on the evening of April 29. The anniversary of the deliverance continued to be observed as a holiday in Orleans; the ceremonies of the day began with a harangue in honour of Joan Darc; a procession traversed the town, and in the midst of it walked a lad who represented the Maid. Polluche, Essais Hist. sur Orleans, remarque 77. Lebrun de Charmette, ii. 128.

§ It is not certain that Gerson was the author of this pamphlet. Gersonii Opera, iv. 859.

‖ Je Christine, qui ai plouré xi. ans en l'abbaye close, &c. Raimond Thomassy. Essai sur les écrits de Christine de Pisan, xlii. This little poem will be published complete by M. Jubinal.

¶ Henrici de Gorckheim propos. lib. duo, in Sibyllâ Francicâ, ed. Goldast. 1606. See the other authors mentioned by Lebrun, ii. 325, and iii. 7, 9, 72.

marched boldly from Orleans to Reims, and laid hold on the crown. The exploit seemed rash, and yet nothing could have been easier to effect in the first dismay of the English. Since they had been guilty of the egregious error of not yet crowning their young king, it was by all means incumbent to anticipate them. The first crowned would remain king. It was also a great thing for Charles VII. to make his royal cavalcade through English France, to take possession of his own, and show that everywhere in France the king is at home.

The Maid stood alone in this view of the matter, and her heroic folly was very wisdom. The politicians and the sound heads of the council smiled at her infatuation, and were for proceeding slowly and surely; in other words, they were for giving the English time to recover their courage. These councillors all gave interested advice. The Duke of Alençon proposed marching into Normandy and recovering Alençon. The others successfully recommended that the king's forces should remain on the banks of the Loire and lay siege to the small fortresses; this was the most timid course, and one that particularly suited the interests of the houses of Orleans and Anjou, as well as those of La Tremouille of Poitou, the favourite of Charles VII.

Suffolk, who had thrown himself into Jargeau, was besieged and the place stormed.* Beaugency too was taken before Lord Talbot could receive the succours which Sir John Falstoff was bringing him from the regent. The constable de Richemond, who had long kept aloof within his own estates, came, in spite of the king and the Maid, to lend his aid to the victorious army.†

A battle was imminent; Richemond came to share the honour it might afford. Talbot and Falstoff had formed a junction of their forces; but it is a curious fact, illustrative both of the condition of the country and of the fortuitous character of the war, that no one knew where to find the English army in the wilderness of La Beauce, which was then covered with coppices and thickets, until they were discovered by a stag, which being pursued by the French vanguard, rushed into the ranks of the English.

The latter were on their march, and had not set up their defensive line of stakes as usual. Talbot alone was for fighting, furious as he was, since the defeat at Orleans, at having shown his back to the French. Falstoff, on the contrary, who had gained the battle of the Herrings, had no need of an engagement to retrieve his reputation, and said, like a sensible man, that with a disheartened army it was better to remain on the defensive. The French men-at-arms

* See especially in the Procès de Révision the Duke d'Alençon's deposition. The duke wishing to postpone the storming, the Maid said to him: "Ho! gentle duke, art thou afraid? Knowest thou not I have promised thy wife to bring thee back safe and sound?" Notices des MSS., iii. 354.

† All this is given at great length in the panegyric on Richemond, by Guillaume Gruel, Collection Petitot, viii.

did not wait for the end of the discussion, but charged headlong, and met with no great resistance.* Talbot fought with desperate obstinacy, hoping perhaps to be killed, and succeeded only in getting himself made prisoner. The pursuit was murderous; the bodies of two thousand English were strewed over the plain. The Maid wept at the sight of all those corpses, and still more at witnessing the brutality of the soldier, and how he treated the prisoners who could not ransom themselves. One of the latter was struck so violently on the head, that he fell down expiring; the Maid could not endure this; she sprang from her horse, supported the poor fellow's head, had a priest brought to him, comforted him, and helped him to die.†

After this battle of Patay (28th or 29th of June), it was now or never the time to venture on the expedition to Reims. The politicians wanted to remain still on the Loire, and make sure of Cosne and La Charité. This time they talked in vain; no timid counsels could now be listened to. Every day brought people flocking in from all the provinces, attracted by the fame of the Maid's miracles, and believing only in her, and in her purpose forthwith to convey the king to Reims. There was an irresistible outburst of the pilgrim and crusading spirit. The indolent young king himself at last yielded to the popular flood, and suffered himself to be borne along by that vast tide that set in towards the north; and off they started all together, willingly or perforce; king, courtiers, the politic and the enthusiastic, the madmen and the sages. They were twelve thousand when they began their march, but their numbers augmented continually as they advanced; every hour brought them additional strength; and those who had no armour followed the holy expedition in plain doublets, as archers or sword-and-buckler men, even though they were of gentle blood.

The army marched from Gien on the 28th of June, without attempting to enter it, that town being in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, whom there were reasons for treating with favour. Troyes had a mixed garrison of Burgundians and English, who ventured to make a sortie on the first appearance of the royal army. There seemed small chance of storming a large town so well guarded, and that too without artillery. On the other hand, how was it possible to advance and leave such a place in one's rear? The army was already suffering from scarcity. Were it not better to return? The anti-enthusiasts were triumphant.

There was only one old Armagnac counsellor, the president Macon, who was of a contrary opinion, well knowing that in such

* Falstoff fled like the rest, and was degraded from the Order of the Garter. He was Bedford's grand seneschal, and his degradation (which was soon superseded) was probably an act of hostility to Bedford. See Grafton and the curious memoir which M. Berbrager is preparing in vindication of Falstoff.

† Tenendo eum in caput et consolando. Procès MS., Dep. of the Maid's page, Louis de Contes.

an enterprise, prudence was on the side of enthusiasm, and that men must not reason in a popular crusade. "When the king undertook this march," said he, "he did so not by reason of the great armed force or the abundance of money he possessed, nor because the achievement seemed to him possible; he undertook it because Joan told him to advance and be crowned at Reims, and that he would encounter little resistance by the way, such being the good pleasure of God."

The Maid then presented herself at the door of the council-room, and assured them they would be able to enter the town in three days. "We would willingly wait six," said the chancellor, "if we were sure that what you say is true."—"Six? You shall enter to-morrow!"*

She seizes her standard; the whole army follow her to the ditch, and they throw into it all they can lay their hands on, fagots, doors, tables, rafters, with such rapidity that the townspeople thought the ditches would very soon disappear altogether. The English began to be dazzled and bewildered as at Orleans, and fancied they saw a cloud of white butterflies fluttering round the magic standard. The burghers on their part were in great dread, recollecting that it was in Troyes the treaty had been concluded which disinherited Charles VII., and fearing that an example would be made of their town. Already they were taking refuge in the churches, and crying out that the town must surrender. The fighting men, who desired nothing better, parleyed and obtained leave to depart with what they had.

What they had was chiefly prisoners, Frenchmen. Charles the Seventh's councillors, who had drawn up the capitulation, had stipulated nothing with respect to those unfortunate persons. The Maid alone thought of them. When the English marched out with their prisoners in irons, she stood at the gates and cried out, "In God's name, they shall not carry them off!" She stopped them in fact, and the king paid their ransom.

Master of Troyes, July 9th, he made his entry into Reims on the 15th, and was crowned on Sunday the 17th. That same morning, the Maid, putting reconciliation before sacrifice, in obedience to the precept of the Gospel, dictated an admirable letter to the Duke of Burgundy, in which, without any allusion to the past that could offend or irritate any one, she said to him with much tact and high feeling, "Forgive each other heartily, as loyal Christians ought to do."

Charles VII. was anointed by the archbishop with oil out of the holy ampulla brought from St. Remi. In conformity with ancient usage,† he was lifted up on his seat by the ecclesiastical peers, and served by the lay peers, both at the coronation and the

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* Procès MS. de Rév., dép. de Simon Charles.

† See Varin, Archives de Reims, and Michelet, Origines du Droit.

banquet. Then he went to Saint Marcou to touch the scrofulous.* All the ceremonies were completed without any omission or shortening, and Charles was now the true king and the only king, according to the notions of the times. The English might now crown Henry if they would; but that new coronation could never be, in the eyes of the nations, more than a parody of the other.

At the instant the king was crowned, the Maid threw herself on her knees, clasped his legs, and wept vehemently. All present wept likewise.

She is related to have said to him, "O gentle king, now is accomplished the will of God, that I should raise the siege of Orleans, and bring you into the city of Reims to receive your holy coronation, thereby showing that you are true king, and that to you of right belongs the kingdom of France."

She was right: she had done and completed what she had to do. Hence, even in the gladness of this triumphant solemnity she conceived the idea, the presentiment, perhaps, of her approaching end. When she was entering Reims with the king, and saw all the inhabitants coming to welcome him with hymns, "Oh! the good and pious people!" she said; "if I am to die, I should be very happy to be buried here!" "Where do you suppose you will die, Joan?" asked the archbishop. "I cannot tell," she replied; "where it shall please God.... I would it were his pleasure that I might go and tend the sheep with my sister and my brothers.... They would be so glad to see me again! I have done at least what our Lord commanded me to do." And she returned thanks with eyes uplifted to heaven. "All who saw her at that moment," says the old chronicle, "believed more than ever that she was a being sent by God."†

CHAPTER IV.

Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester—Trial and Death of the Maid, 1429—1431.

SUCH was the virtue of the coronation and its potent effect in northern France, that henceforth the expedition seemed no more than a peaceable act of taking possession, a triumph, a continuation of the Reims festival. The roads grew smooth before the king, the towns threw open their gates, and lowered their drawbridges. It was like a royal pilgrimage from the Cathedral of Reims to St.

* This gift, transmitted to our kings by St. Marculphe, is mentioned by an anonymous author so early as the twelfth century. Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. ed. Mabillon, vi., M. de Reiffenburg gives a list of the authors who have spoken of it. Notes to his edition of Barante, iv. 26.

† Chronique de la Pucelle, Coll. Petitot, viii. 206. Notices des MSS. iii. 369.

Medard de Soissons, and Notre Dame de Laon. Stopping some days in each town, riding at his pleasure, he entered Château Thierry and Provins, whence, after being fully refreshed and rested, he resumed his triumphal promenade towards Picardy.

Whether or not there remained any English in France, might really have been made a question. Nothing had been heard of Bedford since the affair of Patay. It was not activity or courage he wanted, but he had exhausted his last resources. His distress may be judged of from one very speaking fact, namely, that he could no longer pay his parliament, that his court ceased all service, and that it was not possible to describe the entrance of the young King Henry VI., with the usual detail in the register, "for lack of parchment."*

In such a position Bedford had no choice of means. He was forced to throw himself upon the man he least liked, his uncle, the wealthy and all-potent Cardinal of Winchester. But the latter, no less avaricious than ambitious, purposely hung back, in order to make the harder bargain.† The treaty was not concluded until July the 1st, the day but one after the defeat at Patay. Charles VII. was entering Troyes and Reims, Paris was in alarm, and Beaufort was still in England. Bedford sent for the Duke of Burgundy to secure Paris, and he came at the invitation, but almost alone; all the use the regent could make of him was to have him figure in an assembly of notables, where he harangued, and repeated once more the lamentable history of his father's death. This being done, he took himself off, leaving Bedford, by way of aid, only some Picard men-at-arms; and even for this slight assistance, he required to have the town of Meux given to him in pledge.‡

There was no hope save in Beaufort. That priest was king in England. His nephew, Gloucester, the protector, had ruined himself by his own follies. Year by year his influence had diminished in the council; Beaufort was paramount there, and neutralised his nephew even to the extent of paring down the salary of the protectorship one year after another;§ this was little better than killing him, in a country where every man is valued strictly in proportion to his income. Beaufort, on the other hand, was the wealthiest of the English princes, and one of the most richly endowed churchmen in the world. Money brought might with it in

* Ob defectum pergameni et eclipsim justiciæ. Reg. du Parl. quoted in Ordon., pref. t. xiii., p. lxvii. Pour escripre les plaidoiies et les arretz....plusieurs fois a convenu par nécessité.....que les greffiers....à leurs despens aient acheté et paié le parchemin. XXe. jour de Janv. 1431.

† On the 15th of June vessels are impressed for his passage; the conditions on which he is willing to aid the king his nephew are not fixed until the 18th; the treaty bears date July 1, and on the 16th we find the regent and the council of France still entreating him to come and bring the king with him as fast as possible. See all these acts in Rymer, 3rd ed. iv. 141—150.

‡ He was given besides 20,000 livres for soldiers' pay. Arch. T. des Chartes J 249, Quittance of July 8, 1429.

§ Turner, iii. 2—6.

this case, as usual. The Cardinal and the wealthy bishops of Canterbury, York, London, Ely, and Bath, constituted the council, allowed the laymen to sit in it only on condition of their not saying a word, and did not even summon them on important occasions. The English government, as might have been foreseen, from the first accession of the house of Lancaster, was become entirely episcopal. The acts of the time show this. In 1429 the chancellor opens the parliament with a terrible tirade against heresy; the council draws up articles against the nobles whom it accuses of robbery, against the armies of servants they keep, &c.*

In order to uplift the cardinal's power to the highest pitch, it was necessary that Bedford should be brought as low in France as Gloucester was in England; that he should be reduced to such exigency as to call for Beaufort's presence, and that the latter should come at the head of an army to crown Henry VI. That army Beaufort had in readiness, having engaged some thousands of men under a pretext of a crusade against the Hussites of Bohemia, with which he had been commissioned by the pope. The latter gave him the money raised by indulgences, to march his men into Bohemia; the council of England gave him more money to keep them in France;† the crusaders found, to their great amazement, that the cardinal had sold them; he was doubly paid, getting money for an army which enabled him to make himself king.

With this army Beaufort was to secure Paris, convey young Henry thither, and crown him. But this coronation could not secure the cardinal's power, except in so far as he should succeed in decrying that of Charles VII., dishonouring his victories, and ruining him in the estimation of the people. We shall find that he employed against Charles VII. in France, and Gloucester in England, one and the same means, very effectual in those days, a prosecution for witchcraft.

It was not until July the 25th, nine days after Charles VII. had been duly anointed and crowned, that the cardinal entered Paris with his army. Bedford did not lose a moment, but set out with these troops to observe Charles VII. Twice they were in presence of each other, and some skirmishes took place. Bedford,

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* This kingly power of the bishops is strongly marked in a fact little known. The society of the freemasons had been declared contrary to law in the third year of the reign of Henry VI., and their annual chapters prohibited, &c.; but in 1429, when Winchester's influence had annulled that of the Protector Gloucester, we find the Archbishop of Canterbury forming a freemasons' lodge, and declaring himself the head of it. Halliwell's Early Hist. of Freemasonry in England, p. 95.

† Rymer, iv. 150, 165, &c.

‡ Bedford's defiance addressed "To Charles of Valois," is written in the pious language and the hypocritical forms that generally characterise the acts of the house of Lancaster: "Have pity and compassion on the poor Christian people .....Choose some open place in the country of Brie.....And then if you will offer anything regarding the blessing of peace, we will allow and do all that a good Christian prince can and should do." Monstrelet, v. 211, Aug. 7.

fearing for Normandy, kept watch over it, and during this time the king marched against Paris (August).

This was contrary to the wish of the Maid, whose voices told her not to advance beyond St. Denis. The town of the royal tombs was holy, like that of the coronation; beyond it she had a forecast of something that lay without the scope of her efficacy. Charles VII. ought to have thought in like manner. That inspired, warlike sanctity, that crusading poetry that had thrilled the rustic heart—was there not danger in putting it before the face of the argumentative and prosaic city, of the satirical people of the schoolmen and the Cabochiens?

It was an imprudent enterprise. Such a town is not to be carried by a *coup de main*; it can only be taken by starving it out. Now, the English were masters of the Seine, both above and below. They were in strength, and supported by a considerable number of inhabitants, who had committed themselves on their behalf. Pains were taken, moreover, to spread the report that the Armagnacs were come to destroy and raze the town.

The French nevertheless carried a rampart. The Maid went down into the first ditch, and crossed the shelving bank between it and the second, and found the latter full of water, up to the foot of the wall. Heedless of the arrows, that fell like hail about her, she shouted to her men to bring fascines, and meanwhile sounded the depth of the water with her lance. She was almost alone, a mark for every arrow, and one passed through her thigh. She strove to bear up against the pain, and remained on the spot to encourage the troops to mount to the assault. At last, having lost much blood, she retired to the cover of the outer ditch, and it was not until ten or eleven at night she could be prevailed on to return to her quarters. She seemed to feel that this decisive check under the very walls of Paris would ruin her beyond recovery.

Fifteen hundred men were wounded in this attack, which she was wrongfully accused of having advised. She was now vilified by her own party as well as by the enemy. She had not scrupled to make the attack on the day of Our Lady's Nativity [September 8], to the great scandal of the pious town of Paris.

The court of Charles VII. was still more shocked at this irreverent deed. The libertines, the politic ones, the blind worshippers of the letter and sworn foes to the spirit, all declared bravely against the spirit the moment it showed signs of weakness. Negotiations were resolved on, contrary to the Maid's advice, at the instigation of the Archbishop of Reims, Chancellor of France, who had never been cordially in her favour. He proceeded to St. Denis, to ask for a truce; perhaps he had secret hopes of prevailing with the Duke of Burgundy, who was then in Paris.*

* The angry vehemence of the Bourgeois on this occasion is amusing: "Estoient pleins de si grant maleur et de si malle créance, que pour le dit d'une créature qui estoit en forme de femme avec eulx, qu'on nommoit la Pucelle

Regarded with ill-will, and badly supported, the Maid carried on the sieges of St. Pierre le Moustier and La Charité during the winter. Though almost abandoned before the former,* she nevertheless stormed and took it. The siege of La Charité proceeded slowly and languidly; a panic broke out among the besiegers, and they dispersed.

Meanwhile the English had induced the Duke of Burgundy to give them effectual aid. The weaker they were, the more hope he had of being able to retain the strongholds he might take in Picardy. The English, who had just lost Louviers, offered him his own terms, and he, the richest prince in Christendom, no longer hesitated to stake men and money in a war, the profit of which he hoped to appropriate. A bribe to the governor put him in possession of Soissons. Then he laid siege to Compiegne, the governor of which was also a man of very questionable integrity; but the inhabitants were too strongly committed to the cause of Charles VII., to let their town be given up. The Maid threw herself into it, and on the very same day made a sortie in which she nearly surprised the besiegers. But the latter rallied in a moment, and pressed hotly upon the besieged, up to the rampart and the bridge. The Maid, having remained in the rear to cover the retreat, was not able to get within the walls in time; whether it was that the bridge was blocked up by the crowd, or that the gates were already closed. Being identified by her costume, she was soon surrounded, seized, and dragged from her horse. Her capturer, a Picard archer, was, some say, the bastard of Vendome, who sold her to John of Luxembourg. Burgundians, English, and all saw with amazement that the object of their dread, the monster, the devil, was, after all, only a girl of eighteen.

She knew beforehand that it was to come to this; this sad catastrophe was infallible—nay, more, it was necessary. It was requisite she should suffer. Had she not passed through the supreme trial and purification, dubious shadows would have remained among the rays that beam from her saintly head; she would not have dwelt in men's memory as THE MAID OF ORLEANS.

She had said, on speaking of the deliverance of Orleans and the coronation at Reims: "It was for this I was born." These two things being accomplished, her sanctity was in peril.

War—sanctity; two contradictory words. Sanctity would seem the very opposite of war; it should rather mean love and peace.

(que c'estoit? Dieu le scet), le jour de la Nativité Notre Dame, firent conjuration. . . . de celui jour assaillir Paris." Journal, 395.

* After the retreat had been sounded, Daulon perceived the Maid in a by-place with her followers: "And he asked her what she was doing there alone, and why she did not retreat with the rest; whereupon, after taking off her head-piece, she replied that she was not alone, that she had still with her 50,000 of her men, and that she would not leave the place until she had taken the town. Deponent saith that at that moment, for all she said, she had not with her more than four or five men." Dép. de Daulon, Not. des MSS. iii. 370.

What youthful courage can plunge into battle, without partaking of the sanguinary intoxication of the strife and the victory? She said, when setting out on her career, that she would not use her sword to slay any one. By and by she talks with pleasure of the sword she carried at Compiegne: "a good blade," she said, "for stout cuts and thrusts."* Have we not here a symptom of change? The saint was becoming a captain. The Duke of Alençon says she had a singular aptitude for the modern arm, the deadliest of all, artillery. Commanding undisciplinable soldiers, and incessantly harassed and shocked by their disorderly and licentious conduct, she became rude and choleric, in order to control and punish them. She was especially relentless towards the wanton women that accompanied them. One day she struck one of these unfortunate wretches with St. Catherine's sword, with the flat only; but the virgin sword would not endure the contact, but broke, and could never be reforged.†

Shortly before her capture, she herself took prisoner a Burgundian partisan, Franquet d'Arras, a brigand execrated all over the north. The royal bailiff claimed possession of him, to hang him. At first she refused, but in the end consented to give him up to justice.‡ He deserved the rope a hundred times over; nevertheless, to have betrayed a prisoner, to have consented to a man's death, must have tended to impair her sanctity, even in the eyes of her own followers.

Unhappy condition of such a soul cast among the realities of this world! Every day it was inevitably to lose something of itself. It is not with impunity one becomes suddenly rich, noble, honoured, and the equal of lords and princes. Stately apparel, letters of nobility, royal favours—all these could not fail in the long run to tarnish her heroic simplicity. She had obtained an exemption from tallage for her village, and the king had bestowed the provostship of Vaucouleurs on one of her brothers.

But the greatest danger for the saint lay in her very sanctity, and the adoring reverence of the people. She was entreated to recall a child to life at Lagny. The Count of Armagnac wrote to ask her decision as to which of the two popes should be followed.§ If we may credit her reply (perhaps falsified), she promised to decide after the war was ended, relying on her inward voices to pronounce judgment on the very head and fount of all authority.

And yet it was not pride that actuated her. She never gave herself out for a saint, but often confessed her ignorance of the future.

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* Bonus ad dandum *de bonnes buffes et de bons torchons.* Procès. MS. Feb. 27, 1431.

† See the depositions of the Duke of Alençon and Jean Chartier, ed. Godefroy, pp. 29, 42.

‡ "She was consenting to his death.....because he confessed himself a murderer, thief, and traitor." Interrog. March 14, 1431.

§ In Berriat St. Prix, 337; and Buchon, 539, ed. of 1838.

Being asked on the eve of a battle if the king would win it, she answered that she knew not at all. When some women of Bourges asked her to touch crosses and chaplets, she burst out laughing, and said to dame Margaret with whom she was lodging, "Touch them yourself, they will be quite as good."*

It was, as we have said, the singular originality of this girl, to unite sound sense with enthusiasm; it was this, too, as we shall see, that made her judges implacable. The schoolmen and the logicians, who hated her as one inspired, were the more exasperated against her because they could not despise her as a lunatic, and because she often put their reasonings to silence by the force of a loftier reason.

It was easy to foresee her doom; she herself had strong forebodings of it. From the first she had said, "I must bestir me, I shall act but a year, or scarcely more." Over and over again she reiterated to her confessor, friar Pasquerel, "If I must soon die, tell our lord the king, from me, to found chapels in which prayers shall be offered for the souls of those who shall have died for the defence of the kingdom."†

Her parents having asked her, when they met her at Reims, was she not afraid of anything, she replied, "I fear nothing but treachery."‡

Often towards evening, when she was in the country, if she saw a church, particularly one belonging to the Mendicants, she would go in and mingle with the children who were preparing themselves to receive the communion. If we may believe an old chronicle, the very day on which she was taken prisoner, she went and communicated in the church of St. Jacques de Compiegne, where, leaning sadly against one of the pillars, she said to the good people and the children who were there in great numbers, "My good friends and my dear children, I tell you assuredly there is a man who has sold me; I am betrayed and shall soon be given over to death. Pray to God for me, I entreat you; for I shall no longer be able to serve my king or the noble realm of France."§

It was probable that the Maid was bought and sold as Soissons had just been. The English would have given any money for such a prize in so critical a moment, when their young king was landing in France. But the Burgundians wished to have her and they succeeded; for Jean de Ligny, whose own interests were directly concerned, no less than those of the duke and the Burgundian party in general, eagerly seized the opportunity to purchase the prisoner.

That the Maid had fallen into the hands of a noble lord of the house of Luxembourg, of a vassal of the chivalric duke of Burgundy,‖ the *good* duke as he was called; this was a grand trial for the

* Pr. de Révision, dép. de Marguerite la Touroulde.

† Ibid., dép. de Fr. Pasquerel. ‡ Ibid., dép. de Spinal.

§ Barante, from the Chronicles of Bretagne.

‖ The duke went to see her where she was lodged, and said some words to her which I do not well remember, though I was there present. Monstrelet, v. 294.

chivalry of the age. What had she to fear among loyal knights, she a prisoner of war, a girl, so young, and, above all, a virgin?* Nothing was talked of on all hands but chivalry, and the duty of protecting afflicted dames and damsels; Marshal Boucicaut had lately founded an order for this sole purpose.† Besides this, the worship of the Virgin constantly advancing in the middle ages, having now become the predominant religion,‡ virginity ought apparently to have been an inviolable safeguard.

In order to explain what follows, we must make known the singular discrepance which then existed between ideas and daily practice; however shocking be the contrast, we must place the base realities face to face with the too sublime ideals of the epoch, face to face with the "Imitation" and the Maid; we must (I ask pardon of the chaste girl who is the subject of this narrative) explore to the bottom that world of greed and lust. If we did not know its real character, we could not understand how it was that knights betrayed her who seemed to be the living incarnation of chivalry, and that under the reign of the Virgin, the Virgin appeared, and was so cruelly disowned.

The worship of that time was directed not so much to the Virgin as to woman; its chivalry was that of little Jehan de Saintré; only in this case romance was chaster than history.

Princes set the example. Charles VII. receives Agnes as a present from his wife's mother, the old Queen of Sicily, and takes them all with him, mother, wife, and mistress, all along the Loire, in great peace and harmony.

The English, a graver people, tolerate only wedded love. Gloucester marries Jacqueline; he observes among her ladies one whose beauty and wit pleases him, and marries her too.§

But in this respect, as in every other point, France and England

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* See *suprà* my remarks on the influence of women in the middle ages, on Héloïse, Blanche of Castille, Laura, &c., and particularly my Discourse read before the Institute: "Sur l'éducation des femmes et sur les écoles des religieuses dans les âges Chrétiens" (Mai, 1838).

† "Font à scavoir les treize chevaliers compaignons, portant en leur devise l'escu verd à la Dame Blanche, premièrement, pour ce que tout chevalier est tenu de droict de vouloir garder et défendre l'honneur, l'estat, les biens, la renommée et la louange de toutes dames et damoiselles," etc. Livre des Faicts du Maréchal de Boucicaut, Coll. Petitot, vi. 507.

‡ The festivals of the Virgin go on increasing continually: Annunciation, Presentation, Assumption, &c. Originally her chief festival was the *Purification;* but in the fifteenth century, so little need has she of being purified, that the Immaculate Conception triumphs over all opposition, and becomes almost a dogma. M. Didron has remarked that the Virgin looks old at first in the paintings of the catacombs, but becomes gradually younger during the middle ages. See his Iconographie Chrétienne. The Virgin lost ground considerably in the seventeenth century; the King of Spain's ambassador was laughed at for requesting Louis XIV., in his master's name, to admit the Immaculate Conception.

§ Some say the lady was already his mistress, however that may be, the fact of the bigamy is incontestable. Cf. Lingard, Turner, etc.

fell far short of Flanders,* and its count, the great Duke of Burgundy. The legend that typifies the Low Countries is that of the famous countess, who gave birth to 365 children.† The princes of the country did not quite equal her in this way, but they did their best. A count of Clèves had sixty-three bastards.‡ John of Burgundy, bishop of Cambrai, used to officiate pontifically with his thirty-six bastards and bastards' sons, assisting him at the altar.§

Philip the Good had but sixteen bastards,‖ but he had three wives and twenty-four mistresses.¶ During those woful years 1429 and 1430, and all the while the tragedy of the Maid was pending, he was engrossed with the gay doings of his third marriage. This time his bride was an infanta of Portugal, Philippa of Lancaster, of English blood by the mother's side.** It was in vain the English gave him the command of Paris ;†† they could not keep him there, so eager was he to quit that land of famine, return to Flanders, and receive his young bride. The acts, ceremonies, and festivities cele-

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* I have already spoken of the character of that voluptuous Flanders. I have said how, with its feminine hereditary law, it has so often passed from one master to another, from husband to husband. The Flemish women have often done like Flanders ; divorces are common in that country. (Quetelet, Recherches, 1822, p. 101.) Jacqueline's history is very curious in this point of view ; the valiant countess, the wife of four husbands, who defended her domains against the Duke of Burgundy, did not keep herself so well. She ended by bartering Holland for a last husband. Secluded with him in an old castle, it is said she amused herself in throwing jugs, fairly emptied, over her head into the ditch. We are assured that one of these jugs, which was taken out of the ditch, had an inscription in four verses to the following effect : "Know that Dame Jacqueline having drunk once only out of this jug, threw it over her head into the ditch where it disappeared." Reiffenberg, notes to Barante, iv. 396. See Archives du Nord de la France, t. iv., 1re. livraison (from a MS. in the library of the university of Louvain), and the work M. Van Ertborn has in preparation.—On the 1st of December, 1434, Jacqueline set forth the causes of the nullity of her marriage with the Duke of Brabant : "Doudit mariage et alliance sentoit se conscience blechie, se estoit confessée et l'en avoit estet baillie absolution, moyennant xii. ст. couronnes à donner en amonsnes et en penance du corps que elle avoit accomplit." Particularitus curieéses sur Jacqueline de Barrière, p. 76, 8vo. Mons, 1838.

† Art de vérifier les Dates, Hollande, ann. 1276, iii. 184.

‡ Ibid., Clèves. The part relating to the Netherlands is now known to be the work of Canon Ernest, the learned author of the Hist. de Limbourg, recently edited by M. Lavalleye, Liege, 1837.

§ Reiffenberg, Hist. de la Toison d'Or, Introd., xxv.

‖ There are extant, I know not how many letters and acts of this excellent prince concerning provisions for bastards, pensions of mothers and nurses, &c. See particularly, Archives de Lille, ch. des comptes, Inventaire, viii.

¶ Reiffenberg, l. c.

** Her father was the brave bastard John I., who had founded a new dynasty in Portugal, like the bastard Transtamare in Castile. This was the golden age of bastards. The bold and able Dunois declared at the age of twelve, "That he was not the son of the wealty and ridiculous Canny, whose wealth he would not inherit, and that his name was 'the bastard of Orleans.'"

†† The English seem to have been compelled to this : "Fut par les Parisiens requis au Duc de Bourgogne qu'el lui plût à entreprendre le gouvernement de Paris." Monstrelet, v. 264.

brated on the occasion, interrupted and begun again, occupied whole months. At Bruges especially there were galas of the most incredibly costly description, and lavish extravagancies, enough to ruin all the lords; and the burghers surpassed them. The seventeen nations that had their established trade in Bruges, made the town glitter with the wealth of the world. The streets were spread with the rich soft carpets of Flanders; the best wines flowed in streams for eight days and nights; a stone lion spouted out Rhenish wine, a stag gave out Beaune, and an unicorn rose-water and Malvoisie during meal hours.*

But of all the splendid things in the Flemish festivity, the most splendid were the Flemish ladies, the triumphant beauties of Bruges, such as Rubens has portrayed in the Magdalen of his "Taking down from the Cross." The Portuguese princess could not have felt pleasure in beholding her new subjects. The sight of them had provoked the spite of Jane of Navarre, and forced her to say in spite of herself, "I see none here but queens."†

On his wedding-day (January 10, 1430,) Philip the Good instituted the order of the Golden Fleece,‡ "won by Jason," and adopted the conjugal and comforting motto, "*Autre n'auray*" (I will have none other).

Did his new spouse trust his motto? This is doubtful. This Jason's or Gideon's § fleece (as the Church quickly baptised it) was after all the *golden* fleece; it called to mind those golden floods of hair which Van Eyck, Philip the Good's great painter,‖ pours in amorous profusion down the shoulders of his female saints. Every one beheld in the new order the triumph of fair-complexioned beauty, of the young blooming beauty of the north, over its dark rivals of the south; and the phrase *Autre n'auray* seemed to be one of double meaning, and to be addressed by the Flemish prince to the dames of Flanders.

Notwithstanding these outward forms of chivalry awkwardly imitated from the romances, the history of Flanders at this period is but a coarse roistering revel, with tournaments, passages of arms, and Round Table banquets, serving only as pretext for facile and vulgar

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* Monstrelet, v. 275, &c. † See *supra*, vol. ii. p. 40.

‡ The absurd allegorism of the fifteenth century saw in the Order of the Golden Fleece the glorification of the drapers of Flanders. The real meaning was too plain to be mistaken, The gallant founder joined with the fleece a collar of firestones, with the motto: "Ante ferit quam flamma micat." Twenty meanings have been suggested for this; it has but one. The Garter of England, with its demure motto, and the Rose of Savoy, are not more obscure.

§ And still later, when the prince was growing old, Jason was turned into *Joshua*. Reiffenberg, xxii.—xxiv. I will dwell by and by on the political importance of this Order.

‖ I will speak elsewhere of the revolution which this great man effected in the arts. He was valet-de-chambre, and afterwards councillor to Philip the Good, and made one in the embassy sent to Portugal to bring away the infanta Isabella. See the narrative in Documents Inédits, pub. par M. Gachard, ii. 63—91.

amours, and interminable gluttony and guzzling.* The proper motto of the time was that which the Sire de Ternant dared to assume at the joustings at Arras, *Que j'aie de mes désirs assouvissance, et jamais d'autre bien!*† (Let me have indulgence of my desires, and I ask for no other blessing.)

It was surprising how well the affairs of the Count of Flanders throve in spite of all these wild revels and ruinous acts of profusion. Do what he would to waste, lavish, and destroy, his gains always surpassed his consumption. He went on thriving and strengthening upon the general ruin. He had no obstacle except in Holland; but he acquired without much difficulty the dominant positions of the Somme and the Meuse, Namur and Peronne. In addition to the latter, the English put into his hands Bar sur Seine, Auxerre, Meaux, the approaches to Paris, and lastly Paris itself.

Fortune heaped her gifts thickly upon him; they fell upon him so fast that he had scarcely time to breathe. She cast into the hands of one of his vassals that precious pledge, the Maid, which the English would have bought at any price; and at the same time a new good fortune opened upon him in the Brabant succession, which was vacant, but which he could not possess himself of if he did not secure the friendship of the English.

The duke of Brabant was talking of marrying again and engendering heirs, when he died, very conveniently for the duke of Burgundy!‡ The latter possessed almost all that lay round Brabant, namely, Flanders, Hainaut, Holland, Namur, and Luxembourg, but he wanted the central province, the rich Louvain, and the paramount city of Brussels. The temptation was strong, and accordingly he paid no attention to the rights of his aunt,§ from whom he yet derived his own, and sacrificing even the rights of his wards, his own honour, and his integrity as a guardian,‖ he laid his hands on Brabant. To enable him to retain it, to terminate the affairs of Holland and Luxembourg, and repulse the men of Liege who were laying siege to Namur,¶ it was necessary he should remain on good terms with the English, that is to say, that he should surrender the Maid to them.

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* The festival of the *eaters and drinkers* has been again celebrated this year at Delbeck and Zelick. In it prizes were given to the best eater and the best drinker; a silver tooth to the former, and silver stopcock to the latter.

† Reiffenberg's note to Barante, v. 264.

‡ On the 4th of August, according to the Art de vérifier les Dates; on the 8th, according to Meyer. He was negotiating with Réné of Anjou, the heir to Lorraine, to marry his daughter.

§ Margaret of Burgundy, Countess of Hainault, daughter of Philip the Bold and of Margaret of Flanders, who brought the female fief of Brabant into the house of Burgundy.

‖ The mother of Charles and John of Burgundy (son of the Count of Nevers, killed at Azincourt) married a second time with Philip the Good in 1424, and he shared with her the *garde noble* of his two stepsons. Touching the spoliation of the house of Nevers. See particularly, Bibl. Roy. MSS. fonds St. Victor, 1080, fol. 53—96.

¶ Monstrelet, v. 298, August, 1430.

Philip the *Good* was a good fellow according to the vulgar idea, soft-hearted, particularly towards women, a good son, a good father, easily moved to tears. He wept for those who fell at Azincourt; but his league with the English made more dead men than Azincourt. He shed torrents of tears for his father's death, but torrents of blood to avenge him. Sensibility and sensuality are things that often go together; but sensuality and lust are often not the less cruel on occasion, for all that. When the desired object recedes and eludes the grasp, then concupiscence turns into blind fury. Woe then to whatever obstructs it! The school of Rubens is fond of mingling together tigers and satyrs in its pagan bacchanalia*—"lust hard by hate."

The Duke of Burgundy's vassal, John of Ligny, in whose hands the Maid was, was exactly in the same predicament as his suzerain. Like him he was just then labouring under a fit of cupidity and extreme temptation. He belonged to the illustrious house of Luxembourg; the honour of being of the blood of the Emperor Henry VII. and of king John of Bohemia, was worth the pains of keeping it unsullied; but Jean de Ligny was poor; he was the younger son of a younger son.‡ He had contrived to have himself declared sole heir by his aunt, the rich lady of Ligny and of St. Pol;§ but his inheritance of the very assailable bequest was about to be contested by his elder brother. In this anxious position, Jean was the docile and trembling servant of the Duke of Burgundy, of the English, of everybody. The English pressed him to deliver up his prisoner to them, and it would have been easy enough for them to seize her in the castle of Beaulieu, in Picardy, where they had deposited her. On the other hand, if he let them take her, he was lost in the good graces of the duke of Burgundy, his suzerain, and his judge in the affair of the inheritance, who could ruin him by a single word. As a temporary expedient, he sent her to his castle of Beaurevoir, near Cambrai, on imperial ground.

The English, mortified and exasperated, urged and threatened him. Such was their rage against the Maid that a woman was burned for having spoken well of her.‖ If the Maid herself was not condemned and burned as a witch, if her victories were not ascribed to the fiend, they would remain miracles and works of God in the opinion of the people; in that case God was the foe of the English; they had been well and fairly beaten; *ergo*, their cause was the cause of the devil; arguing according to the notions of the times there was no other conclusion, which, intolerable as it was to

* See, among other pictures, a Jordaens belonging to M. Pankoucke.

† Milton, Par. Lost. i. 417.

‡ He was the third son of John, Lord of Beaurevoir, who was himself a younger son of Guy, Count of Ligny.

§ The aunt's death was imminent; it took place in 1431. See Art de vérifier les Dates, Comtes de St. Pol, iii. 780.

‖ Elle disoit....que Dame Jehanne.....estoit bonne. Journal du Bourgeois de Paris, 411, ed. 1827.

the pride of the English, was still more so to a government of bishops, like that of England, and to the cardinal, the prime mover of everything.

Beaufort had taken things in hand in an almost desperate plight. Gloucester being annulled in England and Bedford in France, he stood alone. He had thought to carry every point by taking the young king to Calais (April 23), and yet the English never moved. He had tried to touch their sense of honour by issuing a proclamation "against those who were frightened by the Maid's enchantments;"* but it had no effect. After having reduced the crusade to the Holy Land† to one against Bohemia, he had contented himself at last with a crusade against Paris. The warlike prelate who had made sure of officiating as a victor in Notre Dame and crowning his ward there, found every road closed against him; from Compiègne the enemy barred against him that of Picardy, and from Louviers that of Normandy.‡ Meanwhile, the war was proceeding languidly, money was disappearing, and the crusade was vanishing in smoke. The devil plainly had a hand in all this, and the cardinal could right himself only by bringing the fiend to bar, and burning that diabolical Maid.

It was absolutely necessary to get her out of the hands of the Burgundians. She had been taken on the 23rd of May; on the 26th a message was sent from Rouen in the name of the vicar of the Inquisition summoning Jean de Ligny to give up the woman, she being suspected of witchcraft. The Inquisition was not very strong in France and its vicar was a poor monk, very timid, a Dominican moreover, and doubtless, like the other mendicants, favourable to the Maid; but he was in Rouen, trembling under the eye of the terrible cardinal, who sternly urged him on. The cardinal had just appointed as captain of Rouen the Earl of Warwick, Henry's governor,§ a man of prompt hand and entirely devoted to him. Warwick held two offices, very dissimilar certainly, but both of them highly confidential, the wardenship of the king and of the king's enemy, the

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* Contra terrificatos incantatonibus Puellæ. Rymer, IV. iv. 160—165, May 3, Dec. 12, 1430.

† Projected by Henry V. See the preceding book.

‡ Although the cardinal raised a great deal of money, he also contributed from his own wealth. A chronicler asserts that the coronation was made *at his cost;* he likewise, no doubt, made the necessary advances towards the expenses of the trial. "Magnificis *suis sumtibus* in regem Franciæ....coronari." Hist. Croyland, contin. apud Gale, Angl. script., i. 516.

§ Young Henry VI. says in his proclamation: "We have chosen the Earl of Warwick. Ad nos erudiendum....in et de bonis moribus, literaturâ, idiomate vario, nutritura et *facetia*." Rymer, IV. iv.. July 1, 1428. The *molle atque facetum*, which Horace attributes to Virgil as the perfection of grace, seems rather out of place when applied, as it were, to the Maid's rugged jailor. It appears as though he was not much more gentle towards his pupil; for the first thing he stipulates for, on accepting the post of governor, is the right of *chastising*. See the articles he presented to the council. Turner, ii. 508.

education of the one, and the superintendence of the other's trial.*

The monk's letter was a document of little weight, and another was procured at the same time from the university. It seemed scarcely to be expected that the members of the university should heartily lend their aid to a proceeding under the papal inquisition, at the very time when they were to fight with the pope at Bâle for the episcopacy. Beaufort himself, as head of the English episcopal body, would naturally prefer a tribunal of bishops, or, if it were possible, a mixed tribunal of bishops and inquisitors acting in concert. Now he happened to have in his suite a bishop very fit for the purpose, a mendicant bishop who fed at his table, and who would undoubtedly try, condemn, and swear as much as should be required.

Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, was a man not without merit. Born at Reims,† close to the birth-place of Gerson, he was a very influential doctor of the university, and a friend of Clemengis, who assures us he was "good and beneficent."‡ This goodness did not prevent his being one of the most violent in the violent Cabochien party. As such he was expelled from Paris in 1413. He returned thither with the Duke of Bedford, became Bishop of Beauvais, and under the English sway was elected by the university conservator of its privileges. But the invasion of northern France by Charles VII. in 1429 was fatal to Cauchon's fortunes; he strove to keep Beauvais attached to the English party, and was driven out by the inhabitants. He did not waste his time in Paris with the needy Bedford, who could not pay zeal its due rewards, but went where wealth and power were to be found in England, with the Cardinal of Winchester. He became an Englishman and spoke English. Beaufort perceived what good use might be made of such a man, and secured him by doing for him as much as he could have ever hoped for and more.§ The Archbishop of Rouen had just been translated and the cardinal recommended Cauchon to the pope for that great see.‖ But neither the pope nor the chapter would have him; Rouen being then at war with the university of Paris,¶ could not receive

* See, Commission pour faire revue du Comte de Warwick, capitaine des château, ville et pont de Rouen, et d'une lance à cheval, quatorze à pied et quarante-cinq archers, pour la sureté du château, etc. Arch. du Royaume K. 63, 22 Mars, 1430.

† Respecting Cauchon, see Du Boulay, Hist. Univ. Paris, v. 912. Chastellain the Burgundian (ed. Buchon, 1836, p. 66) calls him "Très noble et très solempnel clerc." We have spoken already of his extreme harshness towards churchmen of the opposite party. See Rel. de St. Denis. MS. Baluze, Bibl. Roy., t. dernier, folio 176.

‡ See also the letter addressed to him by Clemengis, with this heading: "Contractus amicitiæ mutuæ." Rec. de Clem. Epist., ii. 323.

§ Gallia Christina, xi. 87, 88.

‖ Litteræ directæ Domino Summo Pontifici pro translatione D. Petri Cauchon, episcopi Belvacensis, ad ecclesiam metropolitanam Rothomagensem. Rymer, IV. iv. 152, Dec. 15, 1429.

¶ See La Remontrance de Rouen contre l'université. Chéruel, 167.

one of its members as its bishop. The whole affair was suspended, and Cauchon remained gaping at the magnificent quarry he had thought his own, hoping always that the invincible cardinal would remove the obstacles before him, filled with devotion for his patron, and knowing no other god besides him.

It happened very luckily that the Maid had been made prisoner just on the confines of Cauchon's diocese, not indeed within the diocese itself, but there were hopes of making it appear that it was so. Cauchon wrote therefore as judge ordinary to the King of England, and claimed jurisdiction in this case, and on the 12th of June, it was made known to the university by royal letter that the bishop and the inquisitor would try the cause jointly. The proceedings under the inquisition were not the same as those of the ordinary Church tribunals; there was no objection raised, however. The two justices being willing to act thus together, there remained but one difficulty: the culprit was still in the hands of the Burgundians.

The university stepped forward, and wrote again to the Duke of Burgundy and to Jean de Ligny (July 14th). Cauchon, in his exceeding zeal making himself the agent and courier of the English, carried the letter with his own hands to the two dukes.* At the same time he summoned them as a bishop to deliver over to him a prisoner over whom he had jurisdiction. In this strange proceeding, we find him pass from the part of a judge to that of a negotiator, and make offers of money; though the woman in question cannot be considered a prisoner of war, the King of England will give the bastard of Vendome two or three hundred livres yearly rent, and a sum of six thousand livres to those in whose keeping she is. Towards the end of the letter he advances as far as ten thousand livres, "as much," he says, "as would be given for a king or a prince according to the custom of France."

The English did not rely so exclusively on the efforts of the university and Cauchon, as to abstain from the most energetic means on their own part. On the day Cauchon delivered his summons, or the day after, the council of England put the markets of the Low Countries under interdict (July 19), particularly that of Antwerp, forbidding English merchants to buy there the linens and other goods which they took in exchange for their wool.†

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* Cauchon received a hundred sols per day from the English, as appears from the quittance signed by him (communicated by M. Jules Quicherat from the MS. Bibl. Roy., Coll. Gaignière, vol. iv.)

† Rymer, IV. iv. 165, July 19, 1430. In order to comprehend the general character and bearings of the sort of commercial war which was beginning between the young manufacturing industry of England and that of the Netherlands, see the prohibitions against exporting the cloths and woollen threads of England into Flanders (1428, 1464, 1494), and finally, the permission to export them under a promised reduction of the duties on such unwrought wool as the English should sell to the Flemings at Calais. Rapport du Jury sur l'Industrie Belge, redigé par M. Gachard. 1836.

This was a home blow to the Count of Flanders, since it affected the two staple manufactures of the country, linen and cloth; the English ceased to purchase the one, and to furnish raw materials for the other.

Whilst the English were labouring so actively to destroy the Maid, what was Charles VII. doing to save her? Nothing whatever apparently;* yet he had prisoners in his hands, and might have protected her by threatening reprisals. He had recently negotiated anew, through his chancellor, the Archbishop of Rheims; but the archbishop and the other statesmen had never been very favourable to the Maid. The Lorraine-Anjou party, and the old Queen of Sicily, who had shown her such countenance, could do nothing for her at this moment with the Duke of Burgundy. The Duke of Lorraine was at the point of death,† a dispute was already going on for his patrimony, and Philip the Good was supporting a competitor against Réné of Anjou, the son-in-law and heir of the Duke of Lorraine.

Thus on all sides that world of interest and covetousness was opposed to the Maid, or at least indifferent as to her fate. The good Charles VII. did nothing for her, the good Duke Philip gave her up to her mortal foes. The house of Anjou wanted Lorraine, the Duke of Burgundy wanted Brabant, and above all he wanted a continuance of the Flemish commerce with England. The inferior actors had also their interests: Jean de Ligny was looking for the inheritance of St. Pol, Cauchon for the Archbishopric of Rouen.

It was in vain Jean de Ligny's wife threw herself at his feet, and implored him not to dishonour himself. He was not free; he had already received English money,‡ and he gave up Joan, not directly indeed to the English, but to the Duke of Burgundy. This family of De Ligny and St. Pol, with its traditions of greatness and its inordinate ambition, was fated to pursue fortune to the uttermost, even to the scaffold.§ That member of the family who gave up the Maid, seemed conscious of his miserable degradation; he had a camel succumbing under its burden blazoned on his arms, with the

* M. de l'Averdy offers only a conjectural defence of the king. M. Berriat Saint Prix considers him inexcusable. p. 239. In the letters by which Charles VII. grants sundry privileges to the people of Orleans, immediately after the siege, there is not a word about the Maid. The deliverance of the city is owing "To divine grace, to the co-operation of the inhabitants, and to the assistance of the military." Ordonn. XIII., pref. xv. See, however, Saintrailles' expedition, *infrà*.

† He died some months afterwards, Jan. 25, 1431. Art de vér. les Dates, iii. 54.

‡ The ransom was paid before the 20th of October, as appears from one of the documents copied by M. Mercier from the Archives of St. Martin des Champs. Note de l'Abbé Dubois, Dissertation, ed. Buchon, 1827, p. 217.

§ See further on the death of Jean de Ligny's nephew, the famous Constable de St. Pol, who hoped for a while to have made himself an independent state between the possessions of the house of France and Burgundy, and was decapitated in Paris, 1475.

wretched motto disowned by all men of spirit, "No one is bound to impossibilities."*

How fared it with the prisoner meanwhile? Her body was at Beaurevoir, her soul at Compiègne; she was fighting in soul and spirit for the king who forsook her. She felt that without her the faithful town of Compiègne was about to fall, and with it the king's cause in all the north. She had already attempted to escape from the castle of Beaulieu. At Beaurevoir the temptation to fly was still stronger, for she knew that the English were requiring her to be given up to them, and she dreaded falling into their hands. She consulted her saints, and received from them no other answer, than that she must bear her fate, "that she would not be delivered, unless she saw the king of the English." But she asked herself, will God leave these poor people of Compiègne to die?† The temptation prevailed when it had assumed this form of keen compassion. Her saints spoke to her in vain; for the first time she disregarded them; she threw herself down from the castle, and fell nearly dead at the foot. The ladies De Ligny afforded her the relief her injuries required; but she wished to die, and was two days without eating.

Being given up to the Duke of Burgundy, she was taken to Arras, and then to the keep of Crotoy, which has since disappeared beneath the sands. Thence she looked on the sea, and at times discerned the English coast, the hostile land into which she had hoped to carry war, and deliver the Duke of Orleans.‡ A priest who was among the prisoners read mass every day in the castle. Joan prayed fervently and her prayers were heard. Prisoner as she was, her agency was still felt; her prayers passed through her dungeon walls, and scattered the enemy.

Compiègne was delivered on the 1st of November, the very day she had predicted from a revelation made her by the archangel. The Duke of Burgundy had advanced as far as Noyon, as though it were to meet the disgraceful blow more nearly and in person. He was again defeated shortly afterwards at Germigny (November 20th). At Peronne Saintrailles offered him battle, but he durst not accept it.

These humiliations no doubt confirmed the duke in his alliance with the English, and fixed his determination to give up the Maid to them, but the mere threat of an interruption of commerce would have been enough for this. The Count of Flanders, all knight and restorer of chivalry as he thought himself, was in reality the servant of artisans and shopkeepers. The towns that manufactured cloth, and the rural districts where thread was spun, would not long have endured a suspension of commerce and a cessation of work; a rebellion would have broken out.

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* Le Mausolée de la Toison d'Or. Amst., 1689, p. 14. Hist. de l'Ordre, iv. 27.

† "Comme Dieu layra mourir ces bonnes gens de Compieigne, qui ont esté si loyaux à leur seigneur? Interrog. du 14 Mars, 1431.

‡ Interr., 12 Mars, 1431.

At the moment when the English had the Maid at last in their hands, and could begin her trial, their affairs were in a very bad condition. Far from having recovered Louviers, they had lost Chateaugaillard; La Hire, who took it by escalade, found Barbazan a prisoner there, and let loose that redoubtable captain. The towns were going over of their own accord to the side of Charles VII., and the citizens were driving out the English. The men of Melun, so close to Paris, ejected their garrison.

The rapid downhill course of English affairs was only to be checked by some strong machinery, and such had Beaufort ready in the trial and the coronation. These two were to work together, or rather they were one thing; because to dishonour Charles VII., and to prove that his coronation had been brought about by a witch, was so much the more to sanctify that of Henry VI.; if the one king was shown to be the devil's anointed, the other became the anointed of God.

Henry entered Paris on the 2nd of December.* The university had been made to write on the 21st of November to Cauchon, accusing him of tardiness, and requesting the king to begin the trial. Cauchon was in no hurry, thinking it hard, apparently, to begin the work, whilst the payment was as yet uncertain. It was not until a month later that he sought and obtained authority from the chapter of Rouen to proceed in that diocese.† Instantly Beaufort issued an order in which he made the king say that, "having been so requested by the Bishop of Beauvais, and exhorted by his dear daughter, the University of Paris, he commanded the keepers to *conduct* the culprit to the bishop."‡ *Conduct* was the word used; the prisoner was not committed to the ecclesiastical judges, but only lent, "to be taken back if she was not convicted." The English ran no risk; she could not escape death; if fire failed, there remained the sword.

Cauchon opened the proceedings at Rouen, on the 9th of January, 1431. He made the vicar of the inquisition sit with him, and began by holding a sort of consultation with eight licensed doctors or masters of arts of Rouen, before whom he laid the informations he had received concerning the Maid. These had been collected beforehand by her enemies, and did not appear sufficient in the eyes of the Rouen lawyers. They were in reality so inadequate,

* The route through Picardy being too dangerous, he was taken by way of Rouen. In his letter dated Rouen, Nov. 6, 1430, he empowers the chancellor of France to postpone the return of the parliament, "Considering that the roads are very dangerous and perilous." In another, dated Paris, Nov. 13, he extends the delay. Ordonn. XIII., 159.

† The chapter did not make up its mind to this until after a solemn deliberation: "Vocentur ad deliberandum super petitis per D. episcopum Belvacensem, et compareant sub pœnâ pro quolibet deficiente amittendi omnes distributiones per octo dies.... Assertiones pro quâdam muliere in carceribus detentâ..... eidem in gallico exponantur et caritative moneatur." Arch. de Rouen, reg. capt..

‡ 15 Avril, 1431, fol. 98.

§ Notices des MSS., iii. 13.

that the trial, which had at first been defined, on these defective data, a *prosecution for magic*, became a *prosecution for heresy*.

In order to conciliate these refractory Normans, and render them less punctilious as to forms, Cauchon nominated one of them, Jean de la Fontaine, to be examining councillor; but he reserved for a certain Estivet, one of his Beauvais canons who had followed him, the more active functions of promoter of the prosecution. He contrived to waste a month in these preliminaries ;* but at last, the young king having been carried back to London (February 9), and Beaufort being freed from all uneasiness on that score, the latter returned in earnest to the affair of the trial. And trusting no one's eye but his own to watch the proceedings, he fixed his abode at Rouen that he might see how Cauchon did his business.

The first thing to be done was to make sure of the monk who represented the Inquisition. Cauchon, having assembled the Norman priests and doctors of Paris in a canon's house, sent a message to the Dominican requiring him to join him. The monk replied timidly, that "if his powers were sufficient he would do what he ought." The bishop failed not to declare the powers quite sufficient ; whereupon the monk again objected that "he would fain keep aloof, both for scruples of conscience and for the safety of the proceedings;" and that "the bishop ought rather to substitute some one in his stead, until it should have been fully ascertained that his powers were sufficient."†

It was all in vain ; he could not escape, but was forced to sit as judge whether he would or not. One thing that, next to fear doubtless contributed most to make him acquiesce was, that Beaufort assigned him twenty gold sols for his pains.‡ The mendicant friar had, probably, never before seen so much gold in his life.

The Maid was brought before her judges on the 21st of February. The Bishop of Beauvais admonished her "with gentleness and charity," entreating her to speak the truth as to what she should be asked, in order to shorten her trial and unburden her conscience, without seeking for subterfuges. Reply : "I know not what it is about which you want to examine me ; you might possibly ask me

* On the 13th of January Cauchon assembles some abbots, doctors, and licentiates, and tells them that some articles on which the prisoner shall be examined may be extracted from the informations already taken. Ten days are spent in making this short extract ; it is approved on the 23rd, and Cauchon appoints the Norman Jean de la Fontaine, licentiate in canon law, to conduct this preliminary investigation—a sort of preliminary inquest as to the life and character of the culprit, which was the usual commencement of ecclesiastical trials. Notices des MSS , iii. 17.

† I would fain believe that this repugnance on the part of the vicars of the inquisition was the result of a humane feeling. I find, in a document of the thirteenth century, that an inquisitor of Toulouse complained of the severity of the secular judges. Arch. du Royaume J. 1024.

‡ See the quittance in the documents copied by M. Mercier from the archives of St. Martin des Champs. Note de l'Abbé Dubois, Dissertation, ed. Buchon, 1827, p. 219.

things I should not tell you." She consented to be sworn to speak the truth as to all that did not concern her visions ; "But as to this latter point," said she, "you may cut off my head sooner." Nevertheless she was brought to swear that she would reply "as to what concerned the faith."

The court reiterated its pressing demands on the following day, February 22, and again on the 24th ; but she still resisted. "It is a common saying with children, that *people are often hanged for having spoken the truth*." Tired out at last by the importunity of her judges, she consented to swear that "she would say what she knew *touching her trial*, but not all she knew."*

Being examined as to her age, her name, and surname, she said, she was about nineteen. "In the place where I was born they called me Jehannette, and in France, Jehanne." But as for the surname (the Maid) it seems that from a caprice of female modesty she was unwilling to declare it ; she evaded it by a bashful untruth. "As to a surname, I know nothing about it."

She complained of having irons on her legs. The bishop told her that as she had several times attempted to escape, it was necessary to put her in irons. "It is true I have done so," she said ; "it is a thing which every prisoner has a right to do. If I could escape no one could upbraid me with having broken my troth ; I have promised nothing."

She was ordered to repeat the *Pater* and the *Ave*, perhaps under the superstitious notion that if she was vowed to the devil, she could not recite those prayers. "I will repeat them willingly if Monseigneur de Beauvais will hear me in confession." An adroit and touching demand : in thus offering her confidence to her judge and her enemy, she would have made him her spiritual father and the witness of her innocence.

Cauchon refused, but I can easily believe that he was affected. He broke up the court for that day ; and on the following he did not conduct the examination in person, but left one of his colleagues to do so.

At the fourth hearing her manner was singularly animated. She did not conceal the fact that she had heard her voices. "They awoke me," she said, "I clasped my hands and prayed them to advise me, and they said to me 'ask of Our Lord.'" "And what more did they say to you ?" "That I should answer you boldly."

"I cannot say all, I am more afraid of saying anything that may displease them than of replying to you. . . For this day I beg you will not question me."

The bishop insisted, seeing her moved. "But Joan, do you mean to tell us that one displeases God by saying what is true ?" "But my voices told me certain things not for you but for the king." And she added vehemently, "Ah, if he knew them, he would the

* Interr. 24 Févr., 1431.

better enjoy his dinner. I wish he knew them and drank no wine from now till Easter."

Among these simple phrases she uttered sublime things : "I come from God, I have nothing to do here ; send me back to God from whom I am come."

"You say you are judge ; bethink you well what you do, for truly I am sent by God : you put yourself in great danger."

These words no doubt irritated her judges, and they put an insiduous and perfidious question to her, such a question as no one can, without crime, address to any living human being ; "Joan, do you believe that you are in a state of grace?"

They thought they had entangled her inextricably. To have said no, would have been to avow herself unworthy to have been the instrument of Heaven. But on the other hand how should she have said yes? Which of us, frail beings as we are, is sure of being in a state of grace? None but the proud and presumptuous, those who are above all others the furthest from that state.

She cut the knot with heroic and Christian simplicity :—"If I am not, God make me so ; if I am, God keep me so."*

The Pharisees were struck mute.†

But with all her heroism she was a woman still. After uttering this sublime phrase her spirits fell; doubts as to her condition came over her, as is natural to a Christian soul ; and she began to question and seek to reassure herself. "Oh, if I knew that I was not in God's grace, I should be the most sorrowful being in the world. . . . But if I were in sin, the voice assuredly would not come to me. . . . I wish that every one could hear it as I do myself."

These words again enabled her judges to lay hold on her. After a long pause they returned to the charge with redoubled rancour, and beset her with a series of questions likely to ruin her. Did not the voices tell her to *hate* the Burgundians? Used she not in her childhood to go to the *Fairies' Tree,* &c ? They would already have burned her, if they could, as a witch.

At the sixth sitting they attacked her on a delicate, dangerous point, that of the apparitions. The bishop suddenly became compassionate, asked her in a honeyed voice, "How have you been since Saturday, Joan ?" "As you see," said the poor heavily-ironed prisoner. "I have fared as well as I was able."

"Do you fast every day this Lent, Joan ?" "Does this concern the trial ?" "Yes, truly." "Well, then, yes ; I have fasted always."

She was then pressed on the subject of her visions, on a sign said to have appeared to the dauphin, on St. Catherine and St. Michael. Among other hostile and unbecoming questions, she was asked whether St. Michael *was naked* when he appeared to her. To this vile question she answered with heavenly purity, without under-

* Interr., 24 Févr.

† "Fuerunt multùm stupefacti, et illa hora dimiserunt" Procès de Révision, Notices des MSS., iii. 477.

standing its purport, "Do you suppose Our Lord has not wherewith to clothe him ?"*

On the 3rd of March, she was again plied with far-fetched questions to extort from her a confession of some wicked intercourse with the devil. "This St. Michael and the female saints, have they bodies and limbs ? Are the figures you mention really angels ?" "Yes, I believe so as firmly as I believe in God." This answer was carefully noted.

Next they proceeded to the male habiliments and the standard. "Did not the men-at-arms make themselves standards resembling yours? Did they not repair them ?" "Yes, when the staves were broken." "Did you not say that those standards would bring them luck?" "No, I only said, enter boldly among the English, and I will do so myself."

"But why was this standard carried into the church of Reims to the coronation, instead of those of the other captains?" "It had been where there was toil; good reason was there that it should be where there was honour."†

"What did your people mean in kissing your feet, hands, and garments?" "The poor people came gladly to me, because I did them no wrong; I supported and defended them according to my power."‡

There was no heart that could hear such replies unmoved. Cauchon thought it prudent to proceed thenceforth in company only with some safe men, and as quietly as possible. We find the number of the assessors varying at every sitting, from the beginning of the trial, some going away, others coming. The place of examination varied likewise; at first it was the hall of the castle of Rouen; afterwards it was the prison, whither in order "to avoid fatiguing the others," Cauchon took with him only two assessors, and two witnesses (from the 10th to the 17th of March). What perhaps emboldened him to proceed thus with closed doors, was that he was thenceforth sure of the support of the Inquisition, the vicar having at last received authority from the inquisitor-general of France to sit as judge along with the bishop (March 12).§

In these new examinations only a few points marked out beforehand by Cauchon were insisted on.

"Had the voices commanded her to make that sortie from Compiègne, in which she was taken prisoner ?" She did not answer this directly. "The (female) saints had told me for certain that I should be taken before St. John's day, that it was necessary it should be so, and that I was not to be astonished, but take all contentedly,

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* Interr., 27 Févr., ed. Buchon, 75, for other strange casuistic questions see p. 131 *et passim.*

† Ibid., March 3 and 17, pp. 81, 82, 132, 133. ‡ Ibid., March 3.

§ At the first examination there were present thirty-nine assessors; at the second (Feb. 22) forty-seven ; on the 24th, forty ; on the 27th, fifty-three ; on the 3rd March, thirty-eight, &c. Notices des MSS., iii. 28.

and that God would help me. Since such was the will of God, it is all for the best that I have been taken."

"Do you think you did well in leaving home without permission from your father and mother? Ought not one to honour father and mother?" "They have forgiven me."

"Do you think, then, that you were not sinning in acting so?" "God commanded it; though I had a hundred fathers and mothers, I would have left home."*

"Did not the voices call you daughter of God, daughter of the Church, the great-hearted girl?" "Before the siege of Orleans was raised, the voices called me, and do daily call me, Joan the Maid, daughter of God."

"Was it well done to attack Paris on the day of Our Lady's nativity?" "It is well done to keep the festivals of Our Lady; it would be well in conscience to keep them every day."

"Why do you leap down from the castle of Beaurevoir?" (They wanted her to say that she wished to kill herself.) "I heard say that the poor people of Compiègne would be all killed, even to the children of seven years; and I knew besides that I had been sold to the English; I would rather have died, than been in the hands of the English."†

"Do St. Catherine and St. Margaret hate the English?" "They love what Our Lord loves, and they hate what He hates." "Does God hate the English?" "As to God's love or hate for the English, and how he esteems their souls, I know nothing; but I know well that they will all be driven out of France, except those of them who will perish in it."‡

"Is it not a mortal sin to admit a man to ransom, and then to put him to death?" "I have not done so." "Was not Franquet d'Arras put to death?" "I consented to this, not having been able to exchange him for one of my men; he confessed that he was a brigand and a traitor. His trial lasted fifteen days, at the bailiff's Court of Senlis." "Did you not give money to the man who took Franquet?" "I am not treasurer of France, to give money."§

"Do you think that your king did well to kill Monseigneur de Bourgogne, or cause him to be killed?" "It was a great mischief for the realm of France. But whatever took place between them, God sent me to the aid of the King of France."‖

"Joan, do you know by revelation whether or not you will escape?" "This has nothing to do with your trial. Do you want me to speak against myself?" "Have the voices told you nothing about it?" "This does not concern your trial. I leave the matter in our Lord's hands, who will do as it shall please Him."

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* Procès. ed. 1827, 12 Mars, p. 98.

† Ibid., 14 Mars, 108. She replied next day to a similar question, that she would endeavour again to escape if God allowed her: "Faceret ipsa *une entreprinse,* allegans proverbium gallicum, Ayde toi, Dieu te aydera." Ibid., 15 Mars.

‡ Ibid., 17 Mars.

§ Ibid., 14 Mars.

‖ Ibid., 17 Mars.

And after a pause, she continued: "By my troth I know neither the day nor the hour. God's will be done." "Have your voices told you nothing generally?" "Well, yes, they told me I should be delivered, and bade me be cheerful and bold."*

Another day she said: "The (female) saints tell me I shall be delivered with great triumph; and again they say to me, 'Take all in good part, care not for thy martyrdom; thou shalt come at last to the kingdom of Paradise.'"† "And since they told you that, you are sure of being saved, and of not going to hell?" "Yes, I believe what they have told me as firmly as if I were saved already." "This reply is of great weight." "Yes, it is for me a great treasure." "So you think you can never henceforth commit mortal sin?" "I know nothing about it; I leave all to our Lord."

The judges had at last come upon the true ground of accusation; they had here found a strong point. To make that chaste and holy girl pass for a witch, for an imp of the devil, was a thing of no likelihood, and they were forced to give up the project; but in her very sanctity, as in that of all mystics, there was an assailable side, namely, the secret voice held equal to or preferred before the Church's instructions and the prescriptions of authority; inspiration, but free; revelation, but personal; submission to God—what God? the God within her own breast.

The judges closed these first examinations by asking her if she would defer all her words and acts to the Church's decision. To this she replied, "I love the Church, and would support it with all my power. As for the good works I have done, I must leave them to the judgment of the King of Heaven, who sent me."‡ The question being repeated, she still returned the same answer, adding, "Our Lord and the Church are all one."

She was then told it was necessary to make a distinction, that there was the Church *triumphant*, viz., God, the saints, and the souls that were saved, and the Church *militant*—in other words, the pope, the cardinals, the clergy, and all good Christians, which Church, "duly assembled," cannot err, and is guided and governed by the Holy Spirit. "Will you not submit to the Church *militant?*" "I came to the King of France by command of God, the Virgin Mary, the saints, and the *victorious* Church on high; to that Church I submit myself and my works, what I have done or shall do." "And to the Church *militant?*" "I will now answer nothing else."

According to one of the assessors, she declared that on certain points she would believe neither bishop, nor pope, nor any one else; that what she knew she had from God.§

The point at issue was thus defined in its simplicity and grandeur, and the real litigation began: on the one side, authority and

* Procès, ed. 1827, 14 Mars. † Ibid., 14 Mars. ‡ Ibid., 17 Mars.

§ Non crederet nec prælato suo, nec papæ, nec cuiquam, quia hoc habebat à Deo. Notices des MSS., iii. 417.

the visible Church; on the other, inspiration attesting the invisible Church;—invisible for vulgar eyes, but the pious girl saw it clearly; she contemplated it unceasingly and heard it within herself; in her heart she carried those saints and angels she relied on. There was the Church for her; there God's light shone; everywhere else how deep was the darkness!

Such being the nature of her trial, all hope was lost for the prisoner, her doom was inevitable. She could not give way; she could not without lying disavow or deny what she saw and heard so distinctly. On the other hand, could authority remain authority if it renounced its jurisdiction and forbore to punish? The Church militant is an armed Church! it bears the two-edged sword.—Against whom? Of course against the disobedient.

Terrible was that Church in the persons of the logicians, the schoolmen, the enemies of inspiration; terrible and implacable, if it were represented by the Bishop of Beauvais. But above the bishop were there not other judges? Was it possible that the episcopal and universitary party, which preached up the supremacy of councils, should not recognise as supreme judge in this case its council of Basle which was about to open? Again, the papal inquisition and the Dominican its vicar, surely did not deny that the pope's jurisdiction was superior to its own, which emanated therefrom.

A lawyer of Rouen, that same Jean de la Fontaine, Cauchon's friend and the Maid's enemy, thought he could not in conscience allow a prisoner without counsel to remain in ignorance of the fact that there were judges of appeal, and that she might have recourse to them without giving way on any essential. Two monks were also of opinion that the pope's supreme right should be reserved. However irregular it might have been that assessors should singly visit and advise the prisoner, these three honest men, seeing all forms violated by Cauchon for the triumph of iniquity, did not hesitate themselves to violate them for the sake of justice. They went intrepidly to the prison, entered, and advised her to appeal. She did so next day to the pope and the council. Cauchon, exasperated to fury, sent for the keepers and asked them who had visited their prisoner. The lawyer and the two monks were in great danger of death.* From that day they disappear, and with them vanishes from the proceedings the last semblance of equity.

Cauchon had hoped at first to secure to his side the authority of the lawyers, which was of such weight in Rouen, but had soon found himself disappointed. When he communicated the first acts of the trial to one of these grave men, Maître Jehan Lohier, the latter told him flatly that the proceedings were good for nothing, that everything was informal, that the assessors were not free, that the business was carried on with closed doors, and that the accused, a simple girl, was not capable of answering upon such great matters and

* The inquisitor declared that if the two monks were molested, he would no longer take any part in the trial. Notices des MSS., 502.

to such doctors. Lastly, the man of the law dared to say to the churchman, "It is a prosecution against the honour of the prince whose part the girl takes; he, too, should be cited and assigned a defender." This intrepid and upright conduct which reminds us of Papinian's before Caracalla, might have cost Lohier dear; but the Norman Papinian did not await death on his curule chair, like his prototype, but instantly set out for Rome, where the pope gladly secured such a man and gave him a seat in the tribunals of the Holy See; he died as dean of the Rota.*

Cauchon had apparently a better chance of support from the theologians. After the first examinations, armed with the answers Joan had given against herself, he shut himself up with his confidants, and availing himself especially of the pen of an able member of the university of Paris, he drew from those replies a small number of articles on which the principal doctors and the ecclesiastical bodies were to give their opinions. This was the detestable usage, but after all (whatever may have been said to the contrary) it *was* the ordinary and regular usage in inquisitional proceedings. These propositions, extracted from the Maid's replies and drawn up in general terms, wore a fallacious appearance of impartiality. In reality they were but parodies of her replies, and could not fail to be pronounced on by the doctors consulted, in a manner accordant with the hostile and unfair intention of their author.†

But notwithstanding the insidious form in which they were drawn up, notwithstanding the dread that lay upon the doctors consulted, their opinions were far from being unanimous against the prisoner. Of these doctors, the true theologians, the sincere believers, those who had retained the firm faith of the middle ages, could not so easily reject apparitions and visions. Had they done so, they must also have doubted all the miracles in the lives of the saints, and questioned every legend. The venerable Bishop of Avranches was consulted, and replied that according to the doctrines of St. Thomas there was nothing impossible in what the girl alleged, nothing that ought to be lightly rejected.‡

The Bishop of Lisieux, whilst he admitted that Joan's revelations might have been dictated to her by the devil, humanely subjoined that they might also be *simply lies;* and that if she did not submit to the Church, she ought to be pronounced schismatic, and vehemently *suspected* in point of faith.

Several lawyers gave their opinions like genuine Normans, de-

* See the exceedingly curious deposition of the honest registrar Guillaume Manchon. Notices des MSS., 500.

† They were communicated at first to some of the assessors, to those whom Cauchon thought the safest men. But even they thought it necessary to apply a corrective to the articles: "She submits to the Church Militant, in so far as that Church imposes on her nothing contrary to her revelations made and to be made." Cauchon deemed, not without some reason, that such a conditional submission was no submission at all, and he took it on himself to suppress this qualifying sentence. Ibid., 411.

‡ Ibid., 418.

claring her culpable, most culpable, *unless she had received orders from God.* A bachelor went further; although condemning her, he required, in consideration of her sex's frailty, that she *should be made to repeat the twelve propositions* (he rightly suspeeted that they had not been eommunicated to her), and that they should then be laid before the pope. This would have been an adjournment *sine die.**

The assessors, assembled in the archiepiscopal ehapel, deeided against the Maid on the propositions. The Chapter of Rouen, which was likewise eonsulted, showed no haste to eome to a decision, and seeure sueh a victory to the man it detested and dreaded to have for arehbishop. It wished to know the opinion of the university of Paris. What that would be, admitted of no doubt; the Gallican universitary and seholastie party eould not be favourable to the Maid; a member of that party, the Bishop of Coutanees, surpassed all the rest in the harshness and strangeness of his reply. He wrote to the Bishop of Beauvais† that he deemed her confederate with the fiend, "because she had not the two qualities required by St. Gregory—*viz.*, virtue and humanity," and because her assertions were so heretical that, even though she should reeall them, it would nevertheless be neeessary to keep her in safe eustody.

It was a strange speetaele to see these theologians and doctors labouring with all their might to destroy what constituted the foundation of their doetrine, and the religious principle of the middle ages in general—namely, belief in revelations and in the intervention of supernatural beings. They had doubts, at least, as to that of the angels, but their faith in the devil remained whole and unshaken.

The important question, as to whether inward revelations should be silent and disavow themselves when the Church so eommands, that question loudly debated abroad, was it not also agitated in silenee, in the soul of her who affirmed and believed more strongly than all others? Was not that battle of faith waged in faith's very sanetuary, that loyal and simple heart? I have some reason to think so.

Sometimes she deelared her submission to the pope, and desired to be sent before him. Sometimes she made a distinetion, maintaining that in matters of *faith*, she was subject to the pope, the prelates, and the Church; but that as to what she had *done*, she could hold herself responsible only to God. Sometimes she waived all distinetions, and east herself, without explanation, "on her King, the judge of heaven and earth."

Whatever pains may have been taken to obscure these things, and to hide this human aspeet of a personage whom it has been sought to exhibit as wholly divine, the variations are yet visible.

* Notices des MSS., 52, 53.

† He wrote to the bishop, apparently because he did not choose to recognise the inquisitor as judge. Ibid., 53.

It has been erroneously asserted, that the judges succeeded in deluding her as to the true nature of these questions. A witness says, with reason: "She was very subtle, she had a woman's subtlety."* I should be disposed to attribute to these internal conflicts the illness with which she was attacked, and which nearly caused her death. Her recovery did not take place until the period when her apparitions changed, as she herself informs us, when Michael, the angel of battles, ceasing to support her, gave place to Gabriel, the angel of grace and divine love.¶

She fell ill in Passion Week. The temptation, no doubt, began on Palm Sunday.† The rustic girl, born on the verge of the forest, and who had always lived beneath the blue sky, was forced to pass Easter-day, that festival of flowers, in her gloomy prison. The great *aid* which the Church evokes,‡ came not for her; *the door was not opened.*§

It opened on Tuesday, but opened to let the accused be led to the great hall of the castle before her judges. The articles that had been extracted from her replies were read to her, and the bishop began by setting forth to her, that "these doctors were all churchmen, clerks, and learned in the law, divine and human, and being all benign and compassionate, wished to proceed mildly, without calling for vengeance, *or corporal punishment*,‖ but only to enlighten her, and put her in the way of truth and salvation; that as she was not sufficiently instructed in a matter of such high import, the bishop and the inquisitor gave her permission to choose one or more of those present to advise her." The prisoner, standing before that assembly in which she saw not one friendly countenance, replied gently: "For what you admonish me, touching my own weal and our faith, I thank you; as for the advice you give me, it is not my intention to depart from our Lord's counsel."

The first article related to the capital point, submission. She replied as before: "I believe fully that our holy father, the bishops, and others of the Church, are ordained to guard the Christian *faith*, and to punish those who fail therein. As for my *acts*, I will submit only to the Church of heaven, to God and the Virgin, and the saints of Paradise. I have not failed in Christian faith, and I would not do so."

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* Déposition de Jean Beaupère, Notices des MSS., iii. 509.

† "I know not why," says a great master in spiritual things, "God chooses the most solemn feast-days further to try and purify those who belong to him.. ..It is only on high, in the feast of heaven, that we shall be delivered from all our sufferings." St. Cyran, in Mémoires de Lancelot, i. 64.

‡ Palm Sunday at Prime: "Deus in *adjutorium* meum intende."

§ The service for this day, as every one knows, is one of those that have retained the fine dramatic forms of the middle ages. The procession finds the church door closed; the officiating priest knocks. Attollite portas.....And *the door opens* for the Lord.

‖ Procès, 3 Avril and not 29 Mars, as stated in the MS. d'Orleans, in which there is much confusion as to the dates. See ed. Buchon, 1827, p. 139.

And further on: "I would rather die than revoke what I have done by command of our Lord."

A fact that depicts the age, the unintelligent minds of these doctors, and their blind attachment to the letter without regard to the spirit, is that no point appeared to them of more weight than the sin of having assumed male attire. They pointed out to Joan that, according to the canon, those who thus change the garb of their sex are abominable before God. At first she would not reply directly, and asked for time till the next day. The judges insisting upon it that she should lay aside that dress, she replied that, "It was not in her to say when she should be able to quit it." "But if you are precluded from hearing mass?" "Then Our Lord can enable me to hear it without you." "Will you put on the dress of a woman to receive your Saviour at Easter?" "No, I cannot quit this garb to receive my Saviour at Easter; I make no difference between this dress and any other." Then she seems somewhat shaken and asks to be allowed at least to hear mass, adding, "If you would at least give me a gown like those worn by the daughters of the burghers, a *very long* gown."*

It is plain that she blushed to explain herself. The poor girl could not bring herself to describe her situation in prison, and the continual danger to which she was exposed. Be it known that three soldiers slept in her cell,† three of those brigands who were called *houspilleurs;* be it known that, fastened to a post by a heavy iron chain,‡ she was almost at their mercy, and the male attire which they wanted to take from her, was her only safeguard. What shall we say of the imbecility of the judge or of his horrible connivance?

Placed under the eyes of these soldiers, and subjected to their mockeries and insults,§ she was spied from without; Winchester,

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* Sicut filiæ burgensium, unam houppelandam longam. Procès Latin MS. Dimanche, 15 Mars.

† Cinq Anglois dont en demouroit de nuyt trois en la chambre. Notices des MSS., iii. 506.

‡ De nuyt elle estoit couchée ferrée par les jambes de deux paires de fers à chaine, et attachée moult estroitement d'une chaine traversante par les pieds a son lict, tenante à une grosse pièce de bois de longueur de cinq ou six pieds et fermante à clef, par quoy ne pouvoit mouvoir de la place. Ibid. Another witness says: "Fuit facta una trabes ferrea, ad detinendam eam *erectam*. Procès MS. Dép. de Pierre Cusquel.

§ The Count de Ligny went to see her with an English lord, and said to her "Joan I am come to put you to ransom, provided you promise never again to bear arms against us." She answered: "Ah! my God, you are mocking me; I know well you have neither the will nor the power." And when he repeated the same words, she added: "I know well the English will put me to death, thinking after I am dead to win the realm of France, but though there were 100,000 Goddamns (centum mille *Godons* Gallicè) more than there are now, they would not win the realm." The English lord was so incensed, that he drew his sword to stab her, and would have done so but for the Earl of Warwick. Notices des MSS., iii. 371.

the inquisitor, and Cauchon had each a key of the tower, and observed her every hour.* The wall had been pierced expressly for the purpose; every stone in that infernal dungeon had eyes. Her only consolation was that in the beginning she had been allowed to hold communion with a priest who called himself a prisoner, and a partisan of Charles VII. This Loyseleur (that was his name) was a Norman, and belonged to the English. He had gained Joan's confidence, and used to receive her confession whilst concealed notaries listened to it and took it down. It is alleged that Loyseleur encouraged her to resistance in order to her destruction. When it was debated whether or not she should be put to the torture (a very needless thing since she neither denied nor concealed any thing), there were but two or three voices raised in support of that atrocity, and one of these was the confessor's.†

The prisoner's deplorable condition was aggravated in Passion Week, by privations of the comforts of religion. On Thursday she was refused the Lord's Supper, and seemed *forgotten*‡ on that day when Christ becomes the host of all, and invites the poor and the suffering to his table.

On Good Friday, that day of deep repose, when all outward noise is hushed, and each man hears but the voice of his own heart, it seems that a feeling of humanity and religion awoke in the inveterately scholastic souls of the judges. Certain it is that five-and-thirty of them sat on Wednesday, and that on Saturday there were but nine; the others no doubt excused themselves from attending under pretext of the day's devotions.

She, on the contrary, had gathered more heart, and felt herself raised by associating her own sufferings with those of Christ. She replied once more that she would defer to the Church militant, *provided it did not command her what was impossible.* "Do you, then, think yourself not subject to the Church on earth, to our holy father, the pope, the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and prelates?" "Yes, surely, *our Lord being served.*" "Do your voices forbid you to submit to the Church militant?" "They do not forbid it, *our Lord being first served.*"§

This firmness was sustained all Saturday; but what became of it on the following great day of Easter? What passed in the heart of that poor girl, when, the five hundred bells of Rouen, shaking the air with their joyous peals, announced the universal feast, the Christian world resuscitating with the Saviour, and she remained in death?

Assume what show of pride we may, we philosophers and reasoners of these days, where is the man amongst us who, amidst the

* Not precisely Cauchon, but his man, Estivet, promoter of the prosecution. Notices des MSS., 473.

† Ibid., 475 *et passim.* Procès ed. Buchon, 164, Mai 12.

‡ Usque quo oblivisceris me in finem? Service for Holy Thursday, Laudes.

§ Procès, ed. Buchon, 155.

bustle of modern life, or in the voluntary captivity and laborious solitude of the study, can hear without emotion the noise of those fine Christian festivals, the touching sounds of the bells, and their gentle, motherly reproaches? Who can see, without envying them, the crowd of the faithful issuing from the church, refreshed and invigorated by the divine table? The mind remains firm, but the soul is very sad. The believer in the future, whose heart clings not the less to the past, then lays down the pen and closes the book; he cannot forbear from saying, "Oh! why am I not with them, and of them; why am I not the simplest and the least of these children!"

What was it, then, in those times of unanimity throughout the Christian world?* What was it for a young soul that had lived but on faith? She who, amid all her inward life of visions and revelations, had not the less docilely obeyed the commands of the Church—who until then had honestly believed herself to be a submissive daughter of the Church, *bonne fille*, as she said—could she behold without terror the Church arrayed against her? Alone when all were united in God; alone excepted from the joy of the world and from the universal communion; the only one excluded on that day when Heaven's doors opened to the human race!

And was that exclusion unjust? The Christian soul is too humble ever to affirm that it has a right to receive its God. Who was she, after all, that she should gainsay those prelates and doctors? How should she dare to speak before so many able men who had studied? Was there not presumption and damnable pride in the opposition of an ignorant girl to the learned, of a simple peasant to persons high in authority? These fears certainly came upon her.

On the other hand, this resistance was not her own, but that of the saints and angels who dictated her replies, and had hitherto sustained her. Why, alas! do they now come to her less frequently, in so great a case of need? Why do these comforting faces of the saints appear now but in a dubious light, and daily fainter and fainter? How is it that the surely promised deliverance does not come? No doubt the prisoner often asked herself these questions, and often in whispers gently reproached her saints and angels. But angels who keep not their word, are they, indeed, angels of light? Let us hope that this horrible thought did not cross her mind.

She had one means of escape. This was, without any express disavowal, to desist from affirming, and to say "It seems to me." The lawyers thought it quite a matter of course, that she should use that little phrase;† but as for her, to utter such an expression of doubt would have been in reality equivalent to denying; it would have been abjuring the sweet dream of heavenly friendships, and

* A unanimity already indeed more apparent than real, as I have said, and as I will show more fully still.

† This was the opinion of Lohier. Notices des MSS., iii. 500.

betraying her darling sisters on high.* Death were better than this. And, in fact, the unfortunate creature, rejected by the visible Church, and forsaken by the invisible Church, by the world and her own heart, began to sink; and the body followed the decline of the soul.

It happened that on that very day she had eaten of a fish sent her by the charitable Bishop of Beauvais,† and had some reason to think herself poisoned. The bishop had an interest in this; Joan's death would have ended this embarrassing prosecution, and relieved the judge from his perplexity. But this did not suit the views of the English. Lord Warwick said, in great alarm, that "the *king* would not for any consideration she should die a natural death; the *king* has bought her; she has cost him dear!‡ She must die by the hand of justice, must be burned . . . . Take care you cure her."

Care was taken of her; she had medical treatment and was bled, but her health did not improve. She remained weak and almost dying. Whether from fear that she would thus escape and die without retracting any thing, or that this bodily weakness inspired hopes of more easily working on her mind, the judges made another attempt (18th of April). They repaired to her cell, and pointed out to her that she was in great danger if she would not take advice and follow the dictates of the Church. "It seems to me, indeed," she said, "considering my malady, that I am in great danger of death. If it be so, God's will be done; I should wish to have confession, to receive my Saviour, and be laid in holy ground." "If you wish to have the sacraments of the Church, you must do like good Catholics and submit to the Church." She made no reply. The judge then repeating the same words, she said, "If the body dies in prison, I hope you will have it laid in holy ground; if not, I put my trust in our Lord."

Before this she had in her examinations expressed one of her last wishes. *Question:* "You say you wear male attire by command of God, and yet you want to have a woman's shift in case of death."—*Answer*: "It is enough if it be long."§ This touching reply showed plainly, that in this extremity she thought much less of life than of modesty.

The doctors preached long to the patient, and the man who was

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* Sui fratres de Paradiso. Procès, MS. de Révision, dép. de Jean de Metz.

† Eam interrogavit quid habebat, quæ respondit quod habebat quod fuerat missa quædam carpa sibi per episcopum Bellovaeensem de quâ comederat, et dubitabat quòd esset causa suæ infirmitatis; et ipse de Estiveto ibidem præsens, redarguit eam dicendo quòd malè dicebat, et vocavit eam paillardam dicens: Tu, paillarda, comedisti aloza et alia tibi contraria. Cui ipsa respondit quod non fecerat, et habuerunt ad invicem ipsa Joanna et de Estiveto multa verba injuriosa. Postmodùmque ipse loquens.....audivit ab aliquibus ibidem præsentibus, quòd ipsa passa fuerat multum vomitum. Notices des MSS., iii. 471.

‡ Rex eam habebat caram et eam emerat.

§ Procès, ed. Buchon, 1827, p. 158, 126.

specially commissioned to exhort, Maître Nicolas Midy, one of the schoolmen of Paris, ended by saying to her bitterly, "If you do not obey the Church, you shall be abandoned like a Saracen." "I am a good Christian," she replied meekly, "I have been baptised, I will die like a good Christian."

These delays irritated the impatience of the English to the utmost. Beaufort had hoped to be able, before the end of the campaign, to put an end to the trial, extort a confession from the prisoner, and dishonour King Charles. This blow being struck, he would recover Louviers,* secure Normandy and the Seine; after which he could go to Basle and begin another war—the theological, sit there as arbiter of Christendom, and make and unmake popes.† And at the moment, when he had such great things in view, he was forced to waste his time, waiting to know what this girl might please to say.

The blundering Cauchon had just offended the Chapter of Rouen, from which he was soliciting a decision against the Maid. He allowed himself to be called in anticipation, My Lord Archbishop.‡ Beaufort resolved that, without waiting for those dilatory Normans, application should be made directly to the great theological tribunal, the university of Paris.§

Whilst waiting its reply, fresh efforts were made to overcome the prisoner's resistance; craft and terror were had recourse to. In a second monition (May 2) Maître Chatillon, the preacher, proposed to her that they should refer the truth of her apparitions to persons of her own party.‖ She did not fall into this snare. "I rely," she said, "on my judge, the King of heaven and earth." She did not say as before, "On God *and the pope.*" "Well, then, the Church will abandon you, and you will be in peril of fire for soul and body. You will not do as you like without mischief befalling you, body and soul."

They did not confine themselves to vague threats. At the third monition, which took place in her cell (May 11th) the executioner was brought, and she was assured that the implements of torture were ready. But this produced no effect; on the contrary, she was found to have recovered all her courage, and even to have more than she had ever possessed before. Raised up after temptation,

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* Non audebant, eâvivente, ponere obsidionem ante villam Locoveris. Notices des MSS., iii, 473.

† As he had done at the Council of Constance. See Endell Tyler, Memoirs of Henry V., ii. 64 (London, 1838).

‡ La cædule que tenoit ledit Monseigneur l'Arcevesque. Lebrun, iv. 79. D'après de MS. d'Urfé.

§ The doctors sent to the university spoke "in the king's name" in the great assembly held at the Bernardins. Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris, v. *passim.* This celebrated convent, in which so many important assemblies of the university were held, in which it judged the popes, &c., still subsists. It is the oil depôt.

‖ The Archbishop of Reims, La Trémonille, &c. It was also proposed to her that she should consult the church of Poitiers.

she had ascended as it were one degree higher towards the fountains of grace. "The angel Gabriel has come to strengthen me," she said; "it was he certainly; the saints told me so.* God has always been the master in what I have done; the devil has never had power in me . . . Though you should tear my limbs asunder, and drag my soul out of my body, I would never say any thing else." The spirit so manifested itself in her, that Chatillon himself, her last adversary, was touched and became her defender; he declared that a trial so conducted appeared to him null and void. Cauchon, beside himself with anger, put him to silence.

At last came the reply of the university. It decided upon the twelve articles, that the girl was given over to the devil, impious towards her parents, athirst for Christian blood, &c.† This was the opinion of the faculty of theology. That of law, with more moderation, declared her punishable, but with two restrictions, first, if she continued obstinate; secondly, if she was of sound mind.

The university wrote at the same time to the popes, the cardinals, and the King of England, praising the Bishop of Beauvais, declaring that "there seemed to it to have been great gravity maintained, and a holy and just manner of proceedings, wherewith every one ought to be well content."

Armed with this reply, some were for burning the prisoner without more delay: this would have been enough for the satisfaction of the doctors, whose authority she rejected, but not for the English, who wanted a retractation *infamatory* of King Charles. Trial was made of a new monition and a new preacher, Maître Pierre Morice, who succeeded no better than his predecessors. It was in vain he dwelt on the authority of the university of Paris, "which is the light of all knowledge." "Though I saw the executioner and the fire," she said, "though I were in the fire, I could say nothing but what I have said."

The 23rd of May was now come, the day after Pentecost; Beaufort could no longer remain in Rouen, and it was necessary to end the business. It was resolved to get up a grand and terrible public scene which might either terrify the obstinate prisoner or at least deceive the people. Loyscleur, Chatillon, and Morice were sent to her in the evening, to promise her that, if she were submissive and would lay aside her male habiliments, she should be delivered over to the churchmen, and should be taken out of the hands of the English.

It was in the cemetery of St. Ouen, behind the beautiful and austere monastic church (already built, as we have seen) that this terrible comedy took place. On a raised platform sat Cardinal Beaufort, the two judges, and thirty-three assessors, several of them with their scribes seated at their feet. On the other platform,

* Lebrun, iv. 90. † See this curious document in Bulæus, v. 395.

among the ushers and torturers, was Joan in male attire; there were also notaries to take down her confessions, and a preacher to admonish her. Among the crowd, at the foot of the scaffold, was seen a strange auditor, the executioner in the cart, ready to take her away as soon as she should have received sentence.*

The preacher of the day, a famous doctor, Guillaume Erard, thought himself bound on so fine an occasion to give the reins to his eloquence, and he spoiled all by his excessive zeal. "O noble house of France," he cried, "that wast wont always to be the protector of the faith, hast thou been so abused as to connect thyself with a heretic and schismatic!" Up to this point the prisoner listened patiently, but the preacher, turning to her and raising his finger, said, "It is to thee, Joan, I speak, and I tell thee thy king is heretical and schismatic." Thereupon the admirable girl, forgetting all her danger, exclaimed, "By my faith, sire, saving your reverence, I dare boldly tell you and swear, on pain of my life, that he is the noblest Christian of all Christians, the one who best loves the faith and the Church, he is not such as you say." "Make her be silent," cried Cauchon.

Thus all this amount of efforts, labour, and expense was all lost, The prisoner maintained her assertions. All that was obtained from her this time was, that she consented to submit *to the pope*, "The pope is too far away," replied Cauchon. Then he began to read the act of condemnation which had been prepared beforehand, and which said, among other things. "Moreover, obstinate in mind, you have refused to submit to the *holy father* and to the council, &c." Meanwhile Loyseleur and Erard were conjuring her to have pity on herself, and the bishop, conceiving some hope, suspended his reading. The English then grew furious; one of Beaufort's secretaries told Cauchon it was plain he favoured the girl; the cardinal's chaplain said the same. "Thou liest,"† cried the bishop; "And thou betrayest the king," retorted the other. These grave personages seemed on the point of coming to blows on their judicial bench.

Erard did not lose courage; he threatened and prayed, now saying, "Joan, we have so much pity for you," and now, "Abjure, or thou shalt be burned." Every one took part in these exhortations, even to a good-natured *huissier*, who, touched with compassion, besought her to yield, and assured her she should be withdrawn from the hands of the English and consigned to those of the Church. Then Cauchon, turning to the cardinal, asked him respectfully what was to be done.‡ "Admit her to penance," replied the ecclesiastical prince.

* See the depositions of the notary Mauchon, the *huissier* Massieu, &c. Not. des MSS., iii. 502, 505, *et passim*.

† Mentiebatur, quia potius, cùm judex esset in causâ fidei, deberet quærere ejus salutem quam mortem. Ibid., 485. Cauchon might have added, that as regarded the interests of the English, Joan's retractation was far more important than her death.

‡ Inquisivit è cardinali Angliæ quid agere deberet. Ibid., 484.

Winchester's secretary drew out from his sleeve a very small revocation in six lines (that which was afterwards published was six pages long), and put a pen in her hand,* but she did not know how to write; she smiled and drew a circle; the secretary held her hand and made her trace a cross.

The sentence of grace was very severe: "Joan, we condemn you in grace and moderation to pass the rest of your days in prison, on the bread of sorrow and the water of anguish, that you may there weep for your sins."

She was admitted by the ecclesiastical judge to do penance, nowhere else of course than in the Church prisons.† The ecclesiastical *in pace*, hard as it was, would at least take her out of the hands of the English, protect her from their insults, and save her honour. What were her surprise and horror when the bishop said coldly, "Take her back to the place whence you brought her!"

Nothing was done; thus deceived, she could not fail to retract her retraction. But even had she been willing to persist in it, the rage of the English would not have allowed her. They had come to St. Ouen in hopes at last to burn the witch; they waited in breathless expectation; and were they now to be sent off in this way, with nothing for their pains but a scrap of parchment, a signature, and a grimace? At the moment when the bishop suspended the reading of the sentence, stones flew about the platforms without respect for the cardinal. The doctors were in danger of their lives when they set foot on the ground; bare swords were everywhere pointed at their throats; the most moderate of the English confined themselves to insulting words: "Priests, you do not earn the king's money." The trembling doctors, shuffling away as fast as they could, said, "Be not uneasy, we shall surely catch her again."‡ It was not merely the common soldiers, the English mob, always so ferocious, that showed this thirst for blood. The respectable people and the lords were not less rancorous. The king's man and his tutor, Lord Warwick, said, like the soldiers, "The king fares badly, the girl will not be burned."§

Warwick was exactly the *honnête homme* according to English notions, the accomplished Englishman, the perfect gentleman.

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* A manicà suâ. Notices des MSS., iii. 486.

† See in Processus contra Templarios how urgently the defenders of the Temple demand "Ut ponantur in manu Ecclesiæ." The Church prisons had, however, this disadvantage, that the prisoner almost always languished in them a long while. In 1384 we find a murderer, possession of whom was disputed for by the respective jurisdictions of the bishop and the provost of Paris, requesting to be committed to the latter, and to be hanged by the king's men rather than by those of the bishop, who would have made him previously undergo a long and severe penance: Flere dies suos et pœnitentiam, cum pennriis multimodis, agere temporis longo tractu. Arch. du Roy. Reg. du Parl., ann. 1384.

‡ Non curetis, benè rehabebimus eam. Notices des MSS., iii. 486.

§ Quòd Rex malè stabat. Ibid.

‖ A true pattern of the knightly spirit, taste, accomplishments, and adventures, &c. He was one of the ambassadors sent to the Council of Constance by

Brave and devout, like his master Henry V., a zealous champion of the *established* Church, he had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and many another chivalric journey, never missing a tournament on his way. He himself gave one the most brilliant and celebrated of these at the gates of Calais, where he challenged the whole chivalry of France. The memory of this festival long endured; the valour and magnificence of this Warwick contributed not a little to prepare the way for his famous successor the *king-maker*.

Notwithstanding all this chivalry, Warwick was not the less rancorously bent on effecting the death of a woman, a prisoner of war; the English, and even the best and most esteemed of them all, felt no scruple of honour against killing, by priestly sentence and by fire, her who had humiliated them by the sword.

That great English people, among so many good and solid qualities, has one vice which spoils even these qualities. This immense, profound vice is pride; a cruel malady, but one which is nevertheless their principle of life, the explanation of their contradictions, the secret of their acts. Virtues and crimes in them are almost always pride; their absurdities, too, spring only from that source. This pride is prodigiously susceptible and painful, they suffer from it infinitely, and again pride themselves on concealing these sufferings. Nevertheless, they work their way to the light; the English language possesses two expressive words peculiarly its own, *disappointment* and *mortification*.*

This self-adoration, this inward worship of the creature by itself, is the sin through which Satan fell, the supreme impiety. This is why, with so many human virtues, with its seriousness, its outward decency and decorum, and its biblical spirit, no nation is further from grace. It is the only people that could not lay claim to the "Imitation of Jesus;"† a Frenchman might have written that book, or a German, or an Italian; an Englishman never. From Shakspeare‡

Henry V., where he was challenged by a duke whom he killed in a duel. Turner gives from a MS. a description of his sumptuous tournament at Calais. Turner, ii. 506.

* We (the French) owe these words to them. *Mortification*, it is true, was everywhere employed in the language of the ascetics, being applied to the voluntary penance undergone by the sinner to vanquish the flesh and appease God; what I believe is English is, the having applied the word to the very involuntary sufferings of vanity, the having transferred it from the religion of God to that of the human self (*du moi humain*).

† See *suprà*.

‡ I do not recollect to have seen the name of God in Shakspeare; if it occur, it is very rarely, by chance, and without the shadow of a religious sentiment. Milton's real hero is Satan. As for Byron, he did not very strenuously reject the name of leader of the satanic school bestowed on him by his enemies; that poor, great man, so cruelly tortured by pride, would not have been loth, apparently, to pass for the Devil in person. See my "Introduction à l'Histoire Universelle," respecting this character of English literature.

[REMARK BY THE TRANSLATOR.—Once for all, I beg the reader to understand that I profess to do no more than faithfully render the original before me, without adding, altering, or suppressing any thing. Purposely abstaining from all

to Milton, from Milton to Byron, their fine and sombre literature is sceptical, Judaic, satanic, in a word anti-Christian. "In law," it has been very well said by a lawyer, "the English are Jews, the French are Christians."* What he alleges as to law, a theologian would have asserted with regard to faith. The Indians of America, who often exhibit so much penetration and originality, expressed this distinction after their own manner. Christ, said one of them, was a Frenchman, whom the English crucified in London; Pontius Pilate was an officer in the service of Great Britain.

Never was the animosity of the Jews against Christ equal to that of the English against the Maid. It must be owned she had cruelly wounded them in the most sensitive part, in the *naïf* and profound esteem they entertain for themselves. At Orleans the invincible chivalry and the famous archers, with Talbot at their head, had shown their backs; at Gargeau, in a fortress and behind good walls, they had let themselves be taken; at Patay, they had run as fast as their legs could carry them—run before a girl. Here was matter hard to think of: here was what these taciturn English were perpetually ruminating within themselves. A girl had frightened them, and it was not very certain that she did not still frighten them chained as she was. That is to say, obviously not the girl herself, but the devil whose agent she was; so at least they tried to persuade themselves and others.

In this, however, there was one difficulty, namely, that she was a virgin, and that it was notorious and perfectly established that the devil could not make a compact with a virgin. The wisest head among the English, the regent Bedford, resolved to clear up this point; and the duchess his wife sent matrons who declared that the girl was indeed a maid.† This favourable declaration actually turned against her, by giving occasion for another superstitious imagination. It was concluded that in this virginity consisted her strength; to deprive her of it would disarm her, break the charm, and bring her down to the level of other women.

The poor girl, exposed to such danger, had hitherto possessed no other defence than her male attire; but strange to say, no one had ever chosen to understand why she wore it. Her friends and her enemies were alike shocked at her doing so. In the beginning she had been obliged to explain herself to the women of Poitiers. After her capture, when she was in the custody of the ladies of Luxem-

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comment on my author, I must claim to be exonerated from the charge of acquiescing in certain notions of his, which few English readers, indeed, can fail to appreciate at their just value without any prompting.—W. K. K.]

* Houard is the author of this profound saying, the scope of which has not been sufficiently perceived, not even perhaps by himself. Préface des Anciennes Lois des Français, conservées dans les Coutumes Anglaises de Littleton, &c. I shall return to this subject elsewhere.

† Must we mention that the Duke of Bedford, so generally esteemed as a man of respectable conduct, Erat in quodam loco secreto ubi videbat Joannam visitari? Notices des MSS., iii. 372.

burg, those good dames begged her to dress as became a decent girl. The Englishwomen above all, who have always made a great ado about chastity and modesty, were sure to regard such a disguise as monstrous and intolerably indecent. The Duchess of Bedford* sent her a woman's gown, but by whom ? by a man, by a tailor.† This forward fellow ventured boldly to put the gown upon her, and on her repulsing him, he laid his hand on her without ceremony, his tailor's hand on the hand that had borne the flag of France. She gave him a blow.

If the women understood nothing of this female question, how much less did the priests ! They quoted the text of a council of the fourth century,‡ which anathematizes this exchange of garments. They did not perceive that this prohibition applied especially to an epoch in which men had scarcely emerged from pagan impurity. The doctors of the party of Charles VII., the Maid's apologists, are greatly embarrassed as to how they may justify her on this point ; one of them (it is supposed to be Gerson) gratuitously assumes that she puts on her woman's dress again as soon as she quits the saddle; and he acknowledges that Esther and Judith employed other means, more natural and more feminine, to triumph over the enemies of God's people.§ These theologians, thinking only of the soul, seem to make light of the body ; provided the letter of the written law be followed, the soul will be saved ; the body may fare as it can. A poor simple girl may be pardoned for not having understood these nice distinctions.

It is our hard condition here below, that the soul and the body are so intimately connected one with the other, that the soul bears the burden of the flesh, suffers whatever chances befal it, and answers for it. This fatality has always been heavy, but how much more so is it under a religious law, which commands its votaries to endure every outrage, and will not allow perilled honour to escape by casting off the body and taking refuge in the world of spirits!

On Friday and Saturday the unfortunate prisoner, deprived of her male attire, had much to fear. Brutality, furious hatred, ven-

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* She was sister to the Duke of Burgundy, but had adopted the habits of the English. The Bourgeois de Paris describes her as always galloping after her husband: " Luy et sa femme qui partout où il alloit, le suivoit, ann. 1428. Et à cette heure s'en alloit le régent et sa femme par la Porte Saint Martin, et encontrèrent la procession, dont ils tinrent moult peu de compte ; car ils chevauchoient moult fort, et ceux de la procession ne purent reculler, se furent moult touillez de la boue que leurs chevaux jettoient par devant et derrière." Notices des MSS., ann. 1427.

† It would seem that great ladies used to be dressed by tailors : " Cuidam Joanny Symon, sutori tunicarum.....Càm induere vellet, eam accepit dulciter per manum..... tradidit unam alapam. Notices des MSS., iii. 372.

‡ Εἴ τις γυνὴ διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν μεταβάλλοιτο ἀμφίασμα, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰωθότος γυναικείου ἀμφιάσματος, ἀνδρεῖον ἀναλάβοι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω Concil. Gangrense, circa annum 324, tit. xiii. apud Concil. Labbe, ii. 420.

§ Licèt ornarent se cultu solemniori, ut gratiùs placerent his cum quibus agere conceperunt. Gerson, Opera, ed. du Pin, iv. 859.

geance, all tended to impel the dastards to degrade her before she died, to sully what they were going to burn. They might besides have been tempted to cloak their infamy under a *reason of state*, according to the ideas of the times; by despoiling her of her virginity, they would doubtless destroy that occult power of which the English were in such great dread; they would resume courage, perhaps, if they knew that after all she was really but a woman. According to the statement of her confessor, to whom she revealed the fact, an Englishman, not a soldier, but a *gentleman*, a lord, patriotically devoted himself to this executioner's task, bravely undertook to violate a chained girl, and failing in the attempt, loaded her with blows.*

"When the morning of Trinity Sunday was come, and it was time for her to rise (as she has related to him who speaks)† she said to the English, her guards, 'Un-iron me that I may rise.' One of them took off the woman's garments that were on her, emptied the bag in which was the male dress, and said to her, 'Get up.' 'Sirs,' said she, 'you know it is forbidden me; certainly I will not take it.' This dispute lasted until noon, and at last, by reason of bodily necessity, she was obliged to go out and take that dress. On her return, they would not give her any other, notwithstanding all her supplications."‡

In reality, it was not for the interest of the English that she should resume the garb of a man, and thus annul the retractation so laboriously obtained; but at that moment their rage knew no bounds. Santrailles had just made a bold attempt on Rouen.§ It would have been a fine exploit to seize the judges on their bench, and carry off Beaufort and Bedford to Poitiers. The latter had another narrow escape of being captured on his return between Rouen and Paris. There was no safety for the English so long as that infernal girl lived, who was doubtless continuing her diabolical arts in prison. It was necessary she should die.

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* The simple Maid revealed to him that....she had been violently tormented in prison, molested and beaten, and that an English lord had forced her. Notices des MSS., iii. 497, from MS. Soubise. Nevertheless, the same witness says in his second deposition, written in Latin, "Eam *temptavit* vi opprimere. Lebrun, iv. 169. What gives reason to think that the crime was not consummated is, that in her last lamentations the Maid ejaculated: "Qu'il faille que mon corps, net *et entier, qui ne fut jamais corrompu,* soit consumé et rendu en cendres." Notices des MSS., iii. 493.

† Deposition of the *huissier* Massieu, who followed her to the stake. Ibid., 506.

‡ Is it not astonishing that Lingard and Turner suppress facts so essential, and that they dissemble the cause that obliged the Maid to resume man's attire? Both the Catholic and the Protestant are here but Englishmen.

§ Was he sent by Charles VII. to rescue the Maid? There is no proof that he was. He thought he had found a means of dispensing with her aid. Saintrailles took a little Gascon shepherd for his guide. The expedition failed, and the shepherd was made prisoner. Alain Chartier, Chroniques du Roi Charles VII. et Jean Chartier, Mai 1431, ed. Godefroy, p. 47. Journal du Bourgeois, 427, ed. 1827.

The assessors being instantly sent for to the castle to see the change of dress, found in the courtyard some hundred English, who stopped their way. Thinking that if these doctors entered, they might spoil all, they brandished axes and swords in their faces, and drove them out, calling them *Armagnac traitors.** Cauchon getting in with great difficulty, assumed a gay air to please Warwick, and said, laughing, "She is caught."

On Monday he returned with the inquisitor and eight assessors to interrogate the Maid, and ask her why she had resumed that garb. She offered no excuse, but bravely accepting her danger, said that this dress suited her better so long as she should be guarded by men; that moreover word had not been kept with her. Her saints had said to her, "that it was great pity to have abjured to save her life." At the same time she did not refuse to put on female garments again. "Let me be consigned to a mild and safe prison,"† she said, "I will be good and do all the Church shall desire."

On leaving the prison, the bishop met Warwick and a crowd of Englishmen, and to show himself off as a good Englishman, he said to them in their own language, "Farewell, farewell." This joyous adieu meant pretty nearly, "*Bonsoir*, *bonsoir*, all is over."‡

On Tuesday the judges got together, at the archiepiscopal palace, some sort of an assemblage of assessors, some of whom had been present only at the first sittings, and the rest at none; they were men of every kind, priests, lawyers, and three were even physicians. The judges reported to them what had taken place, and asked their opinions. The opinion they gave, very different from what was expected, was, that the prisoner ought to be brought again into court and have her act of abjuration read again to her. It is doubtful that this was within the power of the judges. Judge or judgment was in fact no longer a thing possible amidst naked swords and raging soldiers. Bloodshed was inevitable; the judges perhaps were not far from seeing their own spilt. They drew up a hasty citation to be served the next morning at eight; her next appearance was only to be for the purpose of being burned.

In the morning, Cauchon sent her a confessor, brother Martin l'Advenu, "to announce death to her and induce her to penitence. . . . . And when he announced to the poor girl the death she was to die that day, she began to cry out wofully, sinking with faintness, and tearing her hair. 'Alas am I to be treated so horribly and cruelly, and must my body, whole and entire, which was never corrupted, be now consumed and reduced to ashes? Oh! oh! I would rather be beheaded seven times than be thus burned! Oh! I appeal to God, the great judge of the wrongs and grievances they do me!'"§

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* Dep. du notaire Manchon. Notices des MSS., iii. 502.

† In loco tuto. The record (*procès verbal*) substitutes for this: Carcer graciosus. Lebrun, iv. 167.

‡ *Faronnelle*, faictes bonne chière, il en est faict. Dép. d'Isambard. Notices des MSS., iii. 495.

§ Dép. de Jean Toutmouillé. Ibid., 493.

After this burst of grief, she came to herself again, confessed, and asked for the communion. The friar was embarrassed; but the bishop being consulted, replied, that "she might have the communion, and any thing she should ask for." Thus at the very time he pronounced her a relapsed heretic, and cut off from the Church, he allowed her all the Church grants to its faithful children. Perhaps a last throb of humanity moved the heart of the wicked judge, and he thought it quite enough to burn the poor creature without making her desperate, and consigning her to damnation. Perhaps, too, the wicked priest with the levity, of a free-thinker, granted the sacraments as a matter of no moment, which, after all, could but tranquillise the sufferer, and induce her to be silent. An attempt was made at first to get over the affair as quietly as possible, and the eucharist was conveyed without stole and without light. But the monk complained of this, and the Church of Rouen duly informed, was pleased to manifest what it thought of Cauchon's judgment, and sent the body of Christ with abundance of torches and a numerous body of clergy, who chanted litanies, and said to the people that knelt in every street through which they passed, "Pray for her!"*

After the communion, which she received with many tears, she perceived the bishop and said to him, "Bishop, I die by you." And again, "If you had put me in the Church prisons and given me ecclesiastical keepers this would not have happened. Therefore, do I appeal from you to God."†

Then observing among the bystanders Pierre Morice, who had preached to her, she said, "Ah! Master Pierre, where shall I be this evening?" "Have you not good hope in the Lord?" "Oh, yes! with God's help I shall be in Paradise."

At nine she was dressed in woman's clothes and placed on a car, with friar Martin l'Advenu on one side of her, and the *huissier* Massieu on the other. Isambart, the Augustine monk, who had already displayed so much charity and courage, would not quit her. It is asserted that the miserable Loyseleur also mounted the cart and asked her pardon; the English would have killed him but for the Earl of Warwick.‡

The Maid had never despaired until now, except perhaps in her temptation during the Holy Week. Even whilst saying, as she did at times, "the English will put me to death," she did not in reality believe it. She did not imagine she could ever be forsaken. She had faith in her king, and in the good people of France. She had said expressly, "There will be in the prison or at the condemnation some tumult by which I shall be delivered. . . delivered with great victory!"§ But though the king and the people should fail her, she

* Dép. de frère Jean de Levozoles. Lebrun, iv. 183.

† Dép. de Jean Toutmouillé. Notices des MSS., iii. 494.

‡ This is indeed but an *on dit* (audivit dici), a dramatic circumstance, with which popular tradition has perhaps gratuitously adorned the narrative. Ibid., 488.

§ Procès Francais, ed. Buchon, 1827, iii. p. 79.—an suum consiliumd ixerit

had another aid, far more potent and sure, that of her friends on high, the good and precious saints. When she was besieging St. Pierre, and her men fell off from her in the assault, the saints sent an invisible army to her aid. Was it to be supposed they would forsake their obedient daughter, when they had so often promised her *salvation* and *deliverance?*

What then were her thoughts when she saw that she was really to die, when mounted on the cart she passed along through the trembling crowd, guarded by 800 Englishmen armed with lances and swords? She wept and bewailed her fate, but never accused either her king or her saints. But one phrase escaped her lips, "Oh, Rouen, Rouen, must I die here!"

The end of this dismal journey was the Vieux Marché, the fish market. Three platforms had been erected there. On one was the episcopal and royal chair, the throne of the Cardinal of England, surrounded by the seats of his prelates; the other was destined for the performers in this melancholy drama, the preacher, the judges, and the bailiff, and lastly the culprit. Some way off from these was seen a great platform in plaster filled and heaped with wood; materials had not been spared upon the pile; it struck terror by its height. This was done not merely for the purpose of rendering the execution more solemn; there was another intention, namely, that the great height of the pile should make it inaccessible to the executioner except from below, where he was to light it, and thus prevent him from abridging the sufferer's agony and despatching her, as usual, before the flames reached her.* There was no thought here of defrauding justice and giving a dead body to the fire; it was meant that she should be literally and truly burned alive, and that placed on the summit of that mound of wood she should be visible above the circle of lances and swords to every spectator on the ground. Burning slowly before the eyes of a gaping multitude there was reason to expect that she would at last yield to some weakness, and utter something that might be given out as a recantation; at the very least it was probable that some incoherent words would escape her, which might be interpreted as her judges desired; perhaps that in womanly terror and despair she would descend to ignoble prayers and cries for mercy.

A chronicler, a friend of the English, alleges a horrid charge against them. If we may believe him, it was their wish that her body being first burned the sufferer should be left naked, "in order to remove the doubts of the people;" that the fire being remote every

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sibi quod erit liberata à præsenti carcere? Respondet: Loquamini mecum *infra tres menses*.....Oportebit semel quod ego sim liberata.....Dominus noster non permittet eam venire ita basse quin habeat succursum à Deo bene cito et *per miraculum*. Procès Latin MS., 27 Février, 17 Mars. 1431.

* "Whereat he was much grieved and had great compassion." These details and most of those that follow are taken from the depositions of eye-witnesses, Martin l'Aadvenu, Isambart, Toutmouillé, Manchon, Beaufere, Massieu, &c. See Notices des MSS., iii. 489–508.

one should inspect her "and all the secrets which may or must be in a woman," and that after this indecent and ferocious exhibition "the executioner should apply strong fire to her poor flesh."*

The hideous ceremony began with a sermon. Master Nicholas Midy, one of the lights of the university of Paris, preached from this edifying text, "When a member of the Church is sick the whole Church is sick." That poor Church could only be cured by cutting off a limb. He concluded with the formal phrase, Joan, go (*allez*) in peace, the Church can no longer defend thee (*te*).

Then the ecclesiastical judge, the Bishop of Beauvais, benignly exhorted her to think of her soul and to recollect all her misdeeds, that she might be moved to contrition. The assessors had decided that it was incumbent in law to read her abjuration to her again; but the bishop did not do so, fearing that she would contradict and remonstrate. But the poor girl had no thought of thus battling with lawyers' subtleties for her life; her mind was far differently engaged. Before even she had been exhorted to contrition she was on her knees invoking God, the Virgin, St. Michael, and St. Catherine, pardoning all and asking pardon, and saying to the bystanders, "Pray for me." She particularly requested each of the priests to say a mass for her soul; and all this she did in a manner so pious, humble, and affecting, that the emotion spread from man to man, and none present could restrain their feelings; the Bishop of Beauvais wept, the Bishop of Boulogne sobbed, and at last the English themselves shed tears, and Beaufort as well as the rest.†

May it have been at that moment of general emotion, tears and contagious weakness, that the unfortunate creature, again becoming the mere woman, confessed she saw plainly she had erred, and that she had evidently been deceived by the promise of deliverance? We cannot put any great faith in the interested testimonies of the English on this head.‡ Still one must have very little knowledge of human nature to doubt that with her hopes thus betrayed she vacillated in her faith. Whether she said the word is uncertain, but I affirm that she thought it.

The judges soon recovered from their momentary fit of humanity, and the Bishop of Beauvais, wiping his eyes, began to read the sentence. He recapitulated to the culprit all her crimes, schism, idolatry, invocation of fiends, and set forth how she had been admitted to repentance, and how, "seduced by the prince of lies, she had relapsed, O, grief! *as a dog returns to his vomit* . . . Therefore we pronounce you a rotten member, and as such cut off from the Church.

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* Journal du Bourgeois, ed. 1827, p. 424.

† Episcopus Belvacensis flevit—Le cardinal d'Angleterre et plusieurs autres Anglois furent contraincts pleurer. Notices des MSS., iii. 480, 496.

‡ The record they drew up of her alleged retractations is not signed either by the witnesses in whose presence they are said to have taken place, or by the registrars of the trial. Three of these witnesses, who were examined at a later period, say nothing on the subject, and seem to have had no cognizance of it. L'Averdy, ibid., 130, 448.

We give you over to the secular power, entreating it at the same time to moderate its sentence, and to spare you the pain of death and mutilation of your limbs."

Thus abandoned by the Church she cast herself in full confidence on God. She asked for the cross. An Englishman handed her a wooden cross which he had made out of a stick; she received it not the less piously, kissed it and put that rough emblem of salvation under her clothes next her skin. But she would rather have had the Church cross to keep before her eyes until death. The good *huissier* Massieu and Brother Isambart exerted themselves to fulfil her wishes, and the cross was brought her from the parish of St. Sauveur. While she was embracing it, and Isambart was exhorting her, the English began to think the business very tedious; it was noon at least; the soldiers grumbled, and the captains called out, "Holla, priest! are you going to keep us here to dinner?" Then losing patience and not waiting for the order of the bailiff, though he alone had authority to send her to death, they sent up two sergeants to take her out of the hands of the priests. She was seized at the foot of the tribunal by the soldiers, who dragged her to the executioner, and said to him, "Do thy office." This fury of the soldiery excited horror; many of the bystanders, and even of the judges, rushed from the ground to avoid seeing any more of it.

When she was on the ground among those English who laid hands on her, nature gave way and the flesh was troubled. Again she cried, "O Rouen, thou art then to be my last abode!" She said no more and *sinned not with her lips*, even in that awful moment.

She accused not her king or her saints. But when she was on the top of the pile, and saw that great town and that motionless and silent multitude, she could not help saying, "Ah, Rouen, Rouen, I fear me much thou wilt have to suffer for my death!" Wonderful gentleness of soul! she who had saved the people and whom the people forsook, expressed but compassion for them in her dying moments.

She was bound beneath the infamous inscription, and on her head was placed a mitre, on which was written: "Heretic, relapsed, apostate, idolator." Then the executioner applied the fire. She saw it from above and shrieked. The monk who was exhorting her did not pay attention to the flames; and she, forgetting herself, became alarmed for him and made him go down.

What plainly proves that until then she had retracted nothing expressly is, that the wretched Cauchon was obliged (doubtless by the imperious Satanic will of him that presided), to approach the foot of the pile, obliged to look his victim in the face, and try to elicit something from her. She repeated to him mildly what she had already said. "Bishop, I die by you. Had you placed me in the Church prisons this would not have happened." Of course it had been expected that, thinking herself abandoned by her king, she

would at last accuse him and speak against him; but she defended him still, "Whether I have done well or done ill, my king is in no wise implicated therein; it was not he who advised me."

Meanwhile, the flames were ascending. At the moment they reached her the poor creature started and called out for holy *water; water*, the natural exclamation of terror. But immediately collecting herself she uttered no names but those of God, her angels, and her saints. She testified her faith in them: "Yes, my voices were of God; my voices have not deceived me!"* That all her uncertainty should have ceased in the flames, gives us ample reason to believe that she accepted death as the promised *deliverance*, that she no longer understood *safety*, *salvation* (*salut*) in the judaic sense, as till then she had done, that she at last saw clearly, and that emerging from the shadows that enveloped her, she attained that measure of light and holiness which was yet wanting to her.

That grand expression of hers is attested by the compulsory and sworn witness of her death, the Dominican who ascended the pile with her, whom she sent down from that dangerous post, but who continued speaking with her from below, listened to her words and held up the cross to her sight.

We have yet another witness of this holy death, a witness of very grave character, who was himself doubtless a saint. This man, whose name history ought to preserve, was the Augustine monk already mentioned, brother Isambart de la Pierre. He was near perishing in the course of the prosecution for having given counsel to the Maid, and yet though so conspicuously obnoxious to the English, he voluntarily ascended the cart with her, procured her the parish cross, and stood by her in the midst of the furious crowd, both on the platform and at the stake.

Twenty years after the event the two venerable men, humble monks, devoted to poverty and with nothing to gain or to fear in this world, depose as follows: "We heard her in the fire invoking her saints and her archangel; she repeated the Saviour's name . . . At last dropping her head, she cried aloud, 'Jesus.'"

"Ten thousand men wept." Some English alone laughed or tried to laugh. One of the most violent among them had sworn to fling a fagot on the pile; she was expiring at the moment he deposited it, and he was taken ill. His comrades carried him off to a tavern to revive his spirits with drink, but he could not recover his equanimity. "I saw," he cried distractedly, "I saw a dove escape from her mouth with her last sigh." Others had read in the flames the word Jesus which she repeated. The executioner went that evening in utter dismay to Brother Isambart, and confessed, but could not believe that God would ever forgive him. One of the King of England's secretaries said openly as he returned from the horrid scene, "We are undone; we have burned a saint!"

* Quod voces quas habuerat erant a Deo...nec credebat per easdem voces fuisse deceptam. Notices des MSS., iii. 489.

That saying, though uttered by an enemy, is not the less weighty. It will live. The future will not contradict it. Yes, judged by Religion, judged by Patriotism, Joan Darc was a saint.

Where is there a legend more beautiful than this incontestable history?* But we must beware of converting it into a legend;† we must piously preserve all its features, even the most human; we must respect its affecting and terrible reality.

Let the romantic spirit touch if it dare; poetry will never do so.‡ What could it add to it? That idea it had pursued from legend to legend all through the middle ages, that idea proved at last to be a person; that dream became a palpable reality. The Virgin strong to aid in battle whom the knights invoked and looked for on high, existed here below; and in whom incarnate? There is the miracle. In one contemned, in one who seemed the meanest of all; a child, a simple country girl, a daughter of the poor people of France.§ For there was a people, there was a France. This last personage of the past was also the first of the times that were beginning. In her appeared at once the Virgin and already the Fatherland.

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* Respecting the authenticity of the documents, the value of the various MSS. &c., see the essay of M. de L'Averdy, and particularly that of the young and learned M. Jules Quicherat, to whom we shall owe the first complete publication of the Procès de la Pucelle.

† The form presents itself ready traced; it is that exactly of the heroic life: 1. the forest, *revelation;* 2. Orleans, *action;* 3. Reims, *honour;* 4. Paris and Compiegne, *tribulation* and *betrayal;* 5. Rouen, *passion.* But nothing falsifies history more than seeking in it for complete and absolute types. Whatever may have been the historian's emotion in writing this gospel, he has adhered strictly to reality, without ever yielding to the temptation to idealise.

‡ I do not designate as poetry the poem of Antonio Astezano (secretary of the Duke of Orleans, MS. Grenoble, 1435), nor that of Chapelain. The latter nevertheless, as is very well remarked by M. St. Marc Girardin, (Revue des Deux Mondes, Sept. 1838,) has been too severely treated by the critics. The preface, which has been pronounced so ridiculous, manifests a profound theological comprehension of the subject.—Shakspeare did not understand it at all; he followed the national prejudice in all its brutality.—Voltaire had no real intention of dishonouring Joan Darc in his well known and deplorable *badinage;* in his serious works he paid her the most conspicuous honour. "This heroine...returned her judges a reply worthy of everlasting memory...They put to death by fire, her who, for having saved her king, *would have had altars* in the heroic times when men erected such to their liberators." Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations, ch. 80. The Germans have adopted our saint, and celebrated her as much as ourselves, and more. Not to mention Schiller's Jungfrau von Orleans, what an affecting pilgrimage was that which Guido Goerres made through all the libraries of Europe, and all the towns of France, to collect manuscripts, traditions, and every minutest trace of so noble a story. This chivalric devotion of a German to the memory of a French saint does honour to Germany and to humanity. Germany and France are two sisters: may they always remain so! (Oct. 1840.)

§ Popular reality appears to me to have been happily blended with poetical ideality in the work of an ever-to-be-regretted young girl. The unique days of July had been to her a revelation. Both the artist and the statue were daughters of 1830.

Such is the poetry of this fact, such is its philosophy, its lofty truth. But its historical truth is not the less certain; it was but too positive and too cruelly attested. That living enigma, that mysterious creature whom all deemed supernatural, that angel or fiend, who as some supposed would fly away one morning,* was after all a woman, a young girl, a being without wings, linked like us to a mortal body, and destined to suffer and die by a death how hideous!

But it is precisely in this reality which seems degrading, it is in this sad test of nature, that the ideal comes forth again in all its lustre. Contemporaries themselves beheld in Joan an image of Christ among the Pharisees.† We, however, must see in her another thing, the Passion of the Virgin, the martyrdom of purity.

Martyrs there have been many; history has innumerable lists of them, more or less pure, more or less glorious. Pride, too, and hatred and the spirit of disputation have had their own. No age has been without pugnacious martyrs, who died no doubt with a good grace, when they were not able to kill. But there was nothing in common between such fanatics and this saintly girl; she was not of them, but was signed with a different token: goodness, charity, meekness.

She had the meekness of the martyrs of old, but with a difference. The first Christians retained their gentleness and purity only by shunning action, and sparing themselves the struggles and the trials of the world. Joan was meek in the keenest conflict, good amongst the bad, pacific in war itself; into war, that triumph of the devil, she carried the spirit of God.

She took up arms when she knew "the pity there was in the realm of France." She could not bear to see "French blood flow." This tenderness of heart she displayed towards all men; she used to weep after her victories, and bestow her care on the wounded English.

Purity, gentleness, heroic goodness; that this supreme beauty of soul should have been found in a daughter of France, may surprise foreigners, who are fond of judging of our nation only from the levity of its manners. Let us tell them (and without partiality, now that all this is so remote from our day), that with all this levity, with its follies and its vices even, old France was not without cause denominated the most Christian nation. It was certainly the people of love and grace; whether the words be understood in the human or in the Christian acceptation, in both cases is the proposition true.

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* When she entered Troyes the clergy sprinkled her with holy water, to satisfy themselves whether she was a person of flesh and blood, or a diabolic vision. She smiled and said, "Approach boldly; I will not fly away." Interrog. 3 Mars, 1430.

† L'évêque de Beauvais..."et sa compagnie ne se montrèrent pas moins affectés à faire mourir la Pucelle, que Cayphe et Anne, et les scribes et pharisées, se montrèrent affectés à faire mourir Notre-Seigneur." Chronique de la Pucelle, ed. 1827, p. 40.

It was fit the Saviour of France should be a woman; France herself was a woman; she had the fickleness of the sex, but also its amiable gentleness, its facile and charming pity, and the excellence of its first impulses. Even when it took delight in vain elegancies and outward over-refinements, at core it remained nearer to nature. The Frenchman, even though vicious, retained more than any other man, good sense and a good heart.*

May new France not forget the saying of old France: "None but great hearts know how much glory there is *in being good.*"† To be, and continue so, under the injustices of man and the severities of Providence, is not only the gift of a happily constituted nature, it is strength and heroism. To retain mildness and benevolence amidst so many keen disputes, to run the range of experience without allowing it to impair that innate treasure, this is divine. Those who continue thus to the end are the real elect. And even though they have sometimes tripped upon the difficult path of the world, still amidst their lapses, their weaknesses, and *childishnesses*,‡ they will remain not the less God's children!

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* He always remained *bon enfant*, (good child, good fellow); a little word, a great thing. Now no one is willing to be either *enfant* or *bon;* the latter word is an epithet of derision.

† The saying of Fénélon's Philoctetes, (Télém., l. xii). The original Greek says the same thing, but very weakly, and moreover in another sense.

‡ *Enfances.* St. Francois de Sales.

BOOK THE ELEVENTH.

CHAPTER I.

Henry VI. and Charles VII.—English Dissensions—Reconciliation of the French Princes—State of France. 1431—1440.

THE Maid's death was, in the opinion of the English, *the saving of the king.* Warwick said, when he thought she would escape, "*It goes ill with the king*, the girl will not be burned." And again, "The king has bought her dear; *he would not* for any thing in the world she should die a natural death."

That king who, it was said, could live only by the death of a young girl, and who was bent on her destruction, was himself a child of nine years, an innocent and unhappy creature, already marked out as an expiatory victim. A pale effigy of expiring France, he found himself placed by the malice of fate or the justice of God, on the throne of Henry V., to the end that throne should remain void, and that England should for half a century have neither king nor law.

Wise England had overreached herself; she had undertaken to render France sane, and the result was that herself became mad. By her victories, her conquest, and a forced marriage, England succeeded in securing to herself a Charles VI. Conceived in hatred, brought forth in tears, and looked on, perhaps, with aversion by his own mother at his birth,* the unhappy child came into the world under evil auspices, and poorly endowed. The child's nature was mild and tractable; weak, as it was, something might have been made of it by gentle treatment, but the task would have needed the patience of love, and the temperaments of grace. The English spirit is that of the law. Formality, stiffness, and *cant*, were even then what they are at this day. How must the effect of these things have been aggravated under a government of political priests, most of them trained in scholasticism and pedantry, and who ruled the king and the realm with the same ferula. Scholastics and politics, hard nurses for the poor child! The governor,

* She made haste to marry again with an enemy of the English, Owen Tudor, the Welshman. From this very marriage of a Welshman and a Frenchwoman there sprang the most absolute sovereigns England ever had,—the Tudors, Henry VIII., Mary, Elizabeth.

the man who wielded the executive of this discipline, was the violent Warwick. By turns governor and gaoler, he was selected, we have said, as the *honnête homme*, the worthy gentleman of that age; brave, stern, and devout, he took upon him, without any misgivings of success, to shape his pupil according to the pattern intended, to correct and *chastise* him.* He laboured with such good effect, and so conscientiously amended and ameliorated, that nothing was left of his patient, nothing of the man, still less of the king, or a shadow at most, something passive and inoffensive, a soul ready for the other world. Such a king filled the English with shame and indignation; they thought the saint good for nothing but to be made a martyr. Your hard logicians have never felt how God is in the innocent, or at least, how much pathos there is in the simple-minded.

The martyrdom began with the coronation, and the rich harvest of maledictions he was made to gather in both kingdoms. After having waited nine months at Calais, until the roads had become less dangerous,† he was taken to Paris in the depth of winter, in December. It was the season of most suffering to the people; the scarcity of provisions was extreme, and such were the wretchedness and depopulation, that the regent was obliged expressly to prohibit the burning of the materials of the abandoned houses.

The pretended coronation of this King of France was completely English. In the first place, there were no Frenchmen in the procession, except Cauchon, and some bishops in the suite of Cardinal Beaufort. No prince of the blood of France, except in make-believe,‡ a fictitious Duke of Burgundy, a fictitious Comte de Nevers. The grandmother does not appear to have been invited; she was barely allowed to see her grandson in a solemn and ceremonious visit. It seemed politic to conciliate the town, and allow the Bishop of Paris to officiate in his own cathedral; but the English cardinal who paid the cost,§ chose also to have the honour of the spectacle. He officiated pontifically in Notre Dame, took the crown of France in his hands, and placed it on the head of the kneeling boy.‖ The whole ceremony was performed according to the English rites, to the great scandal of the chapter.¶ It was the

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* See *supra*, p. 550, note.

† A Scotch laird, who had ventured to proceed before the king, was so well pleased with himself, that he entered with trumpets, clarions and four bards marching before him and singing their wild songs, as if he had entered through the breach. Journal du Bourgeois, 409.

‡ Et estoient vestus par personnages des cottes d'armes des dessus dits seigneurs. Monstrelet, vi. 17.

§ From all we know of this great lender on pledges, it is in the highest degree probable that he only advanced the money; his panegyrist does not venture to say that he gave it. Magnificiis suis sumptibus...coronari. Hist. Croyland. contin. ap. Gale, Angl. Script. i. 516.

‖ Jean Chartier, p. 46, ed. Godefroy. Monstrelet, vi. 18.

¶ Plus en suivant les coutumes d'Angleterre que de France. Ibid.

customary privilege of the canons to keep the gilt vessel that contained the wine used in the coronation, but the king's officers retained it for themselves.

The great corporations were not treated with any deference. The zealous parliament which had banished Charles VII., the university whose doctors were judging the Maid, and the syndics, all saw at the banquet what account their good friends, the English, made of them. Magistrates and doctors, arriving in all the pomp of their red or crimson furred robes, were left in the mud at the gates of the palace, without finding any one to introduce them. If they succeeded in making their way in, it was by passing with great difficulty through the dirty and ill-conditioned rabble that jostled and threw them down; and then the cut-purses were busy. When they entered the hall, and advanced to the marble table, they found no places, except among the cobblers and masons who were already at table. At the jousts the heralds were spared the trouble of crying, "Largesse." The attendants went away open-handed, indignantly declaring "they would have had more at the marriage of a goldsmith."* All this might have been forgiven, had there been a little reduction of taxation, but no such a thing was done. Not even the economical favour of turning out a prisoner was accorded.

And yet it must be owned the English knew how to spend money when they had a mind. A few years before they had held an immense gala, for which the town paid by a tax imposed on purpose. The gluttony of that voracious race† amazed the famishing and gaping multitude. The chronicler reckons at one of their feasts 800 dishes of small meats, besides beef and mutton: they drank, at one sitting, forty barrels (muids.)‡

The young king was carried back to Rouen, and lodged in the castle, not far from the Maid, the king near the prisoner, without this leading to any better treatment of the latter. In really Christian times, that vicinity alone would have saved the prisoner. It would have been feared that if the king's grace had not extended to the prisoner, her ill-luck would have extended to him.

He had another crown to receive in London. The royal entry was pompous but grave, and altogether wearing a theological and pedagogic character; the amusements of the occasion were moralities, adapted to form the mind and heart of a young Christian prince. The royal boy heard a ballad sung at London Bridge, by the seven gifts of Grace; further on he saw the seven Sciences with

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* Journal du Bourgeois, p. 435, ed. 1827.

† Shakspeare speaks of them very humorously:

> Either they must be dieted like mules,
> And have their provender tied to their mouths,
> Or, piteous they will look, like drowned mice.
>
> Shak. Henry VI. p. i. act i. sc. 2.

‡ Journal du Bourgeois, ann. 1424, 1428.

Wisdom, and then the figure of a king between two dames, Truth and Mercy. He was harangued by Purity, and found on his way the three fountains of Generosity, Grace, and Mercy, which indeed did not flow.* At the royal banquet he was entertained with orthodox ballads in honour of Henry V., and Sigismund, who punished Oldcastle and John Huss, *and taught the fear of God.* That nothing might be wanting to the completeness of the diversions, a man was burned at Smithfield.†

There were many things but too visible in the ominous comedy of the coronation. Any one who had the use of his eyes might have seen civil war beneath the ceremonial exterior of religion and peace. Those pious personages who sat round their royal pupil, clad in their violet-coloured robes of peace; those loyal barons, who, headed by Gloucester, came to pay homage with their livery,‡ were two parties, two armies that already scanned each other's strength. Both approached the altar with the same homicidal thoughts, the means only differed which each was to employ.

Gloucester and the barons, puffed up with pride and violence, were men to conspire openly and noisily. To hear them talk, they would already have surely conquered France but for the priests. The bishops were so much afraid of paying a shilling, that they had proposed in 1430 to demolish the fortresses which it would be too costly to maintain. Was not this high treason? This was beyond doubt the reason why they shut the council door against Gloucester and against the king himself. Their effrontery went the length of sending to parliament as members of the Commons, men who had never been elected. Gloucester crowned these accusations with a terrible narrative. His brother, Henry V., had told him, that one night, as he lay in bed at Westminster, his dog barked, and a man was found hid under a carpet. The man confessed that Winchester had commissioned him to kill the king,§ but it was thought expedient to hush the matter up, and the fellow was drowned in the Thames.

Winchester, on his part, had no difficulty in recriminating. Gloucester's outrageous doings were known and seen by all; his seizures of arms in the city, his attempt to storm the Tower, his sudden marriage, and his mad war against the ally of England to create a separate state for himself. This violent and dissolute Gloucester had dared publicly to marry two wives; the chaste ladies of London

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* The way to get a cup of wine, was to ask demurely for a taste of one of the three virtues. Turner, iii. 2.

† In the whiche pastyme...an hereticke was brent. Ibid., 12.

‡ The colours by which the vassals of each lord were distinguished were a frequent occasion of disputes, and a means of civil war. (See Shakspeare on Winchester's *yellow* livery, &c.) But it was not until after the horrible war of the *red* and *white* roses, that Henry VII. succeeded in suppressing liveries.

§ By the stirring up and procuring of my saide lorde of Winchester. Holingshed, ed. 1577, fol. 1228, col. 2.

had felt their delicacy so shocked by this enormous scandal, that they complained of it to parliament.* The second wife was of a family related to the famous heretic Oldcastle; her name Leonora Cobham; a handsome wicked woman, with but too much talent, and who after, I know not how many adventures, contrived to bewitch the duke into marrying her. This woman had a court of suspicious characters, makers of satirical verses, alchymists, and astrologers. What did she shut herself up with them for? What could she do with them but labour against the Church, read the death of her enemies in the stars, or hasten it by poison or charms? Here was abundant and promising matter for ecclesiastical proceedings. On his return in 1432, from the execution at Rouen, Beaufort thought he might repeat the same scene in London. He had a witch named Margery arrested, who was supposed to be connected with the Duchess of Gloucester,† and had her examined at Windsor, in the royal castle; but in spite of all that could be done, Margery was too clever to let any thing be extracted from her, and the cardinal was forced to wait.

Gloucester in his turn, seeing Beaufort depart to attend the council, thought all was won, and had the cardinal's money seized at the water side. An enormous deficit was confessed in parliament. The alarmed commons appealed to the government, not to Gloucester, who expected it, but to his brother the regent of France. A fact that characterises the nation is, that Bedford's first question was, what allowance was he to have? There was a general silence.

Whether the government was in the hands of Beaufort or of Bedford, affairs could not but proceed ill. It was just then the period when the feeble bond that still united the Duke of Burgundy to the English gave way. His sister, Bedford's wife, died that year.

This alliance had never been solid or secure. The Duke of Burgundy had in his archives an affecting pledge of the friendship of the English, to wit, the secret letters of Gloucester and Bedford, in which both princes simultaneously discussed the means of arresting or killing him. Bedford, the Duke of Burgundy's brother-in-law, was for the latter course, supposing the difficulty of the thing could be got over.‡

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* See *supra*, B. x. ch. 2. † She was certainly so ten years afterwards.

‡ These important documents were still in the archives of Lille at the beginning of this century; they have been withdrawn from it, and the learned archivist, M. Leglay, who has recovered others, has not yet been able to find any trace of these. Perhaps they are now in a lordly museum in some English manor. Fortunately, the inventory gives a very detailed abstract of them. Gloucester writes to Bedford to acquaint him with the connexions of the Duke of Burgundy with Arthur of Bretagne, who is seeking to bring him into contact with the Dauphin: he proposes to have him arrested. Bedford replies that *it would be better to kill him* in the jousts about to be held in Paris. Then he writes that the opportunity has failed, but that he will find means to inveigle him to Paris, and have him taken off on the way. Arch. de Lille; chambre des comptes, inventaire viii., ann. 1424.

The vicissitudes of this stormy alliance would be matter for a whole history. At first, Henry V., besides the money he gave the duke to bring him over to his own party, seems to have held out to him the hope of great advantages. But far from letting him share their conquests, the English, on the contrary, endeavoured to seize the inheritance of Holland, and Hainaut, which he regarded as his own. In their prosperity, they turned their backs on him, or tried to do him mischief; when they had need of him the mastiffs fawned on him again.

After their attempt on Hainaut, being closely beset by Charles VII., they appeased the duke by pledging with him Péronne and Tournai, then Bar, Auxerre, and Mâcon. In 1429 they refused to put Orleans into his hands. Orleans being taken, and Charles VII. marching on Reims, they cast themselves into the arms of the brother-in-law, pledged Meaux with him, and made a show of confiding Paris to his keeping. When they had possession of the Maid, and their king was crowned, they performed overt acts of sovereignty in Flanders,* writing to the Ghenters and offering them protection.†

The Duke of Burgundy had never had much reason to like the English, nor had he more to fear them. Their war in France was becoming ridiculous. Dunois took Chartres from them while the English garrison was attending a sermon. They besieged Lagny; the Regent in person and the Earl of Warwick appeared there, and breached the walls; but when the besieged showed their teeth on the now open and practicable breach, they thought it more prudent to let those fierce fellows alone, and they returned to Paris on Easter eve, "apparently to confess."‡

The Parisians, delighted at this retreat of Bedford's, made themselves no less merry on the subject of his marriage. At fifty years of age he wedded a girl of seventeen, "sprightly, fair, and gracious,"§ a daughter of the Count of St. Pol, one of the Duke of Burgundy's vassals, and that abruptly and furtively without saying a word to his brother-in-law. The duke would not have consented to the match. The St. Pols, raised by him for the purpose of guarding his frontier,‖ were beginning to play that double game which was to be their ruin; they were giving the English a footing in the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy.

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* In 1423 Bedford cut the knot of this great jurisdictional question without ceremony, by having a sentence of the Four Members of Flanders quashed by the parliament of Paris. Arch. du Roy. Tr. des Chartes, 30 Avril, J. 573.

† Et si vous ou les vostres désirez aucune chose devers nous, tousjours nous trouverez disposez de entendre raisonnablement comme souverain...Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, vol. iv. 5. (1835).

‡ Journal du Bourgeois de Paris, ed. 1827, p. 416.

§ Monstrelet, vi. 75.

‖ At that very moment Philip was obliging René to leave them the town of Guise, of which he was in possession. Villeneuve Burggemont, Hist. de René, i, 180.

Beaufort saw more clearly that if the alliance with Burgundy was broken off, the war would change its aspect; that it would become far more costly, and that the Church would infallibly have to bear the expense. A beginning had been made with the Church of France, from which it was sought to wrest all the pious donations it had received for sixty years.

In this state of anxiety, he exerted himself strongly for peace, and had it arranged that a conference should take place between Bedford and Philip the Good. He succeeded in making the two dukes advance towards each other as far as St. Omer. But this was all; once in the town, neither of them would take the first step. Though Bedford ought to have seen clearly that France was lost for the English if he did not bring back the Duke of Burgundy to their party, he remained peremptory on the point of etiquette; as the king's representative, he awaited the visit of the king's vassal, who never moved. The rupture was definitive.

France, on the contrary, was gradually becoming reunited, a result brought about chiefly by the efforts of the house of Anjou. The old queen, Yolande of Anjou, the king's mother-in-law, brought him back the Bretons; and in concert with the constable Richemont, the Duke of Bretagne's brother, she dismissed the favourite La Trémouille.

It was more difficult to allure the Duke of Burgundy, who was supporting the pretender Vaudemont, in Lorraine, against René of Anjou, Yolande's son. That prince, who has remained in the memory of the Angevins and Provençals by the name of the *good King René*, possessed all the amiable qualities of old chivalric France; and with them, too, its imprudence and levity. He suffered himself to be beaten and taken prisoner at Bulgnéville, by the Burgundians [1431]. He devoted the leisure hours of his captivity, not to poetry, like Charles of Orleans, but to painting. He made pictures for the chapel he constructed in his prison, and for the Chartreux of Dijon, and he wrought even for him who retained him prisoner; when Philip the Good visited him, René presented him with a handsome portait of Jean-sans-Peur.* It was impossible to remain the enemy of the amiable painter, and the Duke of Burgundy restored him to liberty, under security.

The princes were becoming friends, and there was nothing to hinder the people from doing likewise, if they had the will. Paris, governed by Cauchon and other bishops, tried to get rid of them and expel the English. Normandy, even, that little French England, at last grew weary of a war of which it was made to bear the whole burden. A vast rising took place among the rural population of Lower Normandy; the leader was a peasant named Quatrepieds; but there were knights also engaged in the affair, which was

* Villeneuve Bargemont, Hist. de René, i. 172.

not a mere Jacquerie. The English could not fail soon to lose the province.

They seemed themselves to look on their prospects as desperate. Bedford abandoned Paris. The poor town, smitten by turns with famine and pestilence, was too hideous an abode. The Duke of Burgundy, nevertheless, ventured to visit it with his wife and son, on his way to the great assembly at Arras, where the terms of a treaty of peace were to be arranged. The Parisians welcomed him, and implored his aid, as though he had been an angel from God.

The assembly in question was one of all Christendom, including ambassadors from the council, the pope, the emperor, the sovereigns of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Naples, Milan, Sicily, Cyprus, Poland, and Denmark. All the French princes, and all those of the Low Countries, attended in person or by deputy; so did the university of Paris, and a number of good towns. All these personages being assembled, England herself arrived, in the person of the Cardinal bishop of Winchester.

The first question to be considered was, the possibility of an accommodation between Charles VII. and Henry VI. But how was it to be effected? Each of them claimed the crown. Charles VII. offered Aquitaine, and even Normandy, which was still in the hands of the English. The latter required that each party should retain what it then had, with the exception of mutual exchanges for the purpose of rendering the possessions of each more compact.* Their strange infatuation is remarkably displayed in the instructions given to the cardinal by the council of London, four years after the assembly at Arras [1439], when the English affairs were further considerably deteriorated. First he was to call on Charles of Valois to desist from molesting Henry in the enjoyment of his kingdom of France; and he was to offer him, for peace sake, 20,000 *pounds yearly rent*,† to be held in fee, in Languedoc. Then the cardinal, as a churchman, was to make a long speech on the advantages of peace. And then the king's other ambassadors were to allow themselves to be so far propitiated, as to propose a marriage with a daughter of Charles, and recognise two kingdoms in France.

Nothing could be made of the English, and they were allowed to depart from Arras. Every one turned towards the Duke of Burgundy, beseeching him to have pity on the realm and on Christendom, which suffered so much from these long wars. But he could not make up his mind; his conscience and his knightly honour were engaged, he said; he had given his signature; besides, was he not bound to take vengeance for his father's murder?

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* D. Plancher, Hist. de Bourgogne, iv. 203, from the English journal of the conferences, MS. Harleian Lib. no. 4763.

† To the value in demayne and revenue...of xx. mil. l. yerly. Rymer v. p. i. p. 61, 21 May, 1439.

The pope's legates told him he might make light of such scruples, for they had power to release him from his oaths. But this did not yet satisfy him. Ecclesiastical law not seeming sufficient, recourse was had to civil law, and a fine case was drawn up, in which, to leave the minds of the jurisconsults the more free, the parties were designated by the names of Darius and Ahasuerus. The English and the French doctors gave such opinions as might have been expected of them respectively; but those of Bologna, whom the legates brought forward, declared, in conformity with the French lawyers, that Charles VI. had no power to conclude the treaty of Troyes: "The *laws* prohibit all treaties respecting the inheritance of a living man, and annul oaths that are *contra bonos mores*. The treaty, moreover, contains an impious thing—a father's engagement *not to treat with his son* without the consent of the English. . . . If the king had any crime to allege against his son, he ought to have laid the matter before the pope, who alone has the right to declare a prince incapable of inheriting."

The Duke of Burgundy allowed the suppliants to argue and implore. But, in reality, the desired change had already taken place in him; he was weary of the English. The Flemings, who had so often forced their counts to remain united with England, were becoming hostile to that nation; they suffered from the forays of the garrison of Calais, and were maltreated when they went to that great wool-market. A more serious consideration was, that the English were themselves beginning to spin woollen yarn, and to manufacture cloth; and both these productions were forcing their way in spite of all barriers, even into Flanders, in consequence of their cheapness. They were prohibited in 1428, and it was necessary to repeat the prohibition in 1446, 1464, and 1494.* At last, in 1499, it was not possible to exclude them, and Flanders, then under a foreign prince, submitted to receive them.

England was then becoming a rival and enemy of Flanders; had she been friendly to that country, her friendship would henceforth have availed little. The Duke of Burgundy had gained the barrier of the Somme, through the English alliance, and rounded and completed his Burgundy; but their alliance could no longer guarantee him the possession of his new acquisitions. Divided as they were, it was with difficulty they could defend themselves. Bedford alone could maintain some sort of balance between Winchester and Gloucester; he died,† and his decease was a further alleviation to the conscience of the Duke of Burgundy. Thenceforth, the treaties concluded with Bedford, as Regent of France, appeared to him less

* See *suprà* p. 552, and for the prohibition of 1466. Arch. gen. de Belgique. Brabant, no. 2. fol. 123.

† He was honorary canon of Rouen, and was interred in the cathedral at the foot of the monument of Henry V. See Deville, Décsr. des Tombeaux de Rouen.

sacred; such was the strictly literal mode of viewing things in the middle ages; he deemed himself bound during the lifetime of him to whom he had given his signature.*

The Duke of Burgundy's two brothers-in-law, the Duke of Bourbon and the Constable de Richemont, contributed not a little to fix his wavering purposes. Since his Azincourt captivity—since, dragged about everywhere in the train of Henry V., he had become intimately acquainted with the haughtiness of the English, he had remained their implacable enemy. The Duke of Bourbon, whose father had died a prisoner, without ever being able to ransom himself either by money or servility, was not much fonder of the English; it was but recently they had bestowed on Talbot his county of Clermont,† which had belonged to the house of Bourbon since the days of St. Louis.

Bourbon and Richemont plied their brother-in-law so hard, that he vouchsafed at last to yield to their entreaties and grant mercy. The treaty of Arras cannot be characterized by any other phrase. The king asked pardon of the duke, and the duke did not pay him homage; thereby he became himself king, as it were. He retained for himself and his heirs all he had acquired: on the one side Péronne and all the fortresses on the Somme, on the other Auxerre and Mâcon.

The explanations and reparations for the death of Duke John were very humiliating. The king was to say, or have it said, that at that time he was very young, had as yet little knowledge, and had not been sufficiently advised to see duly into the matter, but that at present he was about to use all diligence in searching out the guilty parties. He was to found a chapel in the church at Montereau, and a convent for twelve Carthusians; and to erect, moreover, on the bridge where the act had been perpetrated, a stone cross, which was to be kept in repair at the king's expense.

The ceremony of forgiveness took place in the church of St. Vaast. The dean of Paris, Jean Tudert,‡ threw himself at the feet of Duke Philip, and cried him mercy, on the king's part, for the murder of Jean-sans-Peur. The duke appeared moved, raised and embraced him, and told him there should never be war between King Charles and himself. The Duke of Bourbon and the constable then swore a peace, as did the French and Burgundian ambassadors and lords.

But the reconciliation would not have been complete, if the Duke of Burgundy had not concluded a definitive arrangement with the

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* I have cited some examples of this attachment to the letter, in my Origines du Droit, and could add a multitude more.

† Bibl. Roy. MSS. Colbert, lii. fol. 313.

‡ It was Jean Tudert, and not Bourbon and Richemont, as Monstrelet erroneously asserts. D. Planches, iv. 218. Why, indeed, should Philip the Good have chosen his two brothers-in-law to perform this humiliating part? This judicious observation belongs to the authors of L'Ancien Bourbonnais (MM. Alier, Michel, and Batisser), ii. 50.

brother-in-law of Charles VII., René of Anjou. René, not having been able to adhere to the terms of the first treaty, had preferred returning to prison. Philip the Good released him and gave him back part of his ransom money, in consideration of the marriage of his niece, Mary of Bourbon, with René's son. Thus were the houses of Burgundy, Bourbon, and Anjou united with each other and with the king. That of Bretagne still vacillated; the duke did not declare himself; he found great profit in the war; it was said that 30,000 Normans had taken refuge in Bretagne. But whether the duke was English or French, his brother Richemont was constable of France: the Bretons followed him cheerfully; the Breton bands were the main force of Charles VII., and were called the *bons corps*.*

This self-reconciliation of France drove the English distracted;† their wrath blinded them, and they plunged as it were wilfully into their ill fortune. The Duke of Burgundy wished to keep some terms with them, and offered them his mediation; but they rejected it, and plundered and killed the Flemish merchants in London. Flanders becoming incensed in its turn, the duke seized the opportunity to lead the communes to the siege of Calais. The Burgundian party turned round like the duke; those of Paris, of the *halles* even, the Burgundian quarter *par excellence*, called in the king's forces and his constable, and installed them in the town. The English, who had still 1500 men-at-arms there, and at first made a show of resisting, shut themselves pitiably in the Bastille, and then, apprehensive of famine, obtained leave to embark and descend the river to Rouen. The people, who had been harshly governed by three bishops on behalf of the English, pursued them with hootings, and shouted "Fox! fox!" after the Bishop of Térouane, the Chancellor of the English.‡ The Parisians were loth to let them off so cheaply; but it would have been necessary to besiege the Bastille, and the constable himself was at his shifts, money failing him. The king had only 1000 francs to give him for the purpose of retaking Paris [1436].

The English will linger fifteen years longer in France, each day more and more humiliated, baffled everywhere, yet never willing to avow their impotence, but choosing rather to accuse each other, and shout "Treachery!" until their pride and rancour turn into that horrible malady, that epidemic mania which has been baptised with the poetic name of the War of the Roses. From that moment the king has little to fear; he has but to have patience, seize his opportunity, and strike at the fit time. Already relieved from much anxiety

* Daru, Hist. de Bretagne, ii. ann. 1425.

† "The young King Henry was so vexed at this, that the tears burst from his eyes." Monstrelet, vi. 233.

‡ This chancellor said afterwards that he had fairly paid his scot. Jean Chartres, p. 90.

in this direction, he may inquire into internal affairs, and examine the condition of France after so many evils, if there be still a France.

In that vast and multitudinous wretchedness, amid so many ruins, two things were still standing—the nobility and the Church. The nobility had served the king against the English, gratuitously served a beggared king; it had consumed much of its own wealth, at the same time that it devoured the people's substance, and it looked for compensation. The Church, on its part, represented itself as very poor and afflicted; but there was this notable difference, that its poverty consisted in the suspension of its revenues—in general the capital remained. The king, indebted to the nobility, could discharge his obligations only at the Church's expense, either by forcing it to pay for him, which seemed difficult and dangerous, or rather by gently and indirectly, for the sake ostensibly of the ecclesiastical liberties, re-establishing the elections in which the lords had the paramount influence, and thus enabling them to dispose of benefices. These were often bestowed by the pope on the partisans of England ;* Charles VII. had no inducement to respect his claims. He adopted in his Pragmatique of Bourges [July 7, 1438] the decrees of the Council of Basle, which re-established elections, and recognised the rights of the noble patrons of churches to *present* to benefices. † These patrons, descendants of the pious founders ‡ or protectors, § regarded the churches as portions severed from their fiefs, and desired nothing better than to *protect* them still, that is to say, to put their own men into them, by causing them to be elected by the monks or canons.

One would not have expected this aristocratic reform from the council of Basle, to judge by the preponderance exercised in it by the democratic element of the Church, the university men. These had, however, received a lesson. They had laboured zealously upon the Constance reform, and had derived no profit from it. The bishops whom they had relieved and raised up again, but who were in general timidly obsequious to the lords, caused the nominees of the latter to be elected, and the university men were left to starve. The university of Paris, not disguising its disappointment, avowed at that period that it would rather see *the pope bestow* prebends. ‖ At Basle it thought it had taken its precautions better. A determined

* See Ordonnances xiii. xlv. xlvi.

† This essential point of the Pragmatique is the one passed over most lightly; Patronorum jura enervantur. On the other hand, it insists on the popular text, the necessity of preventing money from going out of the kingdom. Thesauri asportantur. Ibid., xiii. 269.

‡ The old canonist very well explains the origin of these rights in his technical verse, Patronum faciunt dos, ædificatio, fundus.—Ducange verb. Patronus

§ Ibid. et verb. Abbacomites.

‖ Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris, v. 307–309.

portion of the benefices was secured to the graduates, to those who should have studied ten, seven, or three years, and not only to theologians, but to graduates in law and medicine; the *avocat* and the physician were entitled to a cure or a canonry. However strange the thing may have been, it was a step, a necessary one perhaps, out of the scholastic routine. The choice of the parson was thus committed to the patrons; only while restoring to them this desirable right of presentation, the university men modestly took upon themselves to name a certain number of their own body from among whom the patrons *should be free* to choose.

The council of Basle was in a difficult predicament; the pope was opening his own council of Florence in opposition to it, and was making a great ado about the reunion of the Greek Church. The members of the Basle council, now *in extremis*,* made haste to accomplish the great reform which was to gain for them the lords, the bishops, and the universities, that is to say, to confederate all the local powers against that of the papacy. As regarded the collation of benefices, the pope was reduced by the council almost to a nonentity; he was left one in fifty. Another reduction was made in the *annates* and dues of chancery. Lastly, that strong arm of unity, which gathered whole nations of suitors to Rome, and poured into it rivers of gold—the appellate jurisdiction†—was interdicted (except in certain extraordinary cases) whenever the suitors should be *more than four days' journey* from Rome. This was degrading the judge of kings to the rank of a suburban podesta.

What delighted France in its then extreme poverty was, that the Pragmatique would stop the outgoing of money from the kingdom. Afterwards, when the prohibition was removed, the parliament, in a remonstrance, set forth a lamentable schedule of the millions of gold that had gone to Rome in the space of a few years. "The Pont au Change," it says, dolefully, "has neither exchange nor changers; nothing is to be seen there but cap and doll makers."‡ The parliament seems to make small account of the parchment returns obtained from Rome. The absence of gold was acutely felt. Under Charles

* The council continued to sit for a long time after this, but in competition with that of Ferrara. Concil. ed. Labbe, xii. 601.

† When the Maid appealed to the pope, the Bishop of Beauvais replied, "The pope is too far away." In reality it was found that the bishops themselves, after having thus shaken off the pope, had another and a harder pope in the parliament. See the very specious observations of Pius II. on the defects of the Pragmatica in Recueil des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane, i. sub fin., Hist. de la Pragm. 36, from Gobellini Comment. See also the reply of the able pontiff to the Germans, Æneæ Sylvii Piccolominei opera, p. 837.

‡ It is curious to see with what enthusiasm these magistrates speak of money; Numisma est mensura omnium rerum, etc. Remonstrance du Parlement à Louis XI. Lib. de l'Egl. Gal., i. 90. nos. 52—57. See also the amusing observations on the intense eagerness with which men went to Rome, and intrigued for benefices: N'y aura nul qui ait de quoy qui ne se mette en avant pour cuider advancer son fils ou son parent et souvent perdront leur parent et leur argent. Ibid., 9.

VII. it was really necessary as an instrument of war and a means of rapid action. The bankers were turning their speculations in that direction; previously occupied with the exchange of Rome and the transmission of the ecclesiastic tithes, they were about to draw on the English that bill of exchange which was paid with Normandy.*

Since the English had begun to be expelled, it seemed natural to drive out the Italians also. France was desirous of managing her own affairs both moneyed and ecclesiastical.† How was it that the established Church of England subsisted amidst so many attacks? Because it was wholly English, closed against foreigners, supported by the noble families, and by its very enemies, who placed in it their relations or servants. Was not this an example for the Church of France?

One thing, however, was to be feared, namely, that a Church so completely close dagainst papal influence, might become not national but purely seignorial. It was not the king or the state that would inherit what the pope lost, but the lords and the nobles. At a period when organization was still so feeble, it was not very practicable to act with effect from a distance; now at every election the lord was on the spot to present or recommend, and the chapters obsequiously elected his nominee;‡ the king was very far away. It was a question whether the nobility were worthy of being intrusted with the chief active part in the affairs of the Church—whether the lords on whom really devolved the choice of pastors and the responsibility for the salvation of souls, were themselves the pure souls whom the Holy Spirit would enlighten in so delicate a matter.

The middle ages had dreaded such an influence as this as equivalent to the annihilation of the Church. And yet the barons of the twelfth century, those even who fought so long for the sceptre against the crosier, those who, like Godfrey de Bouillon, planted the emperor's banner on the walls of Rome, were men that feared God.

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* See *infrà* the influence of the great banker, Jacques Cœur.

† Among other pamphlets inspired by this Gallican spirit, see, De matrimonio contracto inter *Dominam* Pragmaticam et Papam, matrimonium istud debeat ne consummari, 1438. Bibl. Royale, MSS. Dupuy, 670. fol. 42.

‡ We can collect out of Gallia Christiana the names of the bishops who were nominated through the influence of the great lords: *Dunois.* His familiar, d'Illiers, bish. of Chartres, 1459.—*Armagnac.* Jean d'Armagnac, brother of the bastard of Armagnac, b. of Auch, about 1460.—*Pardiac.* Jean de Barthon, son of the Chancellor Bernard de Pardiac, Comte de la Marche, b. of Limoges, 1440. —*Foix.* Roger de Foix, b. of Tarbes, 1441, succeeded by his relation cardinal Pierre de Foix.—*Albret.* Louis d'Albret, b. of Aire, 1444, of Cahors, 1460.—*Bourbon.* Charles de Bourbon, b. of Puy, elected at nine years of age archbishop of Lyon, 1446, on his father's presentation; Jean de Bourbon succeeded him as bishop of Puy; Jacques de Combornes, a familiar of the house of Bourbon, was elected bishop of Clermont, 1445.—*Angouleme.* Robert de Montberon, a man of letters, a dependant of Jean d'Angoulême, was elected bishop of Angoulême about 1440: Geoffroi de Pompadour, friend and adviser of the same Jean, succeeded him, 1450.—*Alençon.* Robert Cornegrue, presented by the Duke d'Alençon, elected bishop of Séez, 1453.—*Aubusson.* Hugues d'Aubusson, b. of Tulle, 1444, etc. etc.

In his fief the baron, haughty and stern as he might be, had yet a rule of conduct which, though unwritten, seemed but the more inviolable. This rule was *usage*, custom.* In his most violent proceedings he saw himself accosted by his men, who said respectfully to him: "Messire, it is not the *usage* of the good people here." They brought the *prud'hommes* or elders of the land, men who were in a manner its living usage, who remembered his birth, and whom he saw daily and knew by name. The rude violence of the young man often fell before those aged men, and was abashed by those humble and grave types of antiquity.

The fear of God and respect for *usage*, those two bridles of the feudal times, were broken in the fifteenth century. The lord was no longer a resident on his estate, and knew neither his people nor their customs. If he returns, it is with soldiers to raise money abruptly; he falls on the country occasionally like storm and hail, every one hides at his approach, and the whole district is seized with a panic.

This lord, though bearing his father's seignorial name, was not the more a lord for all that; he was commonly a rough captain, a barbarian, scarcely a Christian. Often he was a leader of *houspilleurs*, *tondeurs*, or *écorcheurs*, like the bastard of Bourbon, the bastard of Vaurus, a Chabannes, or a La Hire. *Ecorcheurs* (flayers) was their right name: ruining the ruined, taking away the shirt from him who had been left with nothing but a shirt to cover him; and if nothing remained but the skin, then stripping off the skin.

It would be a mistake to suppose that it was only the captains of the *écorcheurs*, the bastards, the lords without lordship, that were so ferocious. The grandees and the princes had acquired a strange appetite for blood in these hideous wars. What shall we say when we see Jean de Ligny, of the house of Luxembourg, exercising his nephew, the Count of St. Pol, a boy of fifteen, in massacring fugitives?†

They treated their relations just as they did their enemies; in fact, as regarded safety, the enemy was better off than the relation. It would seem as though there were no fathers, no brothers in those days. The Count d'Harcourt keeps his father a prisoner all his life;‡ the Countess of Foix poisons her sister; the Sire de Giac, his wife;§ the Duke of Bretagne starves his brother to death, and that publicly; the horror-stricken passer-by heard his piteous voice imploring a morsel of bread for charity. One evening, on the 10th of

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* Hence the fixity of dues and liabilities which was so great an alleviation. Frequently they were mere matter of ceremony; in certain places usage required the lord to give more than he received. See my Origines du Droit.

† Monstrelet, vi. 101.

‡ Ibid., iv. 86. ann. 1418.

§ "And when she had drunk the poisons, he made her get up behind him on horseback, and rode with her in that state fifteen leagues; then the said dame died immediately. He did this in order to have Madame de Tonnerre." Mém. de Richemont, Collection Petitot, viii. 435.

January, Count Adolphe de Gueldre drags his old father out of bed, marches him five leagues on foot through the snow without hose, and throws him into a subterraneous dungeon (1440). The son, indeed, might have said in his own behalf that parricide was matter of usage in the family.* But we find it likewise in most of the great houses of the time, in all those of the Low Countries,† in those of Bar, Verdun, Armagnac, &c.

People were well inured to these things, but one such that came to light, stupified all men with wonder and horror. *Conticuit terra.*

The Duke of Bretagne being at Nantes, the bishop, who was his cousin and his chancellor, was emboldened by his presence to proceed against a great lord of the neighbourhood, regarded with singular awe, a Retz of the house of Laval, which was itself a branch of the Montforts, of the lineage of the dukes of Bretagne. Such was the terror inspired by that name, that it had silenced every tongue for fourteen years.

The accusation was a strange one.‡ An old woman called La Meffraie used to travel about the country and the heaths, and make up to the children who kept cattle or begged. Caressing and cajoling them, but all the while keeping her face half covered with a piece of black gauze, she used to entice them to the château of the Sire de Retz, and they were never seen again. As long as the victims were peasants' children, who might be supposed to have wandered out of their way and been lost, or poor little creatures who might have been voluntarily cast out by their families, no complaint was raised. But the boldness of the decoyers increasing, town children were at last carried off. This happened even in the great town of Nantes, in a well-known and established family. A painter's wife having intrusted her young brother to Retz's people, at the request of their master, who wanted him for a choir-boy, the lad disappeared for ever.

The Duke of Bretagne gave ear to the accusation, delighted to have an opportunity of striking at the Lavals.§ The bishop, too, had his vengeance to take on the Sire de Retz, who had broken into one of his churches by force of arms. A tribunal was formed, consisting of the bishop, chancellor of Bretagne, the vicar of the Inquisition, and Pierre de l'Hospital, grand judge of the duchy. Retz,

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* See, Art de vérifier les dates, Gueldre, aux années 1326, 1361, 1465.

† Art de vérifier les dates, Flandre 1226 (?), Namur 1236, Berg 1348 et 1404, Cuyck 1386, Holland 1351 et 1392.

‡ I have made use of two MS. abstracts of the trial; one of them is in the Bib. Royale (no. 493 F.), the other, which is very carefully and very well executed, was communicated to me by the learned M. Louis du Bois. The original MS. of De Retz's trial is in the Archives de Nantes.

§ The more so, no doubt, as the king had lately raised the barony of the Lavals into a county (1431). These Lavals, an offshoot of the Montforts, formed against them a purely French opposition, and at last put Bretagne into the king's hands in 1488.

who undoubtedly might have escaped, thought himself too strong to have any thing to fear, and allowed himself to be taken.

This Gilles de Retz was a very great lord, rich both in patrimony and by his marriage into the house of Thouars, besides which he had inherited the wealth of his maternal grandfather, Jean de Craon, Lord of la Suze, Chantocé, and Ingrande. These barons of the Marches of Maine, Bretagne, and Poitou, always fluctuating between the king and the duke, were, like the Marches, midway between two jurisdictions, that is to say, they were out of the pale of the law. The reader will call to mind Clisson *the butcher* and his assassin Pierre de Craon. As for Gilles de Retz, whom we have here to do with, he seemed created to win confidence. He was, it is said, a lord "of good understanding, handsome person, and pleasing manners," lettered, moreover, and highly appreciating those who spoke Latin with elegance.* He had done good service for the king, who created him marshal, and who, from among all those wild Bretons who followed Richemont, chose Gilles de Retz to fetch the holy ampulla from St. Remy! Retz, notwithstanding his quarrels with the bishop, had a reputation for piety. Now, a fashion of piety then much in vogue, was to have a sumptuous chapel and numerous choir-boys who were reared at great cost. At that period church-music was improving rapidly under the encouragement of the Dukes of Burgundy. Retz had quite a princely musical establishment, and a great troop of choir-boys who accompanied him wherever he went.

The presumptions from these facts were in his favour, nor could it be denied that his judges were his enemies. He challenged them on that ground, but no challenge could avail against a host of witnesses, poor people, afflicted fathers or mothers, who came one after the other, weeping and sobbing, and related in detail how their children had been taken away. The wretches, too, who had been the instruments of all these misdeeds, did not spare their employer when they saw him hopelessly ruined. Upon this he ceased to deny the charge, and, beginning to cry, made his confession; and such a confession it was that those who heard it, though habituated, as judges or priests, to receive avowals of crime, trembled and crossed themselves at the monstrous things they heard. No Roman Nero, no tyrant of Lombardy, could have matched them; to complete the parallel, it would have needed the addition of all the atrocities the Dead Sea covers, and over these the sacrifices offered to those execrable gods who devoured children.

There was found in the tower of Chantocé a tunful of calcined childrens' bones, the remains, it was calculated, of some forty victims.† Similar discoveries were made in the privies of the Château de la Suze, and in every other place where he had made his abode. Murder accompanied him wherever he went. The number

* Abstract, &c. by M. Louis du Bois, p. 23.

† Ibid.

of children slaughtered by this beast of extermination is estimated at one hundred and forty.*

How slaughtered, and why? In the answer to this question lay something more horrible than death itself. They were offerings to the Devil. He invoked the fiends Barron, Orient, Beelzebub, Satan, and Belial, praying them to grant him "gold, knowledge, and power." There had come to him from Italy a young priest of Pistoïa who promised to show him those fiends. He had also an Englishman who assisted in conjuring them up. The thing was difficult. One of the means tried was to chant the office for all saints in honour of the evil spirits. But this mockery of the holy sacrifice was not enough for them; these enemies of the Creator required something more impious still, the contrary of creation, the murderous derision of God's living image. Retz occasionally presented to his magician the blood of a child, its hand, eyes, and heart.

This worship of the Devil had this terrible property, that the worshipper, having gradually destroyed in himself all that was human, changed his nature and became a devil. Having begun by killing for his master, at first no doubt with repugnance, he afterwards killed for himself with voluptuous relish.† He took delight in death, still more in pain; he had come at last to regard a thing so poignant and awful as a pastime and a farce. The piercing cries, the rattle in the throat, were pleasant to his ear; the features distorted in the death-agony made him laugh till his sides ached; and when the last convulsions came, the hideous vampire sat himself down on the palpitating body.‡

A preacher endowed with a grand and terrible imagination,§ has said that fire is the least of the torments of the damned, that their peculiar anguish consists in the infinite progression in vice and crime, the soul growing harder and more depraved evermore, and plunging deeper and deeper every minute in evil (in geometrical progression!) throughout eternity. The damned one of whom we are speaking seems to have begun in the land of the living the fearful descent of infinite evil.

It is sad to tell that, having lost all notion of good, of evil, and of judgment, he always retained to the last a good opinion of his own salvation. The wretch believed that he had successfully juggled both the Devil and God. He did not deny God, but was politic with Him, thinking to corrupt his judge with masses and processions. As

* Abstract, &c., pièces justificatives, note iv. The valet-de-chambre Henriet acknowledged that he alone had kidnapped forty.

† "And the said lord took more pleasure in cutting their throats or seeing them cut, than in —. He had their necks cut behind, that they might die slowly." Bibl. Roy. MS., 493 F.

‡ Archives de Nantes, Abstract of M. du Bois, deposition of Greart, an eye-witness and accomplice.

§ M. Monnod fils. All who heard him still tremble at the recollection.

for the Devil, he trusted him only upon good security, always making his reserves and surrendering to him every thing "exceept his life and his soul."* This set him at ease. When he was separated from his magician, he said these strange words to him, sobbing as he spoke: "Adieu, François, my friend, I pray God grant you good patience and knowledge, and be assured, provided you have good patienee and hope in God, we shall see each other in the great joy of Paradise."†

He was eondemned to the flames and plaeed at the stake, but not burned. Out of deferenee for his powerful family and the nobility in general, he was strangled before the flames reached him. The body was not redueed to ashes. "Damsels of high eondition"‡ went to the meadows of Nantes, where the exeeution had taken plaee, raised the body with their noble hands, and, with the aid of some nuns, gave it very honourable burial in the Carmelite chureh.

Marshal de Retz had pursued his horrible eareer for fourteen years without any one daring to aeeuse him. He would never have been accused or bought to trial, but for the singular eireumstanee that three powers, usually at varianee, seemed to have eoaleseed for his death: the duke, the bishop, and the king. The duke saw the Lavals and De Retz taking possession of a line of fortresses on the Marehes of Maine, Bretagne, and Poitou; the bishop was the personal enemy of Retz, who spared neither ehurehes nor priests; and the king, to whom he had rendered services on the strength of whieh he probably relied, would no longer defend the brigands who had done so mueh hurt to his cause. Richemont, the eonstable of Franee and brother of the Duke of Bretagne, was the implaeable enemy of soreerers as well as of the *écorcheurs;* it was no doubt by his adviee that the dauphin, then very young, had been sent two years before to paeify the Marehes; and had compelled one of the lieutenants of Marshal de Retz to be given up to him in Poitou.§ This rigour on the king's part doubtless hastened the eriminal's fall, and emboldened the Duke of Bretagne to set on the bishop and the inquisitor against him.

A justiee whieh depended on so rare a eoincidenee of eireumstances, eould not be of easy reeurrence. There was seareely an example of the punishment of a man of that rank.‖ Others, perhaps, were as eriminal. Those men of blood, as they gradually returned to their manors after the war, eontinued it even with more atroeity against the poor defeneeless people around them.

Here was the serviee the English had rendered us, the reform they had aecomplished in our morals. Such was the state in whieh they were leaving France. They had given out on the very field of

* Bibl. Roy. MS. 493, F.
† Du Bois.
‡ Jean Chartier, 106.
§ Bibl. Roy. Legrand, Hist. MS. de Louis XI, p. 9.
‖ De Retzes were detected in the lower ranks and brought to punishment.

Azincourt, that they had received from God plenary power to chastise and amend it. Young, indeed, and very full of levity had been that France of Charles VI. and Charles of Orleans. The English assuredly were men of a more serious caste. Let us see what our sage tutors had made of us during a sojourn of five-and-twenty years.

In the first place, they had broken that whereby France is France —the unity of the realm. That happy unity had been the truce that stilled the violences of feudalism, *the king's peace;* as yet a stormy peace, but in its stead the English left everywhere a horrible petty war. Thanks to them, this country was driven back into the times of barbarism; it seemed as though, in addition to the slaughter of 1,000,000 human beings, they had slain two or three centuries, and annulled the long period during which we had toilsomely built up this monarchy.

Barbarism returned, only without what was good in it, simplicity and faith. Feudalism came back, but without its traits of devotedness and fidelity, and its chivalry. These ghosts of buried feudalism appeared like damned souls bringing unknown crimes to earth from their infernal abode.

It mattered not that the English withdrew; France still continued the work of self-extermination. The provinces of the north were becoming a desert; the waste heaths were spreading. In the centre, as we have seen, La Beauce was becoming overrun with briars and thickets; two armies sought and could hardly find each other there. The towns in which the whole population of the rural districts sought refuge, absorbed that miserable multitude, and yet remained not the less desolate. A vast number of houses were empty, and many a door was closed to open no more.* The poor took from those houses whatever they could for firing.† Paris was burning Paris. We may judge of the other towns from this one, the most populous of all, the town in which the government had held its seat, and where resided those great corporations, the university and the parliament. Famine and wretchedness had made it a focus of disgusting contagious maladies, the nature of which was not very accurately discriminated, but which were called at random the plague. Charles VII. had a glimpse of that

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The same year (1440) there was hanged at Paris a man "who was accustomed when he saw a little child in swaddling clothes or otherwise, to take it away from its mother, and immediately throw it into the fire without pity." Journal de Bourgeois, ed. 1827, p. 512.

* The king's servants inquired minutely respecting these abandoned houses, the deceased, their wills, and their heirs, in hopes to pick up something—"Ils alloient parmy Paris, et quant ils véoient huys fermés, ils demandoient aux voisins d'entour: 'Pourquoi sont ces huys fermés?'—'Ha! sire,' respondoient-ils, 'les gens en sont trespassés.'—'Et n'ont-ils nuls hoirs qui y fussent demourés?'—'Ha! sire, ils demourent ailleurs,'" etc. Journ. du Bourgeois, p. 512.

† Défense d'abattre et de brûler les maisons désertes. Ordonnances, xiii. 174, 13 Janvier, 1432.

hideous thing which was still called Paris, was struck with horror, and hurried away. The English did not try to return thither. The two parties withdrew as if by a common understanding. The wolves alone were voluntary visiters, entering at evening in search of carrion; for as they no longer found food in the fields, they were rabid with hunger, and attacked men. The contemporary historian, who no doubt exaggerates, alleges, that in September, 1438, they devoured fourteen persons between Montmartre and the Porte St. Antoine.*

These terrible miseries are expressed, very feebly indeed, in the "Complaint of the poor commonalty and the poor labourers."† It is a medley of lamentations and threats; the starving wretches warn the Church, the king, the burghers and merchants, and, above all, the lords, that "the fire is very near their hotels." They call the king to their aid. But what could Charles VII. do? that King of Bourges, that weak and mean-looking personage,‡ how could they expect him to impose respect and obedience on so many audacious men? With what forces was he to put down the *écorcheurs* of the rural districts, and the terrible petty kings of the châteaux? They were his own captains;§ it was with them and through them he was waging war against the English.

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* Journal du Bourgeois, p. 502. Et si mangèrent un enffent de nuit en la place aux Chats, derrière les Innocents. Ibid, p. 496. Ces loups etranglèrent par le plat pays plus de soixante à quatre-vingts personnes. Jean Chartier, p. 99.

† Hélas! hélas! hélas! hélas!
Prélats, princes, et bons seigneurs,
Bourgeois, marchans, et advocats,
Gens de mestiers, grans et mineurs,
Gens d'armes, et les trois estats,
Qui vivez sur nous, laboureurs, etc.
Voy, à la suite du t. iv. de Monstrelet, p. 387.

‡ Charles VII. had an agreeable countenance, but he was not tall, and his legs were small and slender. He appeared to best advantage when he wore his cloak; most frequently he had on only a short vest of green cloth, and people were shocked to see him with such small legs and big knees. Amelgardus, v. 22. 160.

§ They always called themselves the king's captains, but they laughed at his orders. We see in Monstrelet the best, perhaps, of these captains, La Hire, treacherously seizing the person of a lord who had afforded him hospitality; it was in vain the king interfered; the poor man was obliged to ruin himself to raise the amount of his ransom. Monstrelet, vi. 130, ann. 1434.

Many of these captains of *écorcheurs* have left lasting traces in the memory of the people. The Gascon La Hire has given his name to the knave of hearts. The Englishman, Matthew Gough, whom the chroniclers call Mathago, has remained, I believe, as a puppet and bugbear for children in certain provinces. The history of the Breton Retz, greatly softened down, has furnished matter for a tale; moreover (for the honour of the family, or of the country?), instead of his name has been substituted that of the English partisan, *Barbe Bleue*.

CHAPTER II.

Reform and Pacification of France, 1439—1448.

CONFUSED as was the long period of the last years of Charles VII., it may nevertheless be thus summarily defined:—the convalescence of France. France recovered, and England fell ill.

The cure seemed improbable; but the vital instinct which reawakens in moments of extremity, gathered and concentrated its forces. All that suffered became knitted together.

The sufferers were, on the one hand, royalty, now reduced to nothing, and, on the other, the humbler classes, burghers or peasants. The latter reflected that the king was the only person who had no interest in the prolongation of disorder, and they turned their eyes on him. The king felt that there were none on whom he could safely rely except those humbler classes. He intrusted the conduct of the war to men of peace, who carried it on admirably. A merchant paid the armies; a man of the pen directed the artillery, effected the sieges, stormed and subdued the enemies and the rebels in their strongholds.

War was so keenly warred upon, that it departed out of the realm. England, that had flung it upon our shores, shipped it back and took it home again.

Thenceforth we see the great, left without support, dwindle into littleness in presence of the king, in proportion as the latter grows by the people's aid, and they are obliged gradually to come to a reckoning with him. Time is necessary to effect this consummation, —forty years and two reigns. The work goes on noiselessly under Charles VII., and does not end. It lasts so long as there subsists, besides the king, another king, the Duke of Burgundy.

On the 2nd of November, 1439, Charles VII. ordains in the states of Orleans, and at their request: That henceforth the king alone shall nominate the captains; that the lords, as well as the royal captains, shall be responsible for the acts of their men; and that both alike must answer before the king's functionaries, that is to say, that henceforth war shall be subjected to the control of justice. The barons shall no longer take any thing beyond their seignorial rights,* under pretext of war. War becomes the king's affair, and he undertakes, in consideration of 1,200,000 livres a year granted him by the states, to maintain 1500 lances with six men to each. By and by we shall see him back this cavalry with a newly-created infantry of the communes.

Contraveners shall obtain no grace; should the king pardon, his

* Otherwise, the king, "Hereby declares the land and lordship committed and confiscated to the king, and for ever, without restitution." Ordonnances, xiii. 312.

servants should take no heed thereof. The ordonnance subjoined a more direct and more efficacious threat: the spoils of the contraveners shall belong to whoever shall take them.* This was a tremendous clause; it armed the peasant, and sounded, as it were, the tocsin in the village.

Was it not rash in the king thus to declare war on disorder, while the English were still in France, and to attempt such a reformation in the presence of the enemy? Though he says in the preamble that the ordonnance was promulgated at the request of the states, it is to be doubted that the princes and the nobles who sat in them, very earnestly solicited a reformation which struck at themselves.

What partially explains the boldness of the measure is, that the self-styled royal captains, the pillagers and *écorcheurs*, had recently damaged their own strength. They had attempted an expedition to Basle, with the hopes of extorting ransom-money from the council, but instead of this they were themselves very roughly handled on their march by the peasants of Alsace; and then, seeing the Swiss ready to receive them,† they returned with their tails between their legs. The king, who had taken Montereau, valiantly leading the assault in person‡ (1437), took Meaux with his artillery (1439); then feeling himself in strength he laid siege to Paris; listened to the complaints made against the soldiery, and lent a gracious ear to the lamentations of his good subjects. Acts of justice were done with rapid despatch; the constable de Richemont, willingly exchanging his functions for those of provost martial, hanged and drowned all along his route. His brother, the Duke of Bretagne, did not delay to strike that great blow, the sentencing and burning of Marshal de Retz. This first instance of justice done upon a lord was effected only in God's name, and with the aid of the Church; but it was, nevertheless, a warning to the nobility that their impunity was at an end.

Who were the intrepid advisers that urged the king upon this course of proceeding? Who were the servants that could have prompted him to these reforms, and procured for him the name given by contemporaries: Charles *the well served?*

Along with the princes in the council of Charles VII., the Count of Maine, the cadet de Bretagne, and the bastard of Orleans, there were also petty nobles, the brave Saintrailles, and those wise and

* Les chevaux, harnois et autres biens qui seront prins sur lesdits capitaines et autres gens faisans contre cette présente loy et ordonnance...(*appartiendront*) ...à ceux qui les auront conquis. Ordonnances, xiii. 310.

† As to the dread in which these brigands kept Switzerland during many years, see particularly the letters of the magistrates of Berne: Der Schweitzerische Geschichtforscher, vi. 321—488 (1437—1450).

‡ "At which assault our lord the king exposed himself in person, and valiantly went down into the ditch, with the water above his belt, and climbed a ladder during the assault, sword in hand, and entered while as yet there were very few of his men there." Reg. du Parl., Oct. 11, 1437.

politic men, the Brézés, nobles, but men who were nothing without the king.* We find in it two burghers, Jacques Cœur, the money-changer, and the master of the artillery, Jean Bureau, both very numble *roturier* names.† Their low birth is placed in a conspicuous light by their elevation to nobility and their arms. Cœur emblazoned on his shield three hearts *rouge*, and for his motto he adopted the heroic rebus *A vaillans* (cœurs) *riens impossible.* ‡ Bureau took for arms three *burettes* or phials; but the people preferring the other and quite as *roturier* etymology, derived *bureau* from *bure,* and founded on it the proverb—*Bureau vaut escarlate.*

This Bureau was a man of the robe, a master of the accounts. He threw down his pen, and by this remarkable transformation exemplified the truth that an able mind can apply itself to any thing. Henry IV. reformed the finances through a man of the sword; Charles VII. waged war through a financier. Bureau was the first who made an able and scientific use of artillery.

War needs money, and Jacques Cœur contrived to supply it. Whence came he? We are sorry to know so little of his early career. All we know is, that in 1432 we find him engaged in commerce in Beyrout in Syria;§ sometime afterwards we see him at Bourges in the capacity of money-changer to the king. This great trader had always one foot in the East, and one in France. Here, he made his son Archbishop of Bourges; yonder, he married his nieces or other female relations to the masters of his galleys.‖ On the one hand he was continuing his Egyptian traffic; on the other he was speculating on the maintenance of armies, and the conquest of Normandy.

Such were the able and humbly-born councillors of Charles VII. If it be asked who brought them about him, and what was the in-

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* On the other hand, they were perfectly aware how much the king had need of them. On the death of Charles VII., the new king, Pierre de Brézé's mortal enemy, set a price on his head; but this was useless, for he brought it himself, and Louis XI., who was a man of much wit, gave him an excellent reception. See Chastellain's fine narrative, p. 183, ed. Buchon, 1486.

† The father of the brothers Bureau was a younger son of a family in Champagne, who had come to Paris. After minute search, they discovered that they were descended from a serf, emancipated, ennobled in 1171. Godefroy, Charles VII., p. 875.

‡ "To valiant hearts nothing impossible." This motto is still to be seen on Jacques Cœur's house at Bourges. In place of the word *cœurs,* there are two figures of hearts.

§ "J'y trouvai (à Damas) plusieurs marchands Génois, Vénitiens, Catalans, Florentins, et Français. Ces derniers étaient venus y acheter différentes choses, spécialement des épices, et ils comptaient aller à Barut s'embarquer sur la galère de Narbonne qu'on y attendait. Parmi eux, il y avait un nommé *Jacques Cœur,* qui depuis a joué un grand rôle en France, et a été argentier du roi." Extrait du Voyage de Bertrandon de la Brocquière en Terre sainte et en Syrie, accompli par ordre du Duc de Bourgogne, en 1432—1433; Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques, v. 490.

‖ Archives, Trésor des chartes, Reg. 191, nos. 233, 242.

fluence that made him yield to their advice, it will be found, if I am not mistaken, that it was a woman, his mother-in-law, Yolande of Anjou. We see her in possession of power from the beginning of this reign; it was she who caused the Maid to be received with favour; and it was with her on one occasion that the Duke d'Alençon arranged the preparations for a campaign. This influence, balanced by that of the favourite, seems to have been without a rival from the moment the old queen had given her son-in-law a mistress whom he loved for twenty years. (1431—1450.)

Every one knows the little story how Agnes said one day to the king, that when very young she had been informed by an astrologer, that she was to be loved by one of the most valiant kings in the world: she had thought that this was Charles, but she now saw clearly it was the King of England, who took so many fine towns from him in defiance of his beard; therefore to the King of England she would go. Stung by these words, the king burst into tears, "and quitting his hunting and his gardens, he took the bit in his teeth," and to such purpose, that he drove the English out of the kingdom. *

The pretty verses by Francis I. † prove that this tradition was of earlier date than Brantôme. Be this as it may, we have an equivalent testimony in favour of Agnes from a hostile pen, that of the nearly contemporary Burgundian chronicler. "Certest Agnes was one of the most beautiful women I ever saw, and did in her quality much good to the realm." And again: "she took pleasure in bringing under the king's notice young soldiers and gentle companions, by whom the king was afterwards well served." ‡

Agnes la Sorelle or Surelle (she assumed for arms a gold *sureau* (elder tree) § was the daughter of a gownsman, ‖ Jean Soreau, but she was noble by the mother's side. She was born in honest Touraine, where the peasant even still speaks our old Gaulish in all its charms, softly, as every one knows, slowly and with an appearance of *naïveté*. The *naïveté* of Agnes was early transplanted into a land of craft and policy, Lorraine. She was brought up with Isabella of Lorraine, with whom René of Anjou espoused that duchy. Isabella, the wife of a prisoner, waited on the king to beseech his aid, bringing her children with her and also her good friend from childhood, the demoiselle Agnes. The king's mother-in-law, Yolande of Anjou, who stood also in the same relation to Isabella, was, like her, a woman of masculine mind; and they both agreed to attach Charles VII. for ever to the interests of the house of Anjou-Lorraine. The gentle

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* Brantôme, Dames galantes, disc. vi. t. vii. 463.

† Gentille Agnès, plus de los en mérite
(La cause estant de France recouvrer),
Que ce que peut, dedans un cloistre, ouvrer
Close nonnain ou bien devot ermite.

‡ Olivier de la Marche, t. viii. c. 13, p. 133—144.

§ Godefroy, Hist. de Charles VII., p. 886.

‖ Conseiller du Comte de Clermont. Delort, Charles VII. et Agnès, p. 4.

creature was given him for his mistress, to the great satisfaction of the queen, who wished at any cost to remove La Trémouille and the other favourites.

Charles VII. thought wisdom charming when preached by such lips; old Yolande in all probability spoke through Agnes, and no doubt she had the principal part in all that was done. More politic than scrupulous, she had welcomed with equal readiness the two girls that came to her so *à propos* from Lorraine, Jeanne Dare and Agnes, the saint and the mistress, who both in their several ways were of service to the king and the realm.

This council of women, *parvenus* and *roturiers*, it must be confessed, did not command much reverence, or greatly tend to set off to advantage the unroyal figure of Charles VII. To sit as judge of the realm on the throne of St. Louis, and be like him the guardian of God's Peace, he ought apparently to have surrounded himself with people of a different sort. The league of the three ladies, the dowager queen, the queen and the mistress, was not edifying in any body's eyes. What was Richemont? an executioner; Jacques Cœur? a trader in Saracen lands. A Jean Bureau, a limb of the law, "an inkhorn,"* had made himself a captain, was riding all over the kingdom with his cannons, and not a fortress could stand before him; was not that a shame for the men of the sword? The foxes had become lions. Thenceforth the knights were to account to the *knights at law!* the most noble lords, and the high justicers were to tremble before the underlings of justice. For the matter of a chicken taken by a page, the baron would be obliged to travel twenty leagues and talk, hat in hand, to a robed baboon squatting among his parchments.

So much was this the tone of feeling prevalent among the nobles, not excepting those who were most immediately in contact with Charles VII., that even Dunois quitted the council after the famous ordonnance. "The cool and tempered lord"† repented of having served his king too well.

This bastard of Orleans had begun his fortunes by defending the town of Orleans, his brother's appanage, in which service he had very adroitly employed the heroic simplicity of the Maid. After having grown great through the king, he wished to grow great against the king. The misfortune was, that his brother the duke was still in England; but the ancient enemy of the house of Orleans, the Duke of Burgundy (converted no doubt by Dunois) was labouring to get that future chief of the malcontents out of the hands of the English.

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* A saying of Henry IV.: "I can make a captain out of an inkhorn."

† "One of the fine speakers in France, who was of the language of France... Wishing to persuade the English to give up Vernon-sur-Seine, he recited to them in fair style, as deftly well-nigh as any doctor in theology would have done, the true state of the war between the king and him of England." Jean Chartier, 155.

The Duke d'Alençon threw himself headlong into the affair; the Bourbons and the Vendômes lent their hands to it. The ex-favourite, La Trémouille, whom Richemont had removed, readily engaged in it. The most eager of all were the leaders of the écorcheurs, the bastard of Bourbon, Chabannes and Le Sanglier (the Wild Boar). In truth, the matter was one that most nearly concerned them; the lords had their honours and jurisdictional prerogatives to contend for; but as for them, they had their necks to save; the gallows stared them in the face.

Nothing was now wanting but a leader. As the Duke of Orleans could not be had, the malcontents took the Dauphin, a mere child in point of age, but it was thought that a name would be sufficient.

The supposed child, who was already Louis XI., had made his first efforts in arms, as he made his last, against the very party of the lords that chose him for their chief. At fourteen years of age he had been commissioned to pacify the marches of Bretagne and Poitou.* His first capture had been that of one of Marshal de Retz's lieutenants; such a commencement did not promise the grandees a very trusty friend.

Friend or not, he accepted their offers. The most prominent feature of his character was impatience. He longed to be something and to act. His vivacity of mind and astuteness were really fearful; heart he had none, neither friendship, nor kindred affection, nor humanity; he knew no human tie. He had nothing in common with his times except bigotry, which far from putting any restraint on him, always came conveniently to his aid to kill his scruples.

"He did nought but subtilise day and night divers thoughts . . . Every day he suddenly advised many strangenesses."† It is curious, that amidst all the dotage of petty devotional observances, there was in the man a keen appetite for novelty, the desire to be stirring, to change, the restlessness of the modern spirit anticipated, its terrible eagerness to go, no matter whither, to go, go ever more, trampling every thing under foot, and never halting though its tread were on a father's bones.

This Dauphin of France resembled Charles VII. in no respect, but took rather after his grandmother, who was sprung from the houses of Bar and Aragon. Many traits of his character remind us of his future cousins of Guise. Like the Guises, he began by declaring himself the chief of the nobles, gladly allowing them to act in his favour, since they were so impatient to have as their king him who was to cut off their heads.

The king was keeping his Easter at Poitiers, and was at dinner, when word was brought him that Saint Maixent had been seized by the Duke d'Alençon and the Sire de la Roche; whereupon

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* Bibl. Roy. MSS. Legrand, Hist. de Louis XI., p. 9.

† Chastellain, Chronique des Ducs de Bourgogne, ed. Buchon, 1836, pp. 157, 188.

Richemont said to him in Breton fashion, "Remember King Richard II., who shut himself up in a fortress and got taken." The king thought the hint a good one, mounted his horse, and galloped with four-hundred lances to St. Maixent. The burghers had been fighting four-and-twenty hours for their king, when he came to their relief. De la Roche's men were decapitated or drowned, according to Richemont's custom, but d'Alençon's were let go. Hopes were entertained of detaching d'Alençon from the cause he had adopted, for after all he was a prince of the blood, and was not more steadfast for the revolt than he had been for the king.*

The small fortresses of Poitou did not hold out; Richemont carried them one by one. Dunois then began to reflect. The burgher was for the king, who was bent on securing the safety of travellers on the highways, or in other words, the easy supply of the necessaries of life and cheapness of provisions. The peasant, on whom the men of the sword had fallen again, saw in them but enemies. The lord no longer drew any profit from his ruined peasant. The *écorcheur* even, who found little to plunder, and who after hunting about for a whole day, lay down to sleep in the woods without a supper, was beginning to think that after all it would be better to give up a failing trade, and to rest and grow fat on the king's pay in some decent garrison.

Dunois comprehended all this; and he calculated too that the first who should leave the rest, would be allowed good terms. He came, was well received, and congratulated himself on the course he had adopted, when he saw the king stronger than he had supposed, with 4800 cavaliers, and 2000 archers at his back, without having been obliged to weaken the garrisons in the marches of Normandy.

More than one of Dunois's party thought as he did. Many an *écorcheur* of the south took the king's pay, and fought against the *écorcheurs* of the north. Charles VII. drove back the Duke of Bourbon upon the Bourbonnais, securing the goodwill of the towns and châteaux by prohibiting all pillage. He assembled the states of Auvergne, and got them to declare loudly, that the rebels were hostile to the king, only because he protected the poorer classes against the plunderers. The princes, abandoned by their followers, and obtaining no support from the Duke of Burgundy, came in and made their submission; first Alençon, then the Duke of Bourbon and the Dauphin. As for La Tremouille and two others, the king would not receive them. The Dauphin hesitated about accepting a pardon, which was not extended to his friends, and said to the king, "I find then, my liege, that I must go back to them, for I have promised so." The king replied coldly, "The gates are

* This fickleness of disposition is made apparent in every part of his trial. Bibl. Roy. Procès MS. du Duc d'Alençon, 1456, passim.

open for you, Louis, and if they are not wide enough, I will have sixteen or twenty fathoms of the wall pulled down for you."*

This war, so well conducted, was not less wisely terminated. The Duke of Bourbon was deprived of his possessions in central France (Corbeil, Vincennes, &c.) and the Dauphin was dismissed from court, and assigned an establishment on the frontier, in Dauphiné. Thus he was isolated, and allotted his separate portion; there was no getting rid of him, except by giving him a little royalty, in advance of his hereditary expectations.†

This *praguerie* of France (it was so called after the name of the great Bohemian *praguerie*), although it was so quickly ended, nevertheless produced some disastrous results. The military reform was postponed. The English were emboldened to attack Harfleur, which they took and retained. They released the Duke of Orleans at the request of the Duke of Burgundy.‡ When the ancient enemy of his house thus exerted himself to take him out of captivity, the king could not decently refuse likewise to guarantee the ransom-money, and aid in the deliverance of the dangerous prisoner. He proceeded straight on his return to the Duke of Burgundy, who threw the chain of the Golden Fleece over his neck, and gave him one of his relations in marriage. Against whom was formed this close union of two enemies, if not against the king? He took the hint.

First of all, he obtained from the states a tenth to be levied on all the clergy of the realm. He recalled Tannegui du Châtel, the mortal enemy of the house of Burgundy. Then concentrating all his forces towards the north, he proceeded along the frontier, doing justice upon the Burgundian, Lorrainian, and other captains, who were desolating the land. Among those who made their submission, there was a man of turbulence, the most audacious of plunderers; audacious both from the strength his birth gave him, and because he was the common agent of the dukes of Bourbon and Burgundy; this was the bastard of Bourbon. He did not get off so cheaply as he had expected. The king handed him over, Bourbon as he was, to the provost, who put him on his trial just like any other robber; and after being well and duly found guilty, he was put in a sack, and thrown into the river. The Burgundian chronicler himself confesses that this example produced an excellent effect;§ the self-styled royal captains,

* The Burgundian chronicler puts also in the king's mouth a speech of very doubtful authenticity, but one which was calculated to gratify the ambition of the house of Burgundy. "An it shall please God, we shall find some of our blood who will aid us to maintain our honour and lordship better than you have done hitherto." Monstrelet, vii. 83.

† Bibl. Roy. MSS. Legrand, Hist. de Louis XI and Pièces Justificatives.

‡ Despite the opposition of the Duke of Gloucester; the reason the latter gave for the propriety of still retaining the Duke of Orleans, is curious enough. It proves that the English then thought the king and the dauphin (Louis XI.) wholly incapable. Rymer, v. 76, June 2.

§ Monstrelet, vii. 132.

who were marauding about the country, became seriously alarmed, and thought it high time to mend their behaviour.

Another lesson, not less instructive, was given. The young Count of St. Pol, relying on the protection of the Duke of Burgundy, dared to intercept some of the king's cannons on the march, and carry them off; the king deprived him of two of his best fortresses; St. Pol hastened to the king and besought pardon, but he could obtain no favour, except by submitting to the decision of the parliament on the litigated question of the Ligny inheritance. The Duchess of Burgundy, who came in person, and presented a long list of griefs to the king, was politely received, and as politely dismissed, without obtaining any thing.

Meanwhile the English, all this time so near Paris, and so strongly established on the Lower Seine, had advanced up the river, and seized Pontoise. Lord Clifford, who had surprised that important and formidable post, kept possession of it in person. The inveterate obstinacy of the Cliffords acquired but too much notoriety in the wars of the Roses. Besides the English, there were in Pontoise numerous deserters, who knew they had no quarter to expect. It was not easy to retake such a fortress; but how was it possible to leave the English thus, as it were, at the very gates of Paris?

Invincible pertinacity of purpose was displayed on both sides. The siege of Pontoise was like a repetition of that of Troy. The Duke of York, Regent of France, now came to the aid of Clifford, whom he was afterwards to put to death in the civil wars. He brought with him an army from Normandy, revictualled the place, and offered battle [June]; Talbot was with him. The English fancied they had still to do with King Jean; but the wise and cool-headed counsellors of Charles VII. gave themselves very little concern about the chivalric point of honour. War had already become, for them, a mere affair of tactics. The king, therefore, let the English pass, fell back, and returned. Talbot also returned, and again threw provisions into the town [July]. The Duke of York once more marched his army back, but could not yet bring on an engagement. He was allowed to roam over the ruined Isle of France as much as he pleased, and waste his strength in those useless evolutions. The king was to be moved; he had fortified near the town a formidable bastille, which the English were unable to attack. When they had exhausted and harassed themselves, in four times revictualling Pontoise, Charles VII. seriously resumed the siege; Jean Bureau battered the walls with admirable activity;* two murderous assaults were made, that lasted five hours; first a church, that served as a redoubt, was carried, and then the place itself [September 16th, 1441]. Thus men who durst not

* Tellement s'y comporta qu'il en est digne de recommandation perpétuelle. Jean Chartier, 117.

meet the English in the plain, attacked and defeated them by storm.

The recapture of Pontoise was a deliverance for Paris, and for the whole country around; cultivation could thenceforth recommence; the means of subsistence were secured. Yet the Parisians evinced no gratitude to the king; they felt but their present miseries, and the burden of the taxes; these were beginning to affect the brotherhoods even, and the churches, which were loud in their complaints.

There was no want of willingness on the part of the princes to take advantage of these discontents. The Duke of Burgundy, without himself appearing, assembled them in his own home at Nevers [March, 1442]. The Duke of Orleans, with whom he did as he pleased, since he had delivered him, presided for him over the meeting, which consisted of the dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, the counts of Angoulême, Etampes, and Dunois. The king frankly sent his chancellor to this conclave which was held against him, and notified to them that he would readily hear what they had to say.

Their demand and alleged grievances very plainly showed what were their secret views. The *praguerie* having failed, because the towns had adhered to the king, these were now to be turned against him, and measures were to be taken to make the people lay the blame of all their sufferings on the king. The princes, therefore, in their love for the public welfare, and for the good people of France, set forth before the king the necessity of *making peace;* whereas it was themselves who had rendered peace more remote by making us lose Harfleur. They called for the *repression of the brigands;* but the brigands were but too frequently their own men, as had been seen in the bastard of Bourbon's case. To put down the brigands, troops were requisite, and tallages, and aids to pay the troops; now the princes demanded at the same time the *suppression of aids and tallages.* After these hypocritical petitions, came others that were sincere, each asking for himself this office or that pension.

The king's reply, which was sedulously made public, was overwhelming, and the more so as its tone was calm and moderate.* He answers specially respecting the taxes, "that the aids had been consented to by the lords on whose property they had been levied; that as to the tallages, the king had 'notified' them to the three estates, although in matters so urgent, when the enemy was in occupation of one portion of the kingdom, and was destroying the rest, he had a good right to levy tallages of his royal authority. It is not necessary to that end," he says, "to assemble the estates; it is but a burthen for the poor people who have to pay the charges of those who attend. Many notable persons have requested that these

* A remarkably able reply, which does great honour to the wisdom of the advisers of Charles VII. It is worth reading at full length in Monstrelet, vii. 174—194

convocations should cease." Another reason which the king omits to mention was, that it would often have been difficult to obtain from the estates in which the grandees were paramount, money which was to be spent in waging war on the grandees themselves.

The *praguerie* confined itself this time to remonstrances and schedules. The king, leaving them to waste time in their meeting at Nevers, was then performing a grand and useful journey all through his kingdom, from Picardy to Gascony, everywhere establishing peace, especially in the marches, in Poitou, Saintonge, and Limousin. Strengthened in the north by the recovery of Pontoise, he went to make head against the English in the south. The Comte d'Albret, being hard pressed by them, had promised to surrender if the king did not come on the 23rd of June to *keep his day*, and await them on the *lande* of Tartas. They liked the condition, not believing that he could arrive in time, much less that he would offer them battle. On the appointed day they saw the King of France and his army on the *lande*. (June 21, 1442.)

One hundred and twenty banners, and one hundred and twenty counts, barons, and lords were on that heath with Charles VII. All these Gascons, who had imagined themselves far beyond the king's reach in a world of their own, were beginning to feel that he was everywhere. They came and did homage, performed feudal service, and the king rendered justice to them.

He did this conspicuously in an important case the following year (March, 1443). The little country of Comminges was terribly tormented between the two tyrants of the Pyrenees, Armagnac, and Foix. The heiress of Comminges had married, freely or by compulsion, first an Armagnac, and then the Count of Foix. The latter, who desired only her property, made her execute an assignment in his favour, and then shut her up in a castle ; and there he still kept her twenty years after her first entrance into her prison, under pretence of jealousy, for she was too gallant he said. The poor woman was eighty years of age. The estates of Comminges supplicated Charles VII., who graciously received their petition, frightened the Count of Foix, liberated the old countess, divided the usufruct of Comminges between the husband and wife, and adjudged the property to himself. This startling act of justice struck great awe into all those lords who had hitherto been so independent.

This was not all. In order to remain always among them as judge, the king gave them a royal parliament, which was to reside in Toulouse. This judicial royalty of the south was altogether free of the parliament of Paris ; it judged in accordance with the law of the country, the written law, and was not dependent on any one, but was self-elected. Until such time as this great body could establish order and justice in Languedoc, Charles VII. authorised the poor to take justice into their own hands, and hunt down the brigands and vagrant soldiers.*

* D. Vaissette, Hist. du Languedoc, iv. 497.

He could not remain long absent from the north. Dieppe, which had been recovered by a fortunate and bold stroke, was in danger of being lost again. A French captain, unaided by the king, had scaled the walls at low-water, with the assistance of the burghers, and had taken the English in their beds. Dieppe, fortified hastily with the three towers that are still to be seen, had become the port of all the land-corsairs that cruised about Lower Normandy. These gallant fellows kept in check all the small English fortresses until they fell one after another. Without possession of Dieppe, the rest of the coast is nothing; the English, who still held Arques, did not despair of recovering the important little town. They sent thither, as to every place where vigour was required, their old Lord Talbot, who established himself above Le Pollet, on the cliffs, and set up a good bastille, a tower with plenty of cannon and bombs, to reply to the fort and crush the little town that lay between. A great fleet and an army were every moment expected from England; it was urgently necessary to anticipate their arrival. The dauphin got permission to undertake this service along with Dunois; many Picard and Norman gentlemen also volunteered. On the evening of his arrival he made the first approaches, and not even taking time to plant the artillery he had brought, he had wooden bridges made in order to cross the ditch of the bastille, and proceeded at once to an escalade. At the second charge, whilst the alarmed town was making a procession to the Virgin, and the bells were all pealing, the bastille was taken.

The great fleet at last hove majestically in sight, in time to witness the rejoicings for the delivery of the town. Out of these, Dieppe retained those wild farcical exhibitions, the *mitouries de la mi-août*, which were practised in the churches. The dauphin, too, had his diversion (already à la Louis XI.) in the hanging of some sixty old Burgundians taken in the bastille; and again, the next day, he inspected the English, to identify those who had *blackguarded* him from the walls, and hang them up on the apple-trees in the neighbourhood.*

The sole result of the great and costly English expedition was, that it had afforded the Duke of Somerset, the commander, the honour of making a chivalric promenade from Normandy to Anjou. Having collected all the force he could command, he marched off without impediment or any unpleasant encounter (except a night skirmish, in which he killed thirty men) to besiege the little fortress of Pouancé; but faring no better in his attempt on Pouancé than in that on Dieppe, he returned to Rouen to rest from his toils and take up his winter quarters.†

That winter, whilst Somerset was enjoying his victorious repose,

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* See the interesting narrative of M. Vitet, Hist. de Dieppe, and Legrand, Hist. de Louis XI. 41—43

† Jean Chartier, 245.

the Dauphin Louis was rapidly traversing the whole kingdom, to ruin and destroy the best friend of the English. The Count d'Armagnac, dissatisfied with the way in which Comminges had been disposed of without giving him a share, had attempted to seize the whole country. He forbade his subjects to pay any thing for the future to King Charles, and raised his banner of Armagnac against the banner of France.* He reckoned on the English, and particularly on the Duke of Gloucester, who in fact wanted to marry Henry VI. to a daughter of the count's. The affair would perhaps have been arranged for the spring; but before the winter was over there was no Armagnac to treat with; father, daughter, and all were taken. The Dauphin, who was a keen hunter, took this wolf chase also on himself. He set out in winter, made his way over snows and swollen rivers, and found the game in its lair, every thing that bore the name of Armagnac shut up in one place. It was a strong one, and it was necessary to decoy them out of it. The Dauphin talked softly, like a kinsman, and played his part so well that *his fair cousin* (so he called him), surrendered with all his followers, and declared that thenceforth he belonged to the King of France,—a phrase which he thought would be quite sufficient to protect him from further consequences. The Dauphin took him at his word, carried off all the Armagnacs, and placed them in safe custody; nor were they released until two years afterwards when Henry VI. had married into the house of France, and England occupied with her own troubles, could no longer revive ours.†

Gloucester and the war party, though they had encouraged Armagnac, were unable to defend him. They had enough to do to defend themselves in England against the bishops, and the partisans of peace, Winchester and Suffolk, who had gained the upper hand. The latter, since Somerset's idle and ruinous expedition, were decidedly paramount; and painful as it was to their English pride, they negotiated a truce, and a marriage which united the two kings at least, if not the two nations.

But there was a third people very embarrassing during the truce, the war-folk namely. What was to be done with that vast medley of men of all nations who had so long enjoyed a vested right in the desolation of the country? Neither the English nor the French could hope to keep down their own portion of that turbulent body. What could be done was to induce them to go and rob elsewhere, to quit ruined France for thriving Germany, and make a pilgrimage to the council of Basle, to the rich and saintly towns of the Rhine, and the fat ecclesiastical principalities.

Just then the King received two applications for aid, the one from

* One of the count's chief resources for war was money, good or bad, which he coined in all his castles. Arch. Tr. des C. Reg. 177, no. 222.

† See the remission granted to Armagnac in 1445. I find in it among other things, that he had thrown the king's banner into the Tarn. Arch. Tr. des C. Reg. 177, no. 127.

the Emperor against the Swiss, the other from René, Duke of Lorraine, against the cities of the Empire. The king was equally favourable to both proposals, and generously promised aid for and against the Germans.

The Germanies, to use the very appropriate old term, large, plenteous, and populous, seemed to promise much profit to the invader. The Holy Empire had fallen to pieces, and each piece was becoming subdivided. The Lorrainians and the Swiss, for instance, were at war both with the other Germans and among themselves.

The two proposals made to the king were not in reality so opposite in their nature as they appeared; on both sides, the object in view was the defence of the nobility against the towns and the communes. These communes, after having admirably achieved their liberty, often made a very bad use of it. Metz and other towns of Lorraine, emancipated from the yoke of their bishops, and become wealthy merchant republics, kept in pay the best soldiers and the bravest adventurers of the country,* and were often involved in disputes by them with the lords, and even with the duke. The Metz men, having thus quarrelled with a gentleman in the service of the Duchess Isabella, revenged themselves on her personally. They lay in wait for her between Nancy and Pont-à-Mousson, whither she was going on a pilgrimage, seized her baggage, opened and plundered every thing, her jewels, and woman's nicknacks, contrary to all rules of chivalry.

This particular act of violence was but an incident in the great quarrel which always subsisted in Lorraine; namely—Were Metz and the other free towns French or German? *What was the true and legitimate frontier of the empire?*

This question as to the rights of the empire was still more violently debated in Switzerland. The cantons believed themselves definitively separated from Germany, and yet Zurich had again allied itself with the emperor, Duke of Austria, and maintained that the Swiss confederation was always a member of the empire. The other cantons were keeping Zurich blockaded, and to all appearance were about to destroy it. It was a war without quarter. The mountaineers, already masters of Greiffensee, had made the whole garrison pass under the executioner's hands. It was affirmed that they had drunk the blood of their enemies after a battle, and eaten their hearts.†

All this rude history has been obscured, in many points, by the two great historians who wrote in the sixteenth and in the eighteenth centuries. Honest Tschudi‡ has religiously collected, in his inge-

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* Dedans laquelle ville de Metz estoient plusieurs compagnons de guerre souldoyez, ainsi que le longtemps ils ont accoustume d'avoir. Mathieu de Coucy, p. 538.

† Fugger, Spiegel des Erzhauses Oesterreich, 539.

‡ This excellent chronicler, born in 1503, consequently posterior to the events here in question, must not be followed implicitly. He is important as a tra-

nuous partiality, the patriotic fables concerning the Swiss age of gold, which were current in his day; but at the same time he has not concealed any part of the barbarity of their heroism. Afterwards comes the good and eloquent John von Müller, a great moralist and a great citizen, wholly bent on one purpose—that of reviving the feeling of nationality. With this laudable aim he selects and arranges; and if he does not deny the barbarity, he covers it as well as he can with the flowers of his rhetoric. I am sorry for it. Such a history might have dispensed with ornament; harsh, crude, and savage, it was not the less great for all that. What should we say to a man who should set about dressing up the Alps?

There is in Switzerland something greater than the Alps, loftier than the Jungfrau, more majestic than the sombre majesty of the Lake of Lucerne. Enter Lucerne itself, explore its black archives, open their iron gates, their iron doors, their iron coffers, and touch (but gently) that old stained rag of silk. It is the oldest relic of liberty in this world; the stain is Gundoldingen's blood, the silk is the flag in which he wrapped himself to die, at the battle of Sempach.

We will return to all this, when we shall have to exhibit Switzerland contending with Charles the Bold. Here let it suffice us to say, that in this history it is essential to distinguish between the several epochs.

In the fourteenth century the Swiss emancipated themselves by three or four small battles of eternal memory. They made known, simultaneously with the English, what the foot-soldier could do, but with this difference, that the English fought from a distance as archers, the Swiss at close quarters with the spear or halbert; at close quarters, I say, for they held the spear *by the middle;** that is to say, with a firm grasp, and this was the secret of their victories.

From the time of those glorious battles, it grew with them into a settled article of faith, that the Switzer, arrayed by cantons, with his halbert, advanced, and dashing forward, as the bull charges, with his eyes shut, was stronger than the horse, and could not fail to lay low the iron-cased cavalier. They were right in thinking so; but in their stupid pride, they chose to attribute these great effects of combined force to individual strength. They put forth tales to that effect, which every body repeated. The Swiss, by their own account, had so much blood and such vitality, that they could fight long after they were mortally wounded. They drank as they fought, and in that respect they were likewise invincible. In many Italian wars they fell in with wine which had been purposely

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ditional witness, but the contemporary chroniclers should have been preferred to him. See Egidius Tschudi's Leben und Schriften von Ildephons Fuchs, St. Gallen, 1805.

* Whereas the general practice was to hold the lance by the butt end. Tillier, Geschichte des Friestaates Bern, ii. 510.

poisoned; but that did not matter; down it went, poison and all, and the Swiss were never the worse for it.*

This pride of brute strength produced its natural result; they were soon spoiled. We must not by any means believe all that authors have been pleased to say about the purity of those times. In the latter part of the fifteenth century, the holy man, Nicholas de Flue, wept in his hermitage over the corruption of Switzerland. In the middle of the same century we see their soldiers accompanied on their march by bands of women and girls.† To say the least of them, their armies were greatly encumbered with superfluous baggage. A Swiss army of 5000 men, which had to cross the Alps in 1420, by a then difficult pass, was accompanied by 1500 mules, heavily laden.‡

The cupidity of the Swiss was terrible to their neighbours. There was hardly a year in which they did not make a descent, and seek some quarrel or another. Devout as they were (towards their mountain saints, and Our Lady of the Hermits,§) they did not the more on that account respect their neighbours' property. Germans hostile to Germany, having broken the law of the empire without substituting any other for it, their law was the halbert, pointed and hooked, for thrusting and pulling.

By fair means or by force, with or without pretext, under a show of inheritance, alliance, or fellow citizenship, they were always grasping and gathering. They would hear nothing of writings and treaties; forsooth they could not read, plain, simple folk as they were. One of their common means for despoiling the lords in their vicinity was to protect the vassals of the latter, that is to say to make them their own.‖ This they called emancipating them; but the men so emancipated often regretted their hereditary master, when suffering under the rude and inconstant lordship of peasants.¶

The Magnificoes, cowherds of the mountain or burghers of the plain, disputed with each for possession of their subjects. The burghers were prompt to abuse the necessity that compelled the mountaineers, so often half starved in their snows, to descend and buy corn in the lowland markets. They often refused to sell though

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* See Memoires du Loyal Serviteur du Chevalier sans paour et sans reprouche.

† A whole boat load of them perished in 1476, in the Strasburg expedition.

‡ Tillier, Geschichte des Friestaates Bern, ii. 507.

§ Respecting the importance of this pilgrimage, and the feudal greatness of the abbey, of which the greatest lords of Switzerland were dignitaries, &c., see the curious chronicle of the monk. So great was the multitude of pilgrims that arrived there in 1440, from the Low Countries, that they were mistaken for an invading army, and the alarm bell was rung. Chronique d'Einsiedlen, par le religieux, p. 178—184.

‖ Switzerland at an early period offered an asylum for strangers of various conditions. See among other proofs, Kindlinger, Hœrigkeit, 296; and Buntschli's important work, Hist. politique et judiciaire de Zurich. ii. 414, note 161.

¶ The people of Gaster and Sargans greatly regretted the Austrian rule. Müller, Geschichte, iii. ii. 4. (1436).

it were to save the mountaineers from dying of hunger. "Men of Uznach," said a burgomaster, twitting them with the bread Zurich sold them, "you are ours, you, your country, and all you have, to your very entrails."

In the war against the other cantons,* Zurich possessed the alliance the emperor, but not the support of the empire. The Germanies were not easily put in motion. When consulted by the emperor, they replied, coldly, that to meddle in these matters between Swiss towns was "putting one's hand between the door and the hinges."†

Some German nobles threw themselves into the town to defend it; nevertheless the other cantons attacked it with so much vehemence that it could scarcely hold out. The emperor applied to the King of France, whose daughter was about to marry his cousin Sigismond; the Margrave of Baden besought the support of his relation the queen; and the nobility of Swabia sent to Charles VII. the most violent enemy of the Swiss, Burckard Monck, to represent to him that the affair was dangerous, that it might spread, and that the cause of nobility everywhere was threatened. The king, and the dauphin who was already on his road, received I know not how many embassies one after the other at Tours, Langres, Joinville, Montbelliard and Altkirk.‡ The case indeed was urgent. Zurich had been beseiged for two months, and news might at any moment arrive that it was taken, sacked, and the inhabitants put to the sword.

The army was in motion, but it was no easy operation to lead so far in all decorum and moderation that vast gang of robbers. There were 14,000 French, 8000 English, Scotch, and men of all sorts. Each nation marched apart under its own officers. The dauphin had the title of commander-in-chief. All along the line of march the Burgundians were on the alert, armed and ready to fall on those bands which they looked on with extreme uneasiness. They arrived however without great disorder in Alsace.

Basle had much to fear. It was the advanced guard of the cantons, and moreover it was aware that the pope had offered money to the dauphin if he would rid his holiness of the council by the way. The burghers and the fathers in great alarm hurriedly warned the Swiss, enumerating the troops of all nations that were approaching the town, and repeating the terrible stories that were everywhere current respecting the Armagnac brigands. Intent as the Swiss were on the siege, they resolved, without abandoning it, to send a few thousand men§ to see what these folk were like.

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* Berne kept aloof from this war against Zurich. See the letters of the magistrate, Der Schweitzerische Geschichtforscher, vi. 321—480.

† Fugger., Spiegel des Erzhauses Oesterreich, 539.

‡ Legrand, Hist. de Louis XI., 76. His narrative is excellent, and generally founded *on the records*.

§ The historians are not agreed as to the number; they say four thousand,

The great army was turning the Jura and was advancing corps after corps towards the little river Berse. One corps had already passed;* the Swiss fell upon it, and this shock of two or three thousand spears on foot greatly astonished men who in their English wars had never encountered any infantry except archers. They fell back in disorder and recrossed the river, abandoning their baggage. The army being thus warned, troops were detached towards the city, so that the burghers might not be able to aid the Swiss, nor the latter to throw themselves into Basle.

The 2000 were so completely ignorant of the sort of forces they had to deal with that they were for pushing forward. They had been forbidden on their departure to advance further than the Berse, but they paid no attention to these instructions. These bands were democratically governed, the captains by the soldiers. A messenger was sent from Basle who acquainted them with the great number of the enemy, and entreated them as they valued their safety not to pass the river. But such were their madness and ferocious brutality that they slew the messenger.†

They crossed, and were cut to pieces. The men-at-arms pursued 500 of them into a meadow, from which they never came out. About 1000 of them, thinking to reach Basle, were fortunate enough to meet with a castle and cemetery, where the hedges, vines, and an old wall, stopped the cavalry. There they made a desperate stand ; they had no more quarter to expect than they themselves had given at Greiffensee ; Burckard Monck, their enemy, was there to pay off that old account. The men-at-arms dismounted, stormed the wall, and set fire to the tower. The Swiss were killed to the last man. A French historian renders them this testimony : "The noble men who had been in many engagements against the English and others, told me that they had never seen or found any men of such great defence, or so outrageous and intrepid in casting away their lives."‡

It was an honourable defeat, but it was a lesson withal, the second the Swiss had received ; the first had been given them by

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three thousand, sixteen hundred, eight hundred. These numbers may be reconciled with each other. I am inclined to suppose that the Swiss sent forward three or four thousand men, that sixteen hundred passed the river, and that eight hundred or a thousand reached the cemetery and there made a stand. MM. Monnard and Vulliemin, the learned translators and continuators of Müller, are disposed however to think that the total number did not exceed two thousand men, and that the whole of this little force was engaged.

* According to a contemporary chronicle not yet published, this was a mere affair of the outposts, "The said Count of Dampmartin, who was of the vanguard, lodged two leagues from my lord the dauphin, went to him to know his pleasure as to what should be done against those of Balle; and on his return he found that the Swiss were going to assail them...And when the said count saw that the Swiss were beginning to skirmish, he sent out against them twenty-one men-at-arms...The said count...had that day under his banner six or seven score men-at-arms, not including others for whom he sent by twenty of his archers." Bibl. Roy., Cabinet des titres, MS. communicated by M. Jules Quicherat.

† Tschudi, ii. 422. ‡ Mathieu de Coucy, 536.

Carmagnola, the Piedmontese.* It is curious to see with what efforts, what awkward devices, and what a flood of phrases and rhetoric their historians have tried to cover the reality of the fact. They diminish the number of the Swiss, and augment that of their enemies. They try to make it appear that the whole army of the Armagnacs was engaged ; they depict the admiration of the dauphin, (*who was not present*,† and who was by nature not easily moved to admiration) ; and finally, that nothing may be wanting to the marvellous character of the affair, they add this little tale : The Swabian Burckard Monck was promenading over the field of battle, laughing heartily at the sight of the corpses with which it was strewed, and he said, "We are swimming in roses." But behold, one of the seeming dead men revives, and lets fly a stone at Burckard's head, which dealt him such a blow that he died of it three days afterwards.‡

The dauphin, they go on to say, was so dismayed at the valour of the Swiss, that he *hastily retired*, and demanded nothing of them but their friendship. Now, the very reverse of this is the real and well authenticated fact. It was the Swiss who *retired* abruptly, left Zurich,§ and went back to the mountains. The dauphin was pleased to treat with Basle, and the council ; the party which the Swiss had in Basle, and which was quite prepared to pounce upon the nobles, did not venture to stir ; the troops spread without impediment through Switzerland, between the Jura and the Aar ; and at last, having fully satisfied themselves that there was not much to be picked among their enemies, they fell back upon their friends, and set about pillaging Alsace and Swabia.

The Germans roared lustily ; but their plunderers replied that they had been promised provisions and pay, and that they had re-

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* I can hardly understand how one of our most judicious historians can have brought himself to copy, respecting the defeats of the Swiss at Arbedo and Basle (1422, 1444), the impassioned, but partial and declamatory narrative of John von Müller.

† The Dauphin was not present in person at this affair, nor any of the greatest and principal men of his council. Mathieu de Coucy, 536. So says the *contemporary* historian, who had *spoken to the combatants themselves*. Besides this, he is a historian not liable to suspicion, since he praises the courage of the Swiss. Now this very writer is the only one whom the learned Müller persists in ignoring ; he never once quotes him ; whereas he hunts up and down everywhere else for materials, in the *on dit* of Æneas Sylvius who had left Basle before the event, in the chronicle of Tschudi, written a hundred years after it, &c. &c.

‡ Tschudi, ii. 425.

§ The men of Zurich said to the besiegers, "Go to Basle, and lay in salt provisions, you will not want for meat." The others not yet knowing why the besieged were so merry, shouted to them, "It seems that wine is grown cheap with you, how much the measure?"—"As cheap as the measure of blood at Basle." Tschudi, ii. 428. The Austrians rejoiced no less than the Zurichers. They composed a stupid ballad on the battle, says the hostile chronicler : "The Swiss marched towards Basle with loud cries and great din, but they met with the dauphin, &c." Id., 239.

ceived nothing.* At last the Duke of Burgundy, afraid of seeing the French become familiarised with Switzerland and Alsace, offered himself as a mediator. The dauphin, who complained that he had saved ungrateful men, readily made peace with the Swiss. He perceived, like a man of shrewd sense, how much might be made of those brave fellows, who were so willing to sell their services, feared nothing, and struck without troubling their heads to know why. He encouraged them to enter France, and put himself forward as their friend against the nobility he had come to succour, declaring that if the nobles of Basle would not come to an arrangement, he would join with the town and make war on them.† He was so fond of that town of Basle, that he would have wished it to become French.‡ The Swiss, on their part, caring only for earning money, made him a friendly offer to hire him some thousand men.§

The dauphin's return, and the report of the check the Swiss had suffered, considerably advanced the affairs of Lorraine. The towns which sheltered themselves under the name of the empire, saw that if the emperor and the German nobility had called in the French to the heart of the German countries, to save Zurich, they would not come and fight the French on the marches of France. Toul and Verdun acknowledged the king as protector.‖

Metz alone resisted. That great and aspiring town had others dependent on it, and was encompassed by from twenty-four to thirty forts. Epinal, however, had from the beginning seized the opportunity to emancipate itself, and had put itself into the king's hands.¶ The forts having afterwards surrendered, the Metz men made up their minds to negotiate. They represented to the king that "they were not of his realm or lordship, but that, in his wars with the Duke of Burgundy and others, they had always received and comforted his men." Thereupon, by order of the king, Master Jean Rabateau, president of the parliament, propounded many arguments to the contrary, to wit: "That the king could prove sufficiently, if need were, as well by charters as by chronicles and histories, that they were, and had been from all time, reputed subjects of the king and the realm; that the king was well aware they were wont to make and invent such subterfuges and cavillings, as when the Emperor of Germany was come with great power and intention to constrain them to obey him, they then said in their defence, that they were *dependents*

* The emperor replied, that he had asked for 6000 men, and not 30,000. They might have retorted that 6000 men would have been of no use, that the Swiss would not have been intimidated, nor Zurich delivered. See the discussion in Legrand, Hist. de Louis XI. (MS. Bibl. Roy.) from the original documents.

† Ibid., fol. 71.

‡ This, if I am not mistaken, is to be found only in the Swiss historians, Müller, Geschichte, iv. c. 2.

§ I cannot recollect the source from which I have derived this fact, which is not improbable, but which I cannot guarantee.

‖ Archives, Tr. des Ch., Reg. 177, nos. 54, 55.

¶ D. Calmet, Hist. de Lorraine, ii. 836.

of the realm of France, and tenants of the crown; in like manner, when any king of the predecessors of the King of France had come to claim their obedience, they said they were *of the empire and subjects of the emperor.*"*

The grand question of the limits of France and the empire could not be settled thus incidentally, and during a truce to the English war. The matter remained undecided. The king contented himself with drawing on the finances of the wealthy town of Metz.

In other respects he had effected all he could desire, he had kept his troops employed, and had raised the reputation of the French arms on cheap terms. The captains, previously dispersed and scarcely dependent on the king, had followed his banner. The moment was come for accomplishing the great military reform which the *praguerie* had postponed.

The operation was a delicate one, and it was skilfully conducted.† The king directed the lords who were most devoted to him, to sound the principal captains, and offer them the command of fifteen companies of regular *gendarmerie.* These companies, each consisting of 100 lances (600 men), were distributed among the towns; but care was taken to divide them in such a manner that in each town (even in the largest, Troyes, Châlons, and Reims), there were not more than twenty or thirty lances. The town paid its little troop and kept watch upon it; the burghers were everywhere the stronger party, and could keep the soldiers in order. The war-people, who were not admitted into the companies, found themselves all at once isolated and powerless, and they dispersed. "The marches and the soil of the realm became more secure and powerful in the two months that followed, than they had been for thirty years before."‡

There were too many who gained by disorder to allow of this reform taking place without impediment. It met with some opposition, timid indeed, even in the king's council. Objections were not wanting; the soldiers would rise in insurrection, the king was not rich enough for such an expenditure, &c., &c.

The financial reform, which alone rendered the other possible, was due, according to all appearance, to Jacques Cœur. In the wise ordonnance of 1443, for the regulation of public accounts,§ we seem

* Mathieu de Coucy, 539.

† The ordonnance relating to this military organisation has not been discovered. As for the tallage, it was consented to by the states, in accordance with the ordonnance of 1439, without its being specified that it was *permanent* and *perpetual.* This important innovation was furtively introduced by virtue of a *subaudi,* as the grammarians say. Ordonn., xiii. 28,

‡ Mathieu de Coucy, 546.

§ The officers of finance check one another. The receivers are to render an account every two years to the receiver-general, and the latter every year to the chamber of accounts; the great officers (the privy purse, the equerry, the war treasurer, and the master of the artillery) are to account every month to the king himself. Ordonn., xiii. 377. By way of measuring the ground traversed, it is curious to compare with this old ordonnance the important work of M. de Montcloux, De la Comptabilité Publique, 1840.

to discern, as in those of Colbert, the hand of a man trained to business by commercial practice, and who applies on a great scale, to the realm, the sound and simple economy of a banking-house.*

Money is strength. In 1447, the king takes the police into his own hands, and gives the provost of Paris jurisdiction over all the vagabonds and malefactors in the kingdom.† This high provostal jurisdiction was the only means of reaching the brigands, and taking them from under the shelter of their noble protectors, and the connivance and weakness of the local jurisdiction.

The remedy was thought a harsh one, and it was loudly complained of; but peace and order returned, and the highways were at last practicable. "The merchants began in divers parts to travel from region to region and carry on their traffic. . . In like manner the husbandmen and others of the flat country began earnestly to till and to repair their houses, and to cultivate their lands, vineyards, and gardens. Many towns and regions were set up again and repeopled. After having been so long in tribulation and affliction, it seemed to them that God had at last vouchsafed them his grace and compassion."‡

This new birth of France was signalised by a grand and novel thing, the creation of a national infantry.

The military institution grew out of a financial one. The king ordained in 1445, that the *elect* who were to apportion the tallages should be appointed by himself,§ and that they should no longer be the seignorial judges, the servants of the lords, but the royal agents of the central power, dependent on him alone, consequently so much the freer from local influences and more impartial. In 1448, these *elect* are ordered to choose one man in each parish, who shall be free and exempt from tallage, shall arm at his own cost, and shall exercise with the bow every Sunday and holiday. The free archer shall receive pay only in time of war.

The *elect* were directed by the ordonnance to choose by preference in the parish, "a good companion who should have seen service.‖ Nevertheless, these new soldiery excited a great deal of merriment, and it was alleged that nothing could be less warlike. Satires were made on the subject, and one of these has survived: Le Franc Archer de Bagnolet."¶

* This judicious remark belongs to our great economical historian. Sismond, Hist. des Français, xiii. 447.

† The king had nominated the provost of Paris "special and general reformer," in 1438. Ordonn., xiii. 260, 509.

‡ Mathieu de Coucy, 532.

§ Ordonn., xiii. 241–7.

‖ Ibid., xiv. 2, 5. According to an author who appears to have lived familiarly with Charles VII., there was to have been one archer for *every fifty hearths.* Amelgardus, Notices des MSS., i. 423.

¶ This is one of the best satires attributed to Villon, "The frank archer perceives a scarecrow...made in the shape of a man-at-arms," and he cries for quarter. "In honour of God's passion let me have confession, for in sooth I feel very sick." Villon. ed. de Prompsault, 430.

Many a one laughed on the occasion, who in reality felt little inclination to laugh. The nobility saw how serious was the innovation.* These experiments, more or less successful,—the free archers of Charles VII., and the *legions* of Francis I.,—were to bring about the time when the strength and glory of the country were to be centred in the *roturiers*. The free archer of Bagnolet, ridiculed as he was, was in fact the ancestor of the terrible soldier of Rocroi and Austerlitz.

After all, the free archers seem to have been more martial than the satire would lead us to suppose. They very efficiently assisted the army that reconquered Normandy and Guienne.

Even had they been useless, such an institution would have been evidence of a great fact, namely, that the king had nothing to fear from his subjects, that they were truly his own, particularly the humbler classes, the burghers and the villagers. The thirteenth century had been that of *the king's peace*; it had then been necessary that he should impose a prohibition against war, on the communes as well as on the lords, and that he should deprive all classes of the weapons they used amiss. But now war is to be *the king's war;* he himself arms his subjects; the king trusts in the people, France in France.

France has recovered her unity at the time England is losing hers. We shall presently see the English Parliament voting an army (1453), and no one thinking it safe to raise it, for it would only serve to concentrate the discords of all the provinces, collect soldiers together for civil war, and set them together at the sword's point. Their first act would be to fight with each other.

CHAPTER III.

Troubles in England. The English expelled from France, 1442—1453.

It is an opinion established in England, since the fifteenth century, adopted by the chroniclers, and consecrated by Shakspeare,† that that country owed the loss of its French provinces and all its disasters to the misfortune of having had a French Queen, Margaret of Anjou.

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* See the diatribe of the historian known by the name of Amelgard, against the companies of the ordonnances and the franc archers. Notices des MSS., i. 423.

† Let us rather say by Shakspeare's name. By putting his name to several middling tragedies, which he dressed up a little, the great poet has immortalised all the errors and nonsense of the chroniclers and dramatists of the sixteenth century, who talk at random about the fifteenth.

Historians and poets all behold the evil genius of England embarking with Margaret.

Who could have suspected it ? Margaret was but a child, she was but fifteen ; she came of the amiable house of Anjou, which more than any other had contributed to link together all the French princes, and to make France self-reconciled. The young queen was the daughter of the gentlest of men, the *good King René*, the innocent painter and poet, who at last took a fancy to turn shepherd; * and she was the niece of Louis of Anjou, who left behind him a memory so dear to Naples.†

Her maternal pedigree was, however, less satisfactory. The house of Lorraine, restless and warlike, if ever house was so, nevertheless, when softened by an infusion of the blood of Anjou, was formed to seduce and bewitch the nations. France was "mad for the Guises, for to say she was in love with them were too weak an expression." We know what memories their niece, poor Mary Stuart, has bequeathed us! Heroes of romance as much as of history, these princes of Lorraine were destined for centuries to aim at every throne, and miss them all ; an adventurous family, too brilliant perhaps, rarely fortunate, always adored.‡

Young Margaret was born among the strangest and most incredible adventures, in the full current of a romance. Her father was a prisoner, and one of her sisters a hostage, married in advance to the enemy of the house of Anjou. René received the crown of Naples in his captivity and began his reign in prison. His rival, Alphonso of Aragon, was himself a captive in Milan. It was a war between two prisoners; René's wife, Isabella of Lorraine, without troops, without money, and expelled from her duchy, set out to conquer a kingdom. She found Alphonso free and stronger than ever : she contended with him three years, and ruined herself to procure her husband's liberation and bring him to the scene of action. He arrived only to fail utterly.§

The valiant Lorrainian carried back her daughter no further than Marseilles, where she put her on shore with her young brother, committing them to those Provençals whom René loved, who fully returned his regard, and whose facile enthusiasm was excited by the

* See M. Villeneuve Bargemont, ii. 227, as to this pastoral humour of the old king and his young wife.

† M. de Sismondi makes an exception in favour of this king from his usual severity with regard to all the rest : Hist. des Rep. Ital., ix. 54.

‡ It is impossible to behold without interest, in the little church of the Jesuits, in the little town of Eu, near the sea, the melancholy and pensive portrait of Henry of Guise. In the countless furrows of that face, there lies not only the tragedy of his personal history, but the long and painful embroglio of the family destinies, the crowns of France, Scotland, Naples, Jerusalem, claimed, touched, and always missed. In the end, however, these Lorraines found matter for consolation. They prospered, by leaving Lorraine, to wed the heiress of Austria ; but this did not happen until they had lost the family spirit, and satisfied Europe by a discreet and decorous mediocrity,

§ See Simonetæ, lib. iv. and Giornali Napolitani, ap. Muratori, xxi. 270, 1108.

intrepidity of Isabelle and the beauty of her children. Little Margaret, a Provençal by adoption, had for education her mother's perils, and the hatreds of Anjou and Aragon; she was reared amongst those dramatic movements of war and intrigue, and she waxed strong in intellect and in passion, under the hot breath of the factions of the south. She was "a woman of a great witte, and yet of no greater wit than of a haute stomacke, desirous of glory and covetous of honor, and of reason, policy, counsaill and other gifts and talentes of nature she lacked nothing, nor of diligence, studie and businesse she was not unexpert: but yet she had one pointe of a very woman: for oftentimes when she was vehement and fully bent on a matter, she was sodainly like to a wethercock, mutable and turning."*

With all this violence and instability of temper, she was very beautiful. The fury, the demon, as the English call her, had nevertheless the features of an angel,† according to the Provençal chronicler. Even under the weight of age and crushing misfortunes, she was still beautiful and majestic. The great historian of the epoch, who saw her as an exile and a suppliant at the court of Flanders, was deeply struck by her commanding presence. "The queen," he says, "with her demeanour, showed herself one of the comliest personages in the world, as a model of dames."‡

Margaret seemed doomed inevitably to wed some great misfortune. Twice she was promised, and twice to celebrated victims of fate, to Charles of Nevers, who was despoiled by his uncle, and to that Count of St. Pol, with whom feudalism was to end on the Grève. She was actually married still worse, wedding anarchy, civil war, and malediction. Right or wrong that malediction still subsists in history.

All her brilliant and eminent qualities, which would have been of advantage to her elsewhere, were to work her evil in England. If the French queens had always been disliked (those of John, Edward II., and Richard II.) how much more so Margaret, who was more than French! The contrast between the two nations could not but show itself most glaringly. It was like the sun of Provence bursting upon the monotonous fog. "The pale flowers of the north," as their poet calls them, could not but be vexed at this glowing apparition from the south.

Even before her arrival, before her name was uttered, enemies were already at work against her. As long as the king was unmarried, the first lady in the land was Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, wife of the king's uncle. The uncle had been until then heir presumptive to the nephew. On the arrival of a queen,

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* Grafton's Chronicle, i. 628, ed. 1809.

† On admiroit son fils et sa fille (Marguerite) comme s'ils eussent esté deux anges de divers sexes, descendus du palais céleste. Chron. de Provence, ap. Vill. Barge., i. 213.

‡ Chastellain, ed. Buchon, 1826, p. 228. The context proves that he is speaking of her bodily perfections.

the duchess would descend to the second place; and should a child be born, Gloucester would be no longer heir, and nothing would remain for him but to go his ways and bury himself alive in some manor. The only remedy was to send the good king, too good for this earth, straight to heaven.* Gloucester would then be king, and Lady Cobham, who had already been clever enough to make herself a duchess, would become queen, and receive the crown in Westminster Abbey.

The unscrupulous lady certainly entertained these thoughts, though it is uncertain how far she proceeded towards their execution. She was surrounded by persons of the most suspicious character. Her director on these affairs was one Bolingbroke, a great clerk,† especially in the unhallowed sciences. She also consulted a canon of Westminster, and employed a witch, that Margery of whom we have already spoken.

The aim being the king's death, a waxen king was made, which being melted, Henry would melt away likewise. Bolingbroke sat during the operation on a sort of throne, holding the sceptre and the sword of justice, with four swords issuing from the four corners of the seat, and pointed against as many images in copper.‡ But all this did not much advance the affair; and the duchess herself, maddened with ambitious desire, ventured by night to enter the sanctuary of the black Abbey. What was her purpose there? Was it to tear up royalty out of the graves with her nails, or to indulge a woman's idle vanity, and seat herself on the throne over the famous coronation stone?

The opportunity was a good one to deal Gloucester a heavy blow, ruin his wife, and render his house infamous. But to enter that strong mansion, amongst so many armed vassals and noble friends, to break into the nuptial chamber, and snatch from Gloucester's arms her he had loved so much, the wife who bore his name; this was an enterprise exceeding the courage that might have been expected of old Winchester and his bishops. They would not have attempted it, had they not been backed by the populace, who followed them shouting, "Down with the witch!" This was a tremendous word, the mere utterance of which was enough to set a whole town in a state of frantic wildness. The people at such moments became the more furious in proportion to their real fears; they left all other occupations to make war on the devil; and until the fire had relieved them from him, each man seemed to feel the gripe of the invisible claws in his own flesh.

The duchess was arrested and examined by the primate, and her

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* Intended to destroy the king...By examination convict. Hall and Grafton, i. 622, ed. 1809.

† Notabilissimus clericus unus illorum in toto mundo. Wyrcester, ap. Hearne, 461.

‡ These were probably figures of the king, the cardinal and the two princes who had a chance of arriving at the throne, York and Somerset.

people were hanged and burned. As for her, she was with cruel mercy reserved for the present. The ambitious woman had dreamed of a solemn entry and pompous procession through the streets of London, and the dream was realised. She was marched as a penitent, with a torch in her hand through the streets, amidst the ferocious hootings of the mob and the apprentices of the city. If, as we have reason to believe, the enemies of the victim did not spare her the ordinary severities of public penance, then she must have walked in her shift and bareheaded through the November fog. She endured this horrible promenade on three several days, over three different parts of the town.* And then, as she was not dead, she was given into the custody of a lord, and sent to weep for the remainder of her days in the midst of the sea, in the remote Isle of Man.

One would be inclined to think that this scene had been planned in order to drive Gloucester to extremities, force him beyond all bounds of discretion, and make him break the *peace of the city.* In that case he would have had the Londoners against him, and would, perhaps, have been killed, but in any case to a certainty undone. To the great amazement of every one, the duke "toke all things paciently, and sayde little."† His enemies gained nothing by their cruel comedy. He let them do what they would; abandoned his wife rather than his popularity, and remained for the people *the good duke.* This patience on the part of a man of such fiery temper, and upon so terribly trying an occasion, seemed very portentous; he must to all appearance have cherished very deep designs, to make him put such constraint upon himself. Twice he had endeavoured to make himself sovereign of the Low Countries,‡ and had failed. But the thing was certainly easier in England; he was kept from the throne only by one life, so long as the king was not married and had no children.

It was expedient, therefore, to marry the king with all speed, to marry him in France, to make peace with France. England had enough to do to provide against the muttered thunder of war within her own shores.

This reason was cogent, and there was another not less valid: namely, that England was wearing herself out upon a useless war; she was exhausted, her expenses were hourly increasing, and her French possessions, far from bringing her in any returns, were a drain on her resources. In the more thriving times of 1427, the income from them was 57,000*l.* sterling, and the expenditure 68,000*l.*§

* Tribus diebus...pertransiens cum uno cero in manu...et feria sexta cum cero ...et die sabbati...simili modo. Wyrcester, ap. Hearne, 460.

† Hall and Grafton, 622.

‡ Recently too, on the rupture 1436, he had obtained from Henry VI. as king of France, the impolitic and absurd gift of the earldom of Flanders. Rymer, iv. 34, 1436, July 30.

§ Turner, iii. 166, note from a MS. document.

If these provinces did bring in any thing, it was not to the king's coffers.

The regent of France, receiving little aid, always driven to expedients, and distracted by a thousand embarrassments, had infeudated all the best fiefs to the lords, and had put the castles and fortresses into their hands, in the hope that they would defend them with their bands of vassals. This created for the lords very various interests, often discordant with each other, often at variance with the interests of the king. Thus Gloucester had strongholds in Guienne, and he was allied with the Armagnacs; but the Duke of Suffolk, marrying his niece into the rival house of Foix, caused Gloucester's fiefs to pass into her husband's hands. In the north, Talbot possessed Falaise; and the Duke of York, when made regent, took for himself a capital and royal town, the great town of Caen.

The worst was, that the lords always feeling that they were not at home in France did nothing for the fiefs they were appointed to defend. They let walls and towers and all fall to ruin, and would not spend a penny on them. All they could extort they sent home straightway (*Home* is the Englishman's fixed idea in foreign lands), and all was sunk in the construction of those monstrous castles which in these days would be too great for kings. But the Warwicks and the Northumberlands thought them too small for the future greatness they dreamed of for their families, for the *eldest son* and heir, when *his Grace* should preside at Christmas at a banquet of some thousands of his vassals. They little thought that ere long father, son, vassals, fiefs, manors, chattels, and all would perish in civil war: all save the peaceful and real possessors of those towers, the ivy which was then beginning to clothe them, and which has at last enveloped the huge fabric of Warwick Castle.

Whoever talked of making terms with France was sure to have all these lords against him. They thought it quite proper that the country should ruin itself to maintain them in possession of their continental fiefs and farms; this was in fact the only view of the case they could understand. It was quite natural that they should insist upon it. What was more surprising was, that the war had quite as many partisans among those who had nothing in France, and who were ruined by war. These poor devils had on the continent an imaginary wealth, a royalty delightful to their pride. At the least hint of accommodation the fellow without breeches flew into a rage; they wanted, he said, to filch his kingdom of France from him, to rob him of what Old England had so fairly won at the battle of Azincourt.

The reigning bishops (Winchester, Canterbury, Salisbury, and Chichester) longing for peace, and dreading lest the expenses of war should lead to inroads upon the property of the church, negotiated without end, but never dared to bring matters to a conclusion. They would never, perhaps, have done so had there not been joined with

them in the council a man of the sword, Lord Suffolk, who forced them to that pass. A warrior alone could venture to make peace.

Suffolk was not of an ancient family. The Delapoles (this was their surname) were honest merchants and sailors. Their great-grandfather had been ennobled for furnishing provisions to Edward I. in his Scotch wars. The grandfather, factotum to the irritable Richard II., served him as admiral, general, and chancellor; but far from making a fortune in these capacities he was prosecuted by the parliament and fled to Paris, where he died. Suffolk's father, in order to raise his fallen house, turned round and gave himself body and soul to Richard's enemies. Himself and three of his sons were killed fighting for the House of Lancaster.

The remaining son, the one of whom we are here speaking, served four and thirty years in the French wars with great honour. The disasters of Orleans and Jargeau in no degree impaired his reputation for valour. After the latter place had been stormed he still continued to defend himself, but at last finding he was left almost alone, he cast eyes on a young Frenchman, to whom he said, "Art thou a knight?" "No!" "Then I will make thee one;" and having done so he surrendered to him.

He returned to England ruined in fortune by a ransom of two or three millions (French money). Nevertheless, far from bearing any rancour to France, he gave all his support to the peace party; but unfortunately he carried into that party the sternness and insolence of war.

Cardinal Beaufort's plan would have been to marry the King of England to a daughter of the King of France; a timid plan, which he hardly ventured to unfold in the negotiations.* The daughter being impossible, a niece was thought sufficient, and the choice fell on a daughter of René, a poor prince who could not give umbrage to the English. There was this advantage besides, that should it be found necessary for the purpose of diminishing the expenses, to give up the two non-maritime provinces, Maine and Anjou, they might be surrendered to René and his brother, not to Charles VII., a course which would perhaps be less galling to English pride.†

The treaty of marriage and surrender was reasonable, and yet of extreme peril for whoever should dare to conclude it. Suffolk, who was not ignorant of this, did not content himself with the powers conferred on him by the council, but took the precaution to obtain the king's pardon beforehand for "the errors of judgment into which he might fall." This singular pardon of faults to be committed at a future time was ratified by the parliament.‡

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* Rymer, v. p. 1. 61, 1439, May 21.

† Maine was to be given up to René and not to the King of France; Henry VI. in his original letter dated July 28, 1447, expressly requires that this should be so. Bibl. Roy. MSS. Du Puy, 760.

‡ The parliament released the king from the promise he had made, after the example of the King of France, not to make peace "without the consent of the

The surrender of a part for the sake of consolidating the rest was precisely what St. Louis did, when, in defiance of his barons, he restored to the English some of the provinces which Philip Augustus had confiscated from John Lackland.

But, in this case there was not even a definitive restitution as to Maine. The King of England granted not the sovereignty of Maine, but its *usufruct for life* to René's brother. Again, the French were to pay *ten years' purchase* * for that usufruct to the English holders of crown fiefs in that country. In lieu of so precarious a possession those feudatories were to receive a round sum in money, surer and probably larger in amount than all they would have ever derived from it.

Suffolk on his return found a terrible unanimity of feeling against him. Until then opinions had been divided on the question; many persons saw that in order to retain those ruinous possessions, it would be necessary to dip to the bottom of every man's purse, and they were not quite sure that they were worth keeping at that rate. Pride said *yes*, avarice said *no*. Suffolk's treaty having quieted avarice, pride lifted up its voice alone. Those who were least inclined to part with their money for the war were now the most martially disposed and the most indignant of all. The morose and whimsical character of the nation was never more strongly exhibited. England would do nothing either to keep or to surrender with advantage. The most ordinary prudence would have sufficed to foresee, that she was going the straight way to lose everything without the least set-off against her loss; and the negotiator who gave up a part, under indemnity, in order to secure the rest, was hated, vilified, and persecuted to death.

Such were the gloomy auspices under which Margaret of Anjou landed in England. She found there a universal uproar against Suffolk, against France and the French queen, a revolution quite ripe, one king tottering and another ready to take his place. Gloucester had always been backed by the war party and the malcontents; but now everybody was for war, everybody was malcontent. When he walked out, according to his custom, attended by a great train of armed men wearing his colours, and followed by the lower classes who cheered *the good duke*, it was manifest that the strength was with him, that deep as had been his humiliation his turn was coming to be master, and that he would reign as *protector* or as king. He was certainly not so far from that consummation as the Duke of York, who afterwards reached it.

On the other side what was seen? Old prelates, rich and timorous, Cardinal Beaufort, an octogenarian, a very young queen, a king

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three estates of the nation," 1445. On the 24th of April, 1446, the parliament declared that the treaty had been made of the king's proper motion, *without his having been advised thereto.* Bibl. Roy. MSS. Bréquigny, 82.

* Rymer, v. ii. 189, March 11, 1448.

whose sanctity looked like imbecility of mind. The alarm augmenting, a parliament was assembled, and the people were called on to take up arms for the king's safety. The parliament was opened with sermons by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Chichester, the chancellor, on peace and good counsel. Next day (February 11) Gloucester was arrested, and a rumour was spread that he wanted to kill the king and deliver his wife. A few days afterwards (February 23) the prisoner died. His death was neither sudden nor unforeseen; it had been preceded by an illness of some days.* Besides he had long been in any thing but good health, if we may believe a book written several years previously by his physician. †

All England, nevertheless, remained convinced that he had died a violent death. The romance took the following shape:—The queen had Suffolk for her lover (a lover of fifty or sixty for a queen of seventeen!) and both had concerted measures with the cardinal; in the evening Gloucester was in perfect health, next morning he was dead!‡ How had he been killed? On this head the stories differed; some said strangled, though the body had been exposed for inspection, and bore no marks of violence; others reproduced the dismal history of the other Gloucester, uncle to Richard II., who was said to have been smothered between two mattresses. Others again preferred the more harrowing tradition respecting Edward II, and gave out that he had been impaled.

It rarely happens that a woman of seventeen has already the atrocious courage requisite for such a crime; it rarely happens that an old man of eighty orders a murder to be committed at the moment he is about to appear before God. I fear there has been a confusion of dates in this case, and that the dying Beaufort has been judged of by the Beaufort of another period of life; and that again in a childish queen, who had but just left René's court, men have beheld the terrible Margaret of after days, who, rendered savage by hatred and thirst for vengeance, placed a crown of paper on York's gory head.

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* In tam arta custodia, quod præ tristitia decideret in lectum *ægritudinis* et *infra paucos dies* posterius secederet in fata. Whethamstede, apud Hearne, Script. Angl. ii. 365.

† In this curious work addressed by the physician to the duke, he describes the condition of his grace's several organs with the greatest minuteness. He enumerates no fewer than *seven* of them which were greatly out of order: the brain, the lungs, the liver, the spleen, the nerves, the kidneys, and the genitals. He observes, among other things, that his noble patient is greatly exhausted by immoderate indulgence in amorous pleasures, that he has a flux of the belly once a month, &c. Even should we suppose that the physician wanted to frighten his patient into somewhat more sobriety and moderation, still one half of this catalogue of infirmities and incipient diseases would be formidable enough. Hearne, Appendix ad Wyrcester, 550—559.

‡ Vespere sosper et incolumis, mane (proh dolor) mortuus elatus est et ostensus. Hist. Croyland, contin. ap Gale, i. 521. This more dramatic version is servilely copied by all the rest. Hall and Grafton, 629, Holinshed, 1257, (ed. 1577), Shakspeare, &c.

As regarded Suffolk, there was less improbability in the accusation. He had committed the mistake of corroborating beforehand whatever people might say, by an odious arrangement which gave him a pecuniary interest in Gloucester's death. Nevertheless, his bitterest enemies make no mention of this crime in the impeachment they brought against him during his life-time. He was never charged with it to his face, but only after his death, when he was no longer there to defend himself.

The crime after all, if there was one, could not possibly be of any use. There remained a pretender in the line of Lancaster, the Duke of Somerset, and another, and more legitimate one, out of that line. The Lancasters were descended only from the *fourth* son of Edward III., and the Duke of York was descended from the *third*. His title then was superior to theirs, and Gloucester's death had only the effect of bringing forward a more dangerous pretender.

Beaufort to all appearance was sick at the time of Gloucester's death, for he died a month after him. His decease was a momentous event. He had been fifty years the head of the Church, and at that time, aged as he was, his name constituted its unity. Suffolk was not a bishop to take Beaufort's place; as a soldier, and with such a crisis pending, he could hardly pursue a line of policy devised by priests. The prelates who, for sake of the *Establishment*, had set up the Lancastrian monarchy, had made use of it and reigned with it, withdrew from it seasonably,* and piously resigned themselves to the necessity of letting it fall.

Why moreover should the Church have exposed to hazard an Establishment already much menaced, for sake of saving what was no longer of use, but rather injurious? Suffolk was beginning to take money, as yet indeed only from the monks, but he would come at last to the bishops. If the friend acted thus, what worse could the foe do?

And as had been foreseen, when his distress augmented, and the parliament refused him all aid, he sold bishoprics.† This was a sure means of arraying against himself not only the Church but the Lords likewise, who were often enabled to pay their debts with benefices, and to make bishops of their chaplains and servants. The nobles were doubly wounded in their most sensitive point: they were deprived of their influence over the Church at the time when they were losing their fiefs in France. The promised indemnity for the lands they had in Maine dwindled to nothing; it was exchanged by a new treaty for certain sums until then paid by the English

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* The bishop of Chichester can no longer attend parliament on account of his age, defective sight, &c. The bishop of Hereford resigns, &c. Rymer, v. 20, Dec. 19, 20, 1449.

† Episcopatus et beneficia regia pro pecuniis conferendo. Hist. Croyland, continuatio, ap. Gale, i. 521.

marches of Normandy to the French.* The King of England took upon himself to indemnify his subjects in Maine, which is equivalent to saying, that they never got a farthing.

A power which hurt the great nobles in their fortunes, the people in its pride, and which was no longer supported by the Church, could not stand. The question was, who would be the gainer by its downfal?

The two princes nearest to the throne were York and Somerset. Suffolk thought to make sure of them both. He deprived the Duke of York, the more dangerous of the two, of the chief army, that of France, and he sent him into honourable exile as governor of Ireland. Somerset, who after all was a Lancaster, and the king's near relation, had the post of confidence, the regency of France, with the more numerous army. But, after all, his hostility was not diminished. He thought, or said at least, that he had been sent into France in order to dishonour him, and leave him to perish without succour, when the fortresses were dismantled and ruined, and when Normandy itself was brought to the same conditions by the loss of Maine, which left its flanks uncovered.

The parliament received a solemn remonstrance from Somerset in 1449; the truce was about to expire, and the King of France, he said, could take the field against him with 60,000 men;† all was lost if prompt aid was not afforded. This complaint was the dying speech of French England. The wise parliament gave ear to it, but only for the purpose of damaging Suffolk; not a man or a shilling did it vote, for that would have been voting for Suffolk; the grand war was now the war against him, not against France; perish Suffolk! was their cry, and with him, if need be, Normandy, Guienne, and England herself.

Somerset had very sagaciously prophesied the blow he was about to receive. The truce was broken. Maine being given up, an Aragonese captain in the service of England,‡ quitting that province, sought refuge in the Norman towns. He found every gate closed, no garrison would starve itself to share with the fugitives. Hereupon the Aragonese was forced to shift for himself; he found in the marches two small towns, but deserted and empty of every thing;

* A prendre sur les deniers qu'il (le roi de France) a coustume lever pour le remboursement des appatis sur les subgetz dudit tres-hault et puissant nepveu du paiis de Normandie, afin que sur lesdicts deniers, lesditz subgetz d'icelny, laissans lesdites terres (du Maine) soient par lui contemptez. Rymer, v. 189, 1448, 11 Mars.—I have not been able to find the original treaty for the surrender of Maine and Anjou. It is only known by this ulterior arrangement, which derives the compensation from an odious and uncertain source, and leaves the distribution of it to the arbitrary discretion of the King of England, that is to say, of Suffolk.—*Appatis* or *pactiz* were the contributions commonly paid by the people of a district to the neighbouring garrisons for leave to till their land in quiet. Ducange, i. 577.

† Somerset affirmed that the King of France had decreed that every thirty men should furnish one armed soldier. Rot. Parl., v. 148.

‡ De l'ordre de la Jartière...et signalé capitaine. Jean Chartier, 134.

from thence, pressed by hunger, he threw himself on Fougères, a good thriving town of Bretagne, and thus was the war recommenced.*

The king and the Duke of Bretagne applied to Somerset and claimed back the town with indemnity.† But even had he been willing to give satisfaction, he durst not, he was afraid of England still more than of France. The French helped themselves to the compensation that was refused them. On the 15th of May, they seized Pont de l'Arche four leagues from Rouen, and Verneuil a month afterwards. The royal army under Dunois entered by way of Evreux, the Bretons by Lower, and the Burgundians by Upper Normandy. The Count of Foix attacked Guienne. Every one was eager to have a share in the quarry.

The king intercepted all communication between Caen and Rouen, received the submission of Lisieux, Mantes, and Gournai, and made his entrance peaceably into Verneuil, Evreux, and Louviers, where René joined him. At last, concentrating all his forces, he marched against Rouen, and summoned it to surrender. The town had already done so in its heart; though the red cross waved above it, it was thoroughly French. Though Somerset was there in person, with old Talbot, he despaired of defending that great population, which would not be defended; he withdrew into the castle, and in a moment the whole town had assumed the white cross.‡ Somerset had his wife and children with him; there was no hope of escaping; the burghers were like a second army to besiege him; so he resolved to capitulate. For himself, his wife and children, and his garrison, the king was content to receive the low sum of 50,000 crowns, a very small ransom in those days; Suffolk's alone had been 2,400,000 francs. Somerset paid the surplus, it is true, with his honour and probity. To avoid ruining himself, he ruined the King of England. He engaged, he, the regent, to deliver to the French the fortress of *Arques* (which secured them Dieppe), to give them

* On the rupture of the truce, see the patriotic ballad, *Le Bedeau de l'Université d'Angers*, published by M. Mazure, Revue Anglo-Française, Avril, 1835, (Poitiers).

† The King of France complained also of the cruises made by the English against the vessels of his ally the King of Castile, and of their highway robberies in France: Et se nommoit les *faux visages* à cause qu'ils se déguisoient d'habits dissolus. Jean Chartier, 143.

‡ Mathieu de Coucy, 444, and Jacques du Clercq (who copies Mathieu), i. 344, ed. Reiffenberg. See the details of the capitulation, the entry, &c., in Chéruel, 125—134, from authentic documents. The king restored to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction the prerogatives it had lost under the English; he maintained the exchequer, the Norman charter, the custom of Normandy, &c.; he lost no time in declaring the people of Rouen "free, quit and exempt from the *French* company, and from all demands of those of Paris on that account." The commercial war of such long standing between Paris and Rouen was not finally closed until the accession of Louis XI., who renewed his father's ordonnance. (Communicated by M. Chéruel from the *Archives de Rouen*, ii. § 2, July 7, 1450, Jan. 4, 1461.) See respecting the *entry*, a piece published by M. Mazure in the Revue Anglo-Française, Avril, 1835 (Poitiers).

all the Lower Seine, *Caudebec*, *Lillebonne*, *Tancarville*, and the mouth of the Seine, *Honfleur!*

But it was questionable that he had the power to make such presents, and it was only by giving away still more that he proved the affirmative. He pawned his right arm, Lord Talbot, the only man whom the English looked up to with confidence; and he could not redeem him, or fulfil his treaty. Honfleur disobeyed, and so Talbot remained with the French army, to witness the downfall of his countrymen.* The English in Honfleur were left without succour; they saw the far stronger town of Harfleur, opposite them, carried by Jean Bureau's artillery in the depth of winter [December, 1449];† after which, having in vain called Somerset to their aid, they too surrendered at last [February 18th, 1450].

If we reflect that Harfleur alone had 1600 men, a little army, in garrison, we shall not be inclined to think that Normandy was so unprotected as Somerset would have had it appear. But the troops were dispersed, a few English in each town surrounded by a hostile population. What could they have done, even had they been stronger, against that great and invincible movement of France, resolved as it then was on being French once more?

No one in England comprehended this. Normandy, they insisted, had been purposely disarmed, betrayed, and sold. Had not the queen's father been seen in the King of France's army? All the disasters of that campaign, the Seine lost, Rouen surrendered, Lord Talbot, the sword of England, put in pledge, all this mass of misfortune and disgrace fell directly on Suffolk's head.

On the 28th of January, 1450, the House of Commons presented a humble address to the king, wherein they said that "the king's poor commons of his realm were as lovingly, as heartily and as tenderly set to the good, welfare and prosperity of his person and kingdom, as ever were any commons set to the welfare of their sovereign lord."‡ And all these affectionate expressions were the preface to a demand for blood. In this strange document the most contradictory things were simultaneously affirmed. Suffolk sold England to the King of France and *to the queen's father*, and he kept a whole castle full of munitions for the French, who were about to invade the land. And why did he call in the French, the queen's relations and friends? That he, Suffolk, *might make his own son king*,§ by

* At the entrance of Charles VII. into Rouen, "There were at the windows the wives of the Count de Dunois and of the Duke of Somerset, to see the mystery and that grand ceremony, with whom were Lord Talbot and the other English retained as hostages, who were very pensive and sad." Jean Chartier, 184.

† "The king exposed himself greatly, going in person to the ditches and mines. Governor of the mines and artillery was Master Jean Bureau, treasurer of France, who was very subtle and ingenious in such matters and many other things." Ibid., 188.

‡ Turner, Hist. Eng. iii. 65, from Rolls Parl., v. 5, 177.

§ He had married his son to the daughter of the eldest of the Somersets, which daughter had the first claim to the throne, after Henry VI., in the Lancas-

overthrowing the king and the queen. This appeared logical, and well connected; John Bull never questioned it!

Contradictions and absurdities being admitted as self-evident, all reply was impossible. Suffolk attempted it, nevertheless. He enumerated the services of his family, and the deaths of all his relations in their country's cause; he called to mind that he himself had passed thirty-four years in making war in France, and had been seventeen winters consecutively under arms, without seeing his home;* then he spoke of his fortune swallowed up by his ransom, and of his twelve years of service upon the council. Was it very probable that he would crown such a series of services, and a life so advanced as his, by an act of treachery to his country?

He talked in vain; upon every word of justification supervened some new intelligence, that fell as an additional charge upon him. No vessel arrived but brought news of some fresh disaster, Harfleur to-day, another day Honfleur, then, one by one, all the towns of Lower Normandy lost; then (what was felt more acutely still) the prohibition against the sale of English cloth in Holland.† Thus did these dismal tidings come thick and fast upon each other, like a knell sounding for Suffolk from the opposite shore. Some idea of the popular fury may be conceived from a ballad of the day, in which his name and those of his friends are ironically mixed up with the words of the service for the dead.‡

The queen made trial of a means to save the victim; this was, to have Suffolk sentenced by the king to five years' banishment. He left London with great difficulty, passing through a turbulent mob that thirsted for his blood; but he did not go over to France, for such a step would have confirmed the charges against him. He remained on his estate, for the purpose, no doubt, of awaiting the result of an experiment on which he had laid his last stake. He had sent 3000 men to Cherbourg, under the command of the brave Thomas Kyriel, who was to do the reverse of what had undone Somerset—concentrate his troops, and hazard an engagement. A victory would, perhaps, have saved Suffolk. Kyriel was successful at first; he besieged and took Valogne. Thence he set out to join Somerset, marching along the sea-coast. But the French forces shut him in between them, the Count of Clermont hanging on his

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trian line. That heiress would have been infinitely dangerous had she been married to any other than the son of the minister, and confidant of the queen. No doubt the marriage took place by Margaret's desire.

* This reminds us of the honourable exile of Lord Collingwood, who during the whole continental war was not permitted to set foot once on land, or see his daughters.

† Proceedings and ordinances of the privy council, vi. 69, 75, 85, (1837).

‡ This execrable parody outdoes '93; you would say it was one of the litanies chanted by Murat. Ritson's Ancient Songs.—I very much regret that the collection of political songs published by the learned Mr. Wright does not yet extend to this period.

rear, and Richemont meeting him in front to oppose his progress [at Formigny, April 15th, 1450]. Kyriel fought valiantly, was defeated, and his army cut to pieces. From that day it was known that the English could be beaten in the plain. There were not 4000 killed,* but with these fell the pride, confidence, and hope of the English; Azincourt was no longer in the memory of either people *the last battle.*

This event was Suffolk's doom; he felt it was so, and prepared himself. He wrote a manly, noble, and pious letter to his son, recommending him only to fear God, defend the king, and honour his mother. He then assembled all the gentlemen in the neighbourhood, and swore in their presence on the Host that he died innocent. This done, he embarked in a small vessel, committing himself to God's keeping. But there were too many persons whose interest it was to prevent his escape. York saw in him the intrepid champion of the house of Lancaster; Somerset feared him as an accuser, after his return from his fine campaign; England would have had to judge between him and Suffolk, which of the two had lost Normandy.

According to Monstrelet and Mathieu de Coucy, who had opportunities of becoming very accurately informed, through the Flemings, with English affairs, those pertaining to the sea especially, it was a vessel belonging to Somerset's friends that *fell in with him.*† They tried him on board; nothing was wanting that could mark the affair with the character of an act of popular vengeance; the sailors who had captured him sat as peers and jurymen, to try the peer of the realm. They found him guilty, and the only favour they showed was to allow him to be beheaded, in consideration of his rank. These novices in the business of jurymen were no less so in that of the executioner; it was not until the twelfth stroke that they succeeded in taking off his head with a rusty sword.

His death settled nothing. The sullen rage which the defeat had universally called forth, afforded excellent matter for designing men, who quickly availed themselves of it. They well knew in that land, already old in experience, how much might be made of the people when in that morbid state, when the English malady, pride, exasperated pride, converted them into wild beasts, savage and blind. While the fit lasted, they might be moved to the right or the left, without witting of the hand or the cord, or feeling that they were made tools of.

First of all a stunning blow was dealt the Church, after which,

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* According to the heralds, 3774. Their report stated that the English army was six or seven thousand strong, and that the French had had but three thousand fighting men. Jean Chartier, 197. Mathieu de Coucy, 45. Jacques de Clercq, i. 266, ed. Reiffenberg. It is true, that as these historians copy one from the other, the three testimonies can count but for one.

† Estant sur la mer, fut rencontré des gens du Duc de Sombresset. Mathieu de Coucy, 450.

powerful as it was, it never stirred, but let the lords do what they pleased. Two bishops, who had governed before Suffolk, or with him, were killed, and that was enough. Killed by whom? It was hard to say. By their own people, or by the mob of the seaports? Who were the real culprits?*

This done, operations were begun on a grand scale. A *spontaneous* rising of the people was got up; one of those vague movements which a skilful hand can afterwards turn into a definitive revolution. Those short-sighted masses, the small farmers of Kent, have always been ready hands at beginning any thing, no matter what. There are in them peculiarly apt elements of agitation; namely, instability of temper, inveterate wretchedness, and, moreover, a proneness to fanatical vehemence, which one would hardly expect to find on the world's great highway between London and Paris.†

A leader, some man of straw, was requisite to head the mob, some one who was not all out a knave, for your thorough knave plays no such bold game. The very man for the occasion was found—an Irishman,‡ a bastard, who had formerly earned a criminal reputation; he had afterwards served in France, whence he returned light in purse, and not knowing what to do with himself. He is described as "a certain young man of a goodly stature and pregnant wit,"§ to which may be added that he was not a little hare-brained.

Cade (that was his name) thought it good sport to play the prince for a few days, and declared that his name was Mortimer. This was an incredible piece of audacity, the individual thus personated being well-known, and every body being aware that Mortimer, the grandson of Edward III., had been well and duly interred. No matter, he came to life again, for all that, and the new Mortimer succeeded capitally. He was amusing and alluring, played his part with Irish vivacity, and was a very good prince indeed; a friend to honest folks, but a great justicer. He was the delight of the people.

With the perfect tact which madmen often display in talking to the mad, he put forth a skilfully absurd proclamation, which had an excellent effect. He stated therein, among other things, that according to public rumour, the whole county of Kent was to be destroyed and

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* Henry VI. openly charged the Duke of York with having caused his own people to put to death the Bishop of Chichester, Chancellor of England. Lingard, from the documents preserved by Stow, 393-5. The author known by the name of Amelgard alleges, with less probability, that the bishop's death was owing to his own parsimony in disputing about the price of his passage with the sailors who were taking him over to France. Notices des MSS., i. 417.

† We have seen them (in 1839!) readily following that fine fellow Courtenay, who promised to come to life again as often as he was killed.

‡ Shakspeare erroneously makes him say that he is of the county of Kent. See Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, vol. vi. (1837). Sir Harris Nicolas, pref. xxvii.

§ Hall and Grafton, 640.

turned into a forest, by way of revenging the death of Suffolk on the innocent commons. Then came protestations of loyalty to the king, only he hoped that good sovereign would deign to surround himself with his true lords and natural counsellors, the dukes of *York*, *Exeter*, *Buckingham*, *and Norfolk*. This was very clear; and, moreover, there was with the Kentish mob a herald belonging to the Duke of Exeter, and a gentleman attached to the Duke of Norfolk, who followed their motions and kept an eye on every thing.

Cade was at once at the head of 20,000 men, and the numbers increased as he advanced. Some troops were sent against him, and he beat them ; then illustrious negotiators, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Buckingham, whom he received with calm and sage dignity, "sober in communication, wise in disputing,"* and immovable in purpose.

Meanwhile, the king's soldiers were crying out that the Duke of York ought to come home, join his cousin, Mortimer, and deal with the queen and her accomplices as they deserved. In order to quiet them, they were told that justice should be done, and Lord Say, the Treasurer of England, was committed to the Tower.

The insurgents being already in possession of Southwark, the Lord Mayor put the question to the citizens: "Shall we throw open the city gates?" One alone dared to say *no*, and he was sent to prison. Cade himself, with much presence of mind, cut the ropes of the drawbridge with his sword, thus making sure that it should not be raised behind him. Striking his sword on London Stone, he said, solemnly: "Now is Mortimer Lord of London." He issued orders forbidding his followers to pillage, and the prohibition was not to be despised, for he had just beheaded one of his officers for disobedience. He piqued himself on rigorous justice. He took Lord Say out of the Tower to put him to death; but first he had him tried in Cheapside, in the street, by the lord mayor and alderman, who were half dead with fear. There was much adroitness in thus, by fair means or by force, connecting the magistracy of London with his proceedings.

After the spectacle of this highway trial and execution was over, the Kentish men could not be hindered from dispersing over the town. They were soon roaming about the streets, gaping at all they saw, and keenly eyeing the closed doors; they began to scent the booty, their hands itched, and they fell to pillaging. The prince himself, all prince and Mortimer though he was, could not so far control the old habits he had acquired in the wars of France, as to keep from stealing a wee bit in a house where he had dined.

The respectable citizens of London, merchants, shop-keepers and others, had hitherto taken the whole affair in good part, the executions included. But when they saw their beloved shops and warehouses about to be ransacked, then were they filled with virtuous

* Hall and Grafton, 641.

rage against those robbers. They took up arms, themselves, their workmen, and apprentices, and a furious conflict took place in the streets and on London Bridge.

The Kentish men were driven back into Southwark, and passed the night there, rather scared by the reception they had met with in the city. They reflected, and their zeal grew cold. This was the moment to parley with them; they were dispirited and credulous. The primate and the Archbishop of York crossed over to Southwark in a boat, carrying the royal seal with them. They sealed pardons for all those who chose to take them, and the brave fellows dispersed, "without bidding farewell to their captain."* The intrepid Cade endeavoured at first to make an orderly retreat with his remaining men, but finding them intent only on fighting with each other for the booty, he threw himself on his horse and fled. But a price had been set on his head, and he did not go far (July, 1450).

This tragical farce, terrible as it may have seemed, was but a prelude. The glaring fraud of setting up as a Mortimer a man whom every body knew to be Cade, was so far useful, that it gave the first impulse to opinion, and set the people thinking. It was a play within a play, as in "Hamlet," intended by way of a hint; it was a fiction devised in order to explain history, a commentary in action to bring an abstruse question of right within the scope of simple minds.

The man of straw having finished his part, the serious pretender might now begin. The Duke of York came over from Ireland to work upon the text furnished him by Somerset. That unlucky general had had a repetition of his Rouen adventure at Caen; he had been a second time taken prisoner; but his weakness on this occasion wore a still more suspicious look of treachery. Such at least was the current rumour. According to the favourite custom of the English now and always, the regent was everywhere accompanied by his wife and children; a dangerous and too costly baggage, which may often spoil the soldier and make a woman of him. During the horrors of the siege, when the stones and balls were falling like rain, Somerset's wife saw one fall between her and her children, and rushing to her husband, she fell on her knees and implored him to have pity on his little ones.† The poor man himself was frightened too, and would have surrendered; but the town was the Duke of York's, and a captain commanded in it on his behalf, and declared his determination to defend his master's town to the last extremity. Thereupon Somerset (if his accusers are to be believed) committed through very feebleness an audacious and criminal act; he furtively concerted with the burghers, encouraged them to cry out for surrender, and the town was given up.‡ The captain escaped and went to make his report, not to London, but straight to Ireland, to the

* Hall and Grafton, 641. † Holinshed, 1276, ed. 1577.
‡ Somerset, moreover, abandoned his artillery. Mathieu de Coucy, 607.

Duke of York. The latter abruptly left Ireland without orders, crossed England with an armed band, and presented a humbly insolent complaint to the king.

No one as yet spoke of York's right to the throne, but every one thought of it. There was but one man in whom the queen could trust, the man whose rights were derived from the Lancaster branch, the king's heir-presumptive. Now this was Somerset. She made him constable, and put the sword of the realm in his hands, just after he had surrendered his own to the French. This defender of the king was unlucky in self-defence, having lost Normandy. He was bound at least to make some reparation, and the way in which he was to do so was by losing Guienne.

Charles VII. having completed his Normandy with Falaise and Cherbourg,* sent his army to winter in the south. The national militia of the free archers was beginning to figure with some credit; Jean Bureau led his infallible artillery from fortress to fortress; few towns resisted. The petty kings of Gascon, Albret, Foix, and Armagnac, seeing the king so strong, came to his aid in their zeal and loyalty, helped all they could in this seizure of English spoils, took, and aided in taking, in hopes that the king would surely leave them some share. Four sieges were thus begun simultaneously.

In this rapid conversion of the Gascons, Bordeaux alone resisted; until then a capital town, it could not but decline in importance; the English treated it with great consideration,† and enriched it by buying and drinking its wines. Bordeaux did not expect to find better drinkers for masters.‡ The burghers consequently were so English that they resolved to draw the sword for the King of England and make a sortie. They did so, but it was to run away with all speed. Bureau, who had already taken Blaye, and with it the mayor and deputy mayor of Bordeaux, was named along with Chabannes and others to make an arrangement. They were extremely indulgent in their demands, requiring neither taxes from the towns nor ransom from the lords, but confirming and exemplifying privileges. Those who would remain French were at liberty to depart,

* The French artillery, always commanded by Jean Bureau, exhibited a quite novel instance of skill before Cherbourg. He established his batteries in the sea itself, to the great astonishment of the English. "The tide reached the spot twice a day; nevertheless, by means of certain skins and grease with which the bombards were covered, the sea never damaged the powder; but as soon as the sea had retired the cannoneers took off the coverings, and fired as before against the place, whereat the English were greatly confounded." Jean Chartier, 214.

† See in the valuable *Archives Municipales de Bordeaux*, the book of privileges (since the *Philippine*, 1295), and the book called *Les Bouillons* (acts and treaties since 1259). The latter has still attached to it the chain by which it was formerly fastened to a table. I have already spoken of it in my *Rapport au Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, sur les Bibliothèques et Archives du sud-ouest de la France*, 1836.

‡ Guienne and Gascony lost, moreover, a transit trade. The English cloths used to pass through those provinces on their way to Spain. Amelgard, Notices des MSS., i. 432.

merchants in that case being allowed six months to regulate their affairs,* and lords being permitted to transmit their fiefs to their children. There was no example of a war so mild and clement.† The king was pleased to grant a still further respite to Bordeaux, which at last not having been succoured, opened its gates [June 23]. Bayonne persisted in holding out two months longer [Aug. 21].

The loss of these attached towns, so obstinate in their fidelity, and which had been abandoned without aid, was a tremendous weapon for York. His partisans reckoned up that in losing Aquitaine, England had lost three archbishoprics, thirty bishoprics, fifteen counties, 102 baronies, besides 1000 captainships, &c. &c. Then the loss of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, was recapitulated, and that of Calais was foretold; the traitor Somerset, it was said, had already sold it to the Duke of Burgundy.

York thought himself so strong, that one of his partisans in the House of Commons proposed to declare him *heir-presumptive*. The intention was clear, but it was too soon avowed; there was still some loyalty left in the country. The motion disgusted the Commons, and the imprudent member was sent to the Tower.

An attempt, made by York, with force of arms, was not more successful. He collected troops, and when he met the king, he found himself weak, his men wearied; he dismissed them of his own accord, and surrendered. He knew well that they would not dare to put him to death, and that he would be let off, as he actually was, for an oath of loyalty, solemnly sworn at St. Paul's on the sacrament. But what did that signify? In these English wars we see the heads of factions perpetually taking oaths, and the people apparently not at all shocked.

The queen had hopes at this moment of regaining the affections of the English, and proving to them that the French woman did not betray them. She proposed to take Guienne from the French. That country was already tired of its new masters, and unwilling to submit to the general law of the kingdom by which the towns were obliged to lodge and pay the ordonnance companies. It took it much amiss that the king guarded the province with his troops, and did not rely on its Gascon faith.‡ The lords, too, who had left their

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* So numerous were the departures that Bordeaux is said to have been left almost depopulated for some years. Aumique Bordelaise, 38.

† The king ordered the soldiers to pay for every thing they had; if they took without paying they were to make restitution and *loose fifteen days' pay*. This mild punishment must have been more effectual than others far more rigorous, because it could be strictly applied. See Jean Chartier and Mathieu de Coucy, 216, 251, 406, 432, 457, 600. See particularly Bibl. Roy. MSS., Doat, 217, fol. 328.

‡ The pseudonymous writer Amelgard, though a Burgundian at heart, and unfavourable to Charles VII., nevertheless acknowledges that this was the sole gist of the complaints of Guienne. The king's men replied, that the money paid for the troops was spent by the latter in the towns from which it was raised. Notices des MSS., i. 432.

fiefs and longed to get back to them, averred in London that the English had but to show themselves at sea, and that all would be theirs.* The queen and Somerset had great need of this success, and most earnestly desired it. They sent out an expedition under Talbot. At eighty years of age this man was in spirit and courage the youngest of the English captains; above all, he was a man of honour, whose word was relied on. He was given power to treat and to pardon, as well as to fight.

The Bordelese themselves admitted Talbot into their town, and surrendered the unsuspecting garrison to him. He took the surrounding fortresses, though it was the height of the winter season. The king, who was engaged elsewhere, and counted no doubt on the disturbances in England, had left the province ill supplied with troops. It was not until spring, that an army arrived to contest the ground with Talbot. The French, by Bureau's directions, proceeded in the first instance to make themselves masters of La Dordogne and laid siege to Châtillon, eight leagues from Bordeaux. Talbot found them there in strong entrenchments, furnished with a formidable array of artillery. He made little account of this, and the French purposely confirmed him in that contempt. News was brought as he was hearing mass in the morning, that the French were flying from their entrenchments. "May I never hear mass again," cried the fiery old man, "if I do not lay these Frenchmen low."† Instantly leaving mass, chaplain and all, he sets off in pursuit of the enemy. One of his men informs him of his error; he strikes him, and keeps on his way.

Meanwhile, the wise master of the accounts, Jean Bureau, was posted behind his entrenchments and his cannons, coolly awaiting this medieval paladin.‡ Talbot arrives on a palfrey, his person distinguished from all the rest by a surtout of red velvet. At the first discharge he sees his men all swept down around him; he persists, and has his banner planted on the barrier. The second discharge knocks down the banner and Talbot. The French sally out from the entrenchments, the two parties fight over the body, which is taken and retaken alternately.§ In the confusion a soldier,

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* See Amelgard, Not. des MSS., i. 431. † Mathieu de Coucy, 645.

† Not so *paladin*, however, as not to have taken care of his pecuniary interests like a genuine Englishman. We have several documents relating to the great donations he obtained: the earldom of Shrewsbury, the county of Clermont-en-Beauvaisis, the captainship of Falaise, &c. See also on the grants bestowed on Talbot, M. Berriat Saint Prix., Hist. de Jeanne d'Arc, 159, from the Régistres du Tresor des Chartes, 173—175. A fact no less characteristic is, that on arriving at Bordeaux, Talbot began by bestowing on Thomas Talbot (some poor relation or bastard?) the lucrative office of clerk of the market, Rymer, v. 1453, Jan. 17.

§ The corpse was disfigured, and this gave rise to an affecting scene, which the French historian has related in all its details with noble compassion, "Talbot's herald was asked, 'Would he know his master if he saw him?' To which he replied joyfully, thinking he was still alive....Thereupon he was taken to the place....and they said to him, 'Look, and see if that is your master.' Then

without knowing him, strikes his dagger into his throat. The defeat of the English was complete; according to the report of the heralds, who counted the dead, they left 4000 in the field.

Guienne was retaken, all except Bordeaux; which was hemmed in by the occupation of all the environs. Even at sea the English and Bordelese fleet could not hinder the king's from closing the Gironde. Properly speaking, there was no royal fleet; but La Rochelle, the rival of Bordeaux, had sent sixteen armed vessels;* Bretagne had lent others, to which had been added fifteen large vessels from Holland,† besides those which the king had borrowed from Castile.

The great town of Bordeaux was garrisoned by a whole army; English and Gascon; but its very numbers were an inconvenience for a town which no longer received supplies. Besides this the interests of these defenders were various, and their dangers unequal. All the English risked by the capture of the town, was to be made prisoners of war; whereas the Gascons had much reason to fear being treated as rebels. The two parties distrusted each other. The English in the neighbouring fortresses had already made separate conditions.‡

The alarmed Bordelese sent to the king, stipulating for nothing more than safety for their lives and property; but he wished to make an example, and would promise nothing. The deputies were retiring very sadly, when Jean Bureau approached the king and said, "Sire, I have just inspected all the parts round the town, in order to select the fit places for erecting batteries; if such is your good pleasure, I promise you on my life, that in a few days I shall have demolished the town."

The king, however, was himself desirous of an accommodation, fever being in his camp. He relaxed his severity, and contented himself with a fine of 100,000 crowns, and the banishment of the most culpable of the inhabitants; all the rest were pardoned; the English were allowed to embark freely. The town lost its privi-

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he changed colour all at once, and at first gave no opinion. He knelt down, however, and said that he would straightway know the truth; and then he put one of the fingers of his right hand into the dead man's mouth, and felt on the left side for the place of a grinder he knew for certain his master had lost.... And immediately....still kneeling....he kissed the mouth of the corpse, and said, 'My lord and master, my lord and master! it is you; I pray God pardon your sins! I have been your officer-at-arms forty years or more; it is time I give you back your trust!"...making piteous cries and lamentations, and with the water streaming from his eyes most piteously. And then he took off his coat of arms and laid it on his master. Mathieu de Coucy, 646.

* Arrière, Hist. de La Rochelle, i. 275.

† Mathieu de Coucy says erroneously that these vessels belong to the Duke of Burgundy; the duke's interests were at that time, as we shall see, quite opposed to the king's, and he was greatly dissatisfied with him. It is probable that the Hollanders, who were very independent subjects of Philip, sent the vessels in spite of him.

‡ Mathieu de Coucy, 651.

leges,* but it remained a capital. It did not depend on the parliament either of Paris or Toulouse : the parliament of Bordeaux was soon constituted, and extended its jurisdiction as far as Limousin and Rochelle,

England had lost in France, Normandy, Aquitaine, every thing except Calais.

Normandy, its other self, a territory English in aspect and productions, which was to remain for ever before its face to awaken its regrets. Aquitaine, its French paradise, blessed with all the bounties of the south, the olive, wine, and sunshine.

It was nearly three centuries since England had wedded Acquitaine with Eleanor ; more than wedded—loved it, and often preferred it to itself. The Black Prince felt at home in Bordeaux ; he was like a stranger in London.

Many an English prince had been born in France ; many a one had died, and had wished to be buried there. Bedford, the wise regent of France, was interred in Rouen. The heart of Richard Cœur de Lion remained with our nuns of Fontevrault Abbey.

It was not the land alone that England had lost, but its best recollections, two or three centuries of efforts and war, its old and its recent glories, Poitiers and Azincourt, the Black Prince, and Henry V. It seemed as though these dead heroes had survived thus long in their conquests, and that it was only now they died indeed.

The blow was so poignantly felt by England, that it might be supposed she would forget her discords, at least for a season. The parliament voted supplies, not for three years, according to custom, but "for the king's life." It voted an army too, almost as strong as that of Azincourt; 20,000 archers.

The difficulty was how to raise them. The whole people was filled with despondency and fear of foreign war—an arrogant fear that showed itself in discontent and anger ; their courage had sunk, but not their pride. It was hazardous to reveal this unhappy mystery ; the parliament, therefore, reduced its vote from twenty to thirteen thousand archers,† and, after all, not one was raised.

The hand of God lay heavy on England. After having lost so much abroad she seemed on the point of losing herself. The war she no longer waged in France was now preying on her own bosom, as yet a smothered war without battle or victory for any one ; there

* As for its commerce, Bordeaux did not lose it long. The mercantile spirit, stronger in the English than pride itself, did not allow them to forego their trade in the wines of Guienne. They even submitted to whatever humiliations were put on them. It is worth remarking the conditions on which the former masters of the country were permitted to come and trade in their capital of Guienne. They were all to wear the red cross conspicuously. They were not allowed to pass beyond the walls without a written permission from the mayor. If they wished to pass through the province and go to Bayonne, the governors had them escorted thither at their own expense, under the custody of an archer. Archives Suppl. au Tr. des Ch., J. 925.

† Turner, iii. 174. Parl. Rolls, 5, p. 231—8.

was not even the poor hope that the country would recover unity by the triumph of a party. Somerset was finished, and York could not begin. Royalty was not abolished, but it was daily falling more and more into neglect and helplessness. The king having distributed and pledged his domain, and no longer receiving supplies from parliament, was the poorest man in his kingdom. On Twelfth Day, the festival of kings, the king and queen sat down to table, and there was nothing to set before them. *

Poor Henry bore all patiently. Humble amidst his haughty lords, dressed like the meanest citizen of London, † a kind and charitable friend to the poor, although himself so poor. All the time he did not pass in council, he spent in reading old histories and meditating on the Holy Scriptures. ‡ That hardened age called him a simpleton, in medieval times he would have been a saint. He generally showed himself beneath royalty, but sometimes superior to it; in compensation for the vulgar prudence which he wanted, he seems to have been at certain moments enlightened by a ray from on high. §

It was the lot of this man of peace || to pass all his life in the midst of discords, and to witness an interminable discussion as to his own royal right. We see from sensible words of his that have been preserved, that *length of possession* ¶ was the only ground on which he could quiet his conscience. He had reigned forty years; his father had reigned before him, and so had his grandfather Henry IV.

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* Mathieu de Coucy, 604.

† Obtusis sotularibus et ocreis...ad instar coloni. Togam etiam longam cum capucio rotulato ad modum burgensis. Blackman, De virtutibus et miraculis Henrici VI., ap. Hearne, p. 298

‡ Aut in regni negotiis cum consilio suo tractandis, aut in Scripturarum lectionibus vel in scriptis aut cronicis legendis. Ibid., p. 299.

§ When he was confined in the Tower, he thought he saw a woman trying to drown her infant. He gave an alarm, the woman was found, and the child saved. Ibid., 305.

|| This pacific temper is remarkably exhibited in the following fact. "Edmund Gallet says he was sent to the King of England to invite him to make a descent on Normandy, whilst the king of France was occupied against his son in Dauphiné. Whereupon the King of England asked, what sort of person was his uncle of France? and the envoy replied, that he had seen him but once, on horseback, and he seemed to him a gentle prince, and another time at an abbey at Caen, where he was reading a chronicle, and he seemed to him the best reader he had ever seen. After which the King of England said, he wondered how the princes of France had so great will to do him despite; then he added, 'After all, those of my land do the same by me.'" Deposition requoted by Dupuy, in his Notice of the Trial of Jean d'Alençon, in the sequel of that of the Templars, 419.

¶ "My father was king; his father was also king; I have worn the crown forty years from my cradle; you have all sworn fealty to me as your sovereign, and your fathers have done the like to my fathers. How then can my right be disputed?" But whatever was his right, he would not have defended it at the cost of one man's life. Entering London one day, he saw the limbs of a traitor nailed up to view: "Take them down, take them down he said; God forbid that a Christian should be treated so cruelly for me." Blackman, ap. Hearne, 301, 305.

But if the grandfather had been a usurper, what rights had he to transmit? Here was matter for reflection for the saintly king in his long hours of meditation and prayer. Were not the disasters in France a sort of divine judgment, a token against the house of Lancaster? That house had reigned a long while through the Church, and with it; but now the Church was gradually falling off from it. God was taking to himself the great prelates who had governed the kingdom, Cardinal Beaufort, the chancellor bishop of Chichester; and lastly him, on whom the king relied as one of the wisest lords, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England.

The peaceful were departing, but the violent, too, were missed; Suffolk had perished, Somerset was confined in the Tower, the queen was ill;* she was about to give birth to a princely victim for civil war.† The poor king, forsaken by all those who had supported him and exercised a will in his stead, began at last to abandon himself; his weak mind deserted him and departed to a better region.‡

In this way he very innocently embarrassed his enemies. We know that according to the subtle theory of the English law the king is perfect, and can neither die, nor err,§ nor forget himself, nor be mad.‖ It was necessary, therefore, to obtain from him a word against himself, or at least a sign,¶ by which he might seem to approve of the appointment of a regent, and the nomination of a primate. This was a *sine quâ non* in that nation so wedded to form; if the king did not make known his will there was no government, civil or ecclesiastical, no magistrate or bishop, no *king's peace* or God's peace; there was no longer a state; England was dead in law.

A deputation of twelve lay and ecclesiastical peers was sent to Windsor. They waited until the king had dined, "and then the bishop of Chester respectfully addressed him on the two first articles. The sovereign returned no answer. The prelate explained the rest.

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* "As the strong ox doth, when he is yoked in the plough with a poore sicly asse." Such are the words in which Hall coarsely but accurately enough compares together this ill assorted couple, i. 628.

† I regret that I have not been able to consult, respecting Margaret, Miss Strickland's curious work, Lives of the Queens of England.

‡ Did he derive this tendency to insanity only from Charles VI.? Henry VI. who gave proof of such strength of judgment, was nevertheless very eccentric in his youth; it will be recollected that he one day presented himself before his father in the garb of a madman. There is something odd and fatuous in his portrait, if I may judge at least from the handsome engraving from the Kensington original prefixed to Mr. Endell Tyler's Memoirs of Henry the Fifth, 1838.

§ Blackstone, i. 247. Allen, Prerogative, *passim*. Sir Edward Coke admits with great difficulty that the king, immortal *in genere*, dies nevertheless *in individuo*. Howell's State Trials, ii. 624.

‖ The lawyers attribute a sort of magic virtue to the great seal; its possession renders any government legitimate. Richard II., when ten years and a half old, was supposed to be in a condition to reign without a regency. Hallam, ii. 443.

¶ There has come down to us a tremendous list of all the medicinal means employed by the parliament to render the king competent to express a will: Clisteria, suppositoria, caputpurgia, gargarismata, balnea, emplastra, emoroidarum provocationes, &c. Rymer, v. ii. 55.

Not a word. Not a sign either of comprehension or reply was given from the royal body. Their laments and their exhortations produced no effect. Silence and insensibility only appeared. The lords then withdrew to dinner and afterwards again visited the king. They moved him; they shook him, but could excite neither voice nor attention. They had him led by two men out of that room into another, and again, by pulling him about, strove to rouse him from his senseless lethargy. But every effort was in vain. The royal person could eat, be moved, and breathe, but neither hear, understand, nor speak."*

Let us pause in presence of this mute image of expiation. This silence speaks loudly; every man, every nation will understand it. Indeed there is no distinction of nations before such spectacles as this; there are neither French nor English, but only men.

If, however, we would regard it from a French point of view, it would only be to ask ourselves coolly, and without rancour, what remains of all this we have just been contemplating.

The English, as we have said, left little on the continent, except it was ruins. That serious and politic people founded scarcely any thing during their long period of conquest.† And yet for all that they rendered the country an immense service which cannot be overlooked.

France, until then, lived by the common and general life of the middle ages as much as by her own, or more so; she was Catholic and feudal before being French. England sternly forced her back on herself. France explored the profoundest depths of her popular life and found—what? France! She owes her self-knowledge as a nation to her foe.

Nothing could have quieted our feelings but a thought so important, a consolation of so strong and virile a nature, when on our frequent visits to the sea we carried along the shore, from La Hogue to Dunkerque, the whole burthen of that oppressive past. Well, well! let us lay it down on the steps of the new church, on that stone of oblivion which a good and pious Englishwoman placed at Boulogne,‡ to raise again what her forefathers destroyed. From

* Turner, from Rot. Parl., v. 240.

† Some churches, particularly in Guienne, have a considerable number of towers and bastilles. The English towns and bastilles may very easily be recognised: they are built not on mountains, but near waters on the plain; they usually consist of eight streets crossing each other at right angles; in the centre there is a market-place, with iron-grated porticos, which could be closed in case of danger. Such at this day are Sainte Foix la Longue, and some small towns in Perigord and Agenois. This arrangement seems to have been imitated under Louis XI. (Observ. de M. Dessalles).

So much for edifices. As for institutions, I see none here that present an English character. Our *francs archers* were not, strictly speaking, imitated from the English; so national an institution arose of itself out of the necessity of defence. Of all the provinces conquered by the English, Normandy is I believe the only one in which they displayed some administrative spirit.

‡ A short while before 1830, a young English lady called on the abbé Haff-

that point who but will freely say to that sea, and to the opposite shores, "My curse shall be forgiveness!"*

One sees better from that point . . . One there beholds the ocean rolling its impartial billows from the one shore to the other; one there distinguishes the alternating movement of those great waters and great nations. The waves that carried Cæsar and Christianity yonder, waft hither Pelagius, and Columbanus. The flood bears forth William, Eleanor, and the Plantagenets; the ebb brings back Edward and Henry V. England is an imitator in the time of Queen Anne, France is so under Louis XVI. Yesterday our great rival taught us liberty, to-morrow grateful France will teach her equality.

Such is this majestic oscillation, this fruitful alluvium, that alternates from one shore to the other. No, that sea is not the *barren sea.*†

Long may endure the emulation, the rivalry, if not the war. These two great nations ought for ever to observe each other with jealous scrutiny, to imitate each other, and run a race of development. "They cannot cease either to seek or to hate each other. God has placed them face to face, like two huge magnets, mutually attractive on one side, mutually repulsive on the other; for they are at the same time enemies and relations.‡"

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reingues, director of a college at Boulogne, and said to him, "I am aware, M. l'Abbé, that you are thinking of rebuilding the cathedral of Boulogne. The English, my ancestors, began its ruin, and as an Englishwoman I should wish to expiate their faults as far as may be in my power. Here is my subscription, a mere trifle, twenty-five francs." "Mademoiselle," replied the priest, "your faith decides me. The work shall be begun to-morrow. Your twenty-five francs shall purchase the first stone." He immediately gave orders for work to the amount of sixty thousand francs, and he has since spent five hundred thousand francs out of his own fortune on the building. See M. Francis Netlement's pamphlet, A la Ville de Bologne.

* Byron, Childe Harold, iv.

† Homer.

‡ De Maistre, Soirées de St. Petersburg, i. 169.

END OF VOL. II.